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1. 1. 1.

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
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Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XXII.



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Modern History:

BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
Universal History.

BOOK XIX.

CHAP. II.

The History of PORTUGAL, from its becoming a distinct Sovereignty, down to the present Times, from their own Authors, compared with those of other Nations,

SECT. I.

The History of Portugal, from its being bestowed by Don Alonso VI. King of Leon and Castile, on Henry of Burgundy, with the title only of a County, to the proclamation of Don Alonso Enriquez, in the plains of Ourique.

THE history of *Portugal* naturally follows that of *Spain*, of which, with *Galicia*, it makes the whole Western coast; and is consequently very happily seated in a mild and temperate climate, well watered by rivulets and springs, as well as several navigable rivers; in a word, rich, fruitful, and pleasant, in it-
Mod. Hist. Vol. XXII. B self,

self, and rendered famous throughout the world by the virtue and valour of its inhabitants.

How far
the Latin
name of
Lusitania
corresponds
with the
country
now called
Portugal.

We find this country constantly stiled in *Latin*, at least by modern authors, *Lusitania*, which is not at all amiss, provided we annexed to this word a right idea, and are not led by the sound to conceive, that the modern kingdom of *Portugal* answered with any degree of accuracy to that province of *Spain* which was antiently stiled *Lusitania*; because if we do, instead of giving us a right apprehension of the ancient and modern geography, it will lead us into error and confusion^a. Even in antient authors *Lusitania* does not always signify the same part of *Spain*. In those before the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, *Lusitania* seems to be bounded by the ocean on the north, and by the river *Tagus* on the south; considered in which light it comprehended all *Galicia*, and excluded two of the six provinces of *Portugal*^b. But in the stricter and more restrained sense of the word, as we find it used particularly by *Pliny*, it was bounded on the north by the *Durius*, now the *Douro*, and on the south by the river *Anas*, now the *Guadiana*^c, in which sense it was not quite so long as *Portugal*; but to compensate this, it was broader, comprehending within the line of its eastern frontier *Norba Cæsarea*, *Pax Augusta*, and *Emerita Augusta*, now stiled *Alcantara*, *Badajos*, and *Merida*^d. We must also observe, that though a great part of *Portugal* was comprehended within the dominions of the *Suevi*, yet these sovereignties were far from being exactly the same, since the *Suevi* were certainly masters of the best part of *Galicia*, but do not seem to have taken in the southern part of *Portugal*; that is, the two provinces beyond the *Tagus*, as we may collect from their having constantly the ancient city of *Bracara*, *Augusta*, or *Braga*, for their capital^e.

The true
etymology
and mean-
ing of the
modern ap-
pellation.

In respect to the modern name of *Portugal*, the etymology and sense of it are very far from being certain or determined. As to the common received opinion, it seems to be founded rather in fancy, than in any kind of proof. It is said, that a great number of *Gauls* landed at *Porto*, from whence it received the name of *Portus Gallorum*, or the port of the *Gauls*,

^a PHILIP CLUVERII, *Introduct. Geograph. lib. ii. c. iii.* PETER BERTII, *Breviar. Orbis Terrarum. p. 4, 5.* JOAN LUYTS *Introduct. ad Geograph. sect. i. cap. vi.*

^b STRABON. *Geographia.*

^c PLIN. *Hist. Natural. lib. iii. cap. i. lib. iv. cap. xxii.* POMPON. MELA. *lib. iii. cap. i.*

^d DIO CASSIUS, *lib. liv.* PLIN. *Hist. Natural. PTOLEM. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. v.*

^e LUDOVIC NONII *Hispania. cap. vi.*

and

and in process of time, that name gradually extended itself over the country, being softened, or rather shortened, into *Portugal*^f. But when this event happened, why these *Gauls* came thither, and what became of them afterwards, lie all buried in oblivion. It is alledged, however, that upon an eminence which overlooks the mouth of the river *Douro*, there stood an ancient town called *Cale*, strong and well peopled but very ill seated for trade, and this occasioned the construction of a lower town, or hamlet, which was called *Portus Cale*, that is, the haven of *Cale*, and in process of time *Portucalia*^g. At length becoming so considerable as to merit an episcopal chair, these bishops subscribed themselves, as the records of ancient councils testify, *Portucalenses*, and the name of the city was transferred to the diocese, which was stiled *Portucalia*^h. It is true, that after this these bishops changed their stile, and wrote themselves *Portuenses*, that is, bishops of *Porto*. But the before-mentioned facts are actually set down in ancient and authentic histories; and as the diocese of *Portucalia* comprehended in a great measure that little country in which the sovereignty originally began, the name extended itself, together with their acquisitions, and has remained to the kingdom, though, in process of time, a new name has prevailed with respect to the diocese, and perhaps this distinction arose from thence.

Portugal, even in its present condition, and with the addition of *Algarve*, is but a small kingdom, though certainly the most considerable of any honoured with that title in *Spain*: but small as it is, we shall in the course of this history demonstrate, that it is incomparably greater than that in which the sovereignty began, and which, to say the truth, was nearly the same with the province between the *Minio* and the *Douro*, small in extent, but happy in situation; and so pleasant and fertile, that it has been sometimes stiled *Medulla Hispanica*, or the *Marrow of Spain*ⁱ. We shall shortly have occasion to describe it more particularly in a manner that will fully justify this appellation; neither ought it to be considered as any diminution of the credit of this monarchy, that it rose from so small and so weak an origin; but quite the contrary, since the same thing happened to the kingdoms of *Oviedo*, *Leon*, *Aragon*, *Navarre*, and *Castile*, as we have already

Great difference between the country originally so called, and that which now bears that name.

^f Hieron CONESTAGGII de Portugal et Castell conjunct. lib. i.

^g Censuræ DUARDI NONII in Joseph Teixeira Libellum de Reg. Portugal Origine, cens. ii.

^h Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR, p. 692, 693.

ⁱ RESENDII Antiq. Lusitan. lib. iii.

shewn, and all from the same cause, as they were gradually increased and enlarged at the expence of the *Moors*, by the prevalence of Christian arms, and by the courage and conduct of a long series of wise and warlike princes, who, by an indefatigable pursuit of honour, aggrandized themselves and their subjects, till by degrees, from inferior titles and small principalities, they rose into the rank of great kings, and extended their own authority and the influence of their subjects into all the quarters of the known world ^k.

From hence it appears the same country has not been both a county and a kingdom.

The reader will discern from hence into how great an impropriety those writers fall who tell us, that *Portugal* was first a county, then a dutchy, and at length a kingdom^l. For this is not at all true of the same country, that is, the territory of which *Henry of Burgundy* gained the possession, in right of his wife and by the gift of her father, with the title of count, never became either dutchy or kingdom: neither do we read in any author of antiquity, that *Henry* or his son don *Alonso*, were stiled dukes, and if they were stiled so in *Latin*, we must consider, that the word *Dux* is differently used as expressing sometimes a dignity, and at others only a command. The truth is, that don *Alonso* having extended his territories, augmented his power, and established his reputation by gaining a glorious and complete victory over the *Moors*, was saluted king by his soldiers in the field, which title was confirmed to him afterwards with great solemnity by his people, as will appear in its proper place^m. But even at this time his dominions were much larger than those left him by his father, and his views incomparably more extensive, many of which he lived to accomplish, and left the rest to be achieved by his successors, to whom he transmitted the regal title and power, and with them that plan of conquest, which was executed in its utmost extentⁿ. To some, perhaps, these particulars may appear very minute, and yet it is for want of descending to these, that, generally speaking, the histories of nations are so indistinctly and confusedly understood, and errors being taken up either through the mistake of facts, or by supplying from conjecture such necessary circumstances as, through a desire of brevity, were omitted, continue afterwards to infect the mind and to produce a series of misapprehensions, that never can be corrected, or purged out.

The *Spanish* and *Portuguese* historians agree, that don *Alonso*, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, and son to Don *Ferdinand* the

^k See the histories of these kingdoms respectively. ^l HEY-LIN'S Cosmography. ^m MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ⁿ BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, VASCONCELLOS.

Great,

Great, bestowed his daughter Donna *Theresa* in marriage upon an illustrious stranger Don *Henry*, and gave him with her the frontier province, which he had conquered from the *Moors*, lying south of the river *Minho* or *Minio*, with the title of count. But notwithstanding their unanimity in this particular, they differ extremely about all the circumstances that relate to it. They cannot agree who this Don *Henry* was, or at what time he came into Spain^o (A). The Spanish

Wide differences in the accounts given by authors as to the foundation of this sovereignty.

• FARIA Y SOUSA Epit. Hist. Port. part 3. cap. i.

(A) In this note we shall endeavour to give the reader a tolerable account who this *Henry* of *Burgundy* was, and at what time he left *France* to go to the court of the king of *Leon* and *Castile*. As to his family, the bishops Don *Roderic Sanchez* and Don *Alonso de Cartagena* (1), assert he was of the house of *Lorrain*, but do not mention who were his parents. *Duardi Galvan*, the ancient chronologist of *Portugal*, affirms he was second son to a king of *Hungary*; which opinion the famous poet *Camoens*, in his *Lusiads*, follows. *Damiannus de Goes*, in the life of king *Emanuel*, says, he was son to *William*, baron of *Jainville*, and duke of *Lorrain*, and *Abida* of *Champagne*. *James de Valera*, and *Antonio Beuter*, bring him from *Constantinople*, grounding their opinion upon the history of *Spain*, writ by king *Alonso*, mistaking a quotation from the archbishop Don *Roderic* (2), who writes, that he was of the *Bisantine* province, meaning *Besancon*, the capital of *Burgundy*, which they take for *Bisantium*, or *Constantinople*. *Wolfgangus Laxius* inclines to think he was of *Lim-*

burg (3). *Duarte Nunex de Leon*, endeavours to prove that he was grandson to *Reginald*, earl of *Burgundy*, by his son *Guido*, earl of *Verneville* in *Normandy*. *Lewis Gallut*, in his history of that earldom, says, he was brother to *Raymond*, both sons to earl *William*. All these doubts are cleared by the chronicle of *Fleury* (4), which being a fragment of *French* history, was writ in the time of this count *Henry*, for the author speaks as an eyewitness of the three suns that were seen at the town of *Seyrs*, on the banks of the river *Garonne*, in the year 1108. It was wrote by a famous *Benedictine* monk, of that convent, and reaches from the year 897, till the year 1110. By this ancient manuscript it appears, that *Robert*, the first duke of *Burgundy*, younger brother to king *Henry I.* of *France*, had, by his wife *Hermengarda*, one only son, called *Henry*, who died before his father, leaving five sons by his wife *Sibila*, daughter to *Reginald*, or *Rainald*, count of *Burgundy*. These were *Hugo*, heir to his grandfather, who became a monk of *Cluni*, and died in the year

(1) *Historia Hispanica et Regum Hispaniæ Anacephalæosis.*

(2) *Roderic Tolan de rebus Hispaniæ, lib. vi.*

(3) *Censuræ Duardi Nonii in Joseph Teixeræ de reg. Portugal Origine.*

(4) *Fragm. historic. a rege Robert. ad Philip. i.*

nish historians are clear, that Donna *Theresa* was the king's natural daughter by Donna *Ximena Guzman*; while the *Portuguese* are as clear, that she was his legitimated daughter, and that Donna *Ximena* was his wife, though divorced from him afterwards by the Pope P (B). There is as little harmony amongst them in respect to the time of this marriage, or of the age

P Histoire generale de Portugal, par Monsieur LEOUVEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 71.

1092; *Eudo*, or *Otho*, who succeeded his elder brother; *Robert*, bishop of *Langres*; *Henry*, of whom we are speaking; and *Reginald*, an abbot. As truth is ever clear and consistent, so this genealogy agrees perfectly with the *French* and *Spanish*, as well as the *Portuguese* history, which it is not possible it should do if it was not truth; it is however strange, that when the *Portuguese* historians had gained so much light as this, with respect to the founder of their sovereignty, they should not be better able to adjust the time of his coming into *Spain*; but contrive to embarrass themselves with a notion of his passing into *Spain* in the reign of king *Ferdinand*, and attending Don *Alonso*, in his exile at *Toledo*, without any shadow of probability, and wholly inconsistent with all the dates mentioned in the history of *Burgundy* (5). To give only one instance, Donna *Constantia* was the daughter of *Robert* duke of *Burgundy*, the sister of *Henry*, father to this count, and she was very young when she married Don *Alonso* VI. in 1080, how

then should her nephew have been almost twenty years in *Spain* before that time? (6) Besides, the time of his coming into *Spain* is so well fixed to the year 1087, that those who adopt the old dates are forced to send him back again out of *Spain* into *France*, in order to conduct those succours (7), which are on all hands allowed to have been sent by *Philip* the first; and the best historians in fixing the time of sending them to 1087 or 1088, have removed all difficulty; so that if we suppose him born about the year 1060, the series of his life will go on regularly (8).

(B) Some *Portuguese* historians affirm, that the mother of their queen Donna *Theresa*, was Donna *Ximena Nunez de Guzman*, the daughter of Don *Garcia*, the third king of *Navarre*. That this prince had a daughter whose name was *Ximena* is true; but she was certainly younger than the mistress of Don *Alonso*, who, according to the *Spanish* historians, brought him this daughter in his youth, it may be before he was married (1). As to the divorce, that is clearly a

(5) Histoire Generale de Portugal, par M. de la Clede

(6) Histoire de

Espanna por D. Juan Ferreras.

(7) Histoire Generale du Royaume de Portu-

gal, vol. 1. p. 8.

(8) Nouvelle Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France,

p. 126.

(1) Cronica del Emperador de Espanna D. Alonso sa cada de un libro antiguo y de muchas Escrituras por Pruden. de Sandoval.

mistake.

age of the parties who contracted it (C). To come at an absolute certainty in all, or indeed in any of these points, is a task of insuperable difficulty, as the ablest and most accurate authors

mistake. He was indeed divorced, and divorced by Pope Gregory the seventh, not from Donna *Ximena*, but from Donna *Agnes*, daughter to the duke of *Guienne*, to whom they suppose that Donna *Ximena* was related; whereas, in truth, Donna *Agnes* was divorced under pretence of her being related to the princess *Aguda* or *Ela*, daughter to our *William* the Conqueror, who died soon after Don *Alonso* had married her by proxy, as appears from the bull of divorce (2). This was in anno domini 1080, and made way for Don *Alonso*'s marriage with Donna *Constantia*, as this did with the king's correspondence with *Burgundy* and *France*, she being daughter of duke *Robert*, and niece to king *Henry*, and consequently the cousin-german of king *Philip*. But besides Donna *Theresa*, the king had another daughter by Donna *Ximena* Nunex, whose name was Donna *Elvira*, whom he likewise bestowed in marriage upon count *Raymond* of *Thoulouse*; and who accompanied her husband into the Holy Land (3); and both these daughters must have been older than Donna *Urraca*, the heiress of her father's dominions.

(C) The little regard some writers have shewn to chronology, has introduced prodigious

confusion, and a variety of irreconcilable dates into this part of our history. As for instance, some have placed this marriage of Donna *Theresa*, with count *Henry* of *Burgundy*, before the year 1072, that is, as early as we can possibly suppose this lady to be born, and immediately on the return of Don *Alonso* from *Toledo* (4); but there are many, who, with *Mariana*, placed the birth of the infant Don *Alonso*, afterwards king of *Portugal*, in the very year where they ought to have placed his mother's marriage (5). If there had been any truth in the first date, and in those to which the same writers extend the life of this lady, she must have been at the time of her death about one hundred (6). It is also owing to these false dates, that the count Don *Henry* is made so much an older man than this princess; and that her son, the infant Don *Alonso*, is considered as disputing the government with his mother, upon his coming out of his minority; when, according to these calculations, he was really thirty-four years of age (7). Where we have no positive proofs, we must be content with conjectures; and if we suppose this lady to be born during her father's misfortunes, and before his first marriage, which

(2) *Histoire de Espagne*, par D. Juan Ferreras. (3) *Roderic. Toletan de rebus Hispania*, lib. vi c. 21. Manuel Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. (4) *Histoire General de Portugal*, par M. de la Cledé.

(5) Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, p. iii. c. 1.

(6) Duarte Nunez en Chron. dos Reis de Port. Mariana.

(7) Manuel de Faria y Sousa,

authors have ingenuously confessed ; but as the reader will see we have taken some pains in this matter, and have from thence been enabled to give at least a probable account of them all, which, if not exactly agreeable to truth, must of necessity come very near it ; and having done this we will now proceed to the thread of our history, without any farther introduction.

Genuine
account of
the manner
in which it
was esta-
blished.

THE king Don *Alonso*, apprehensive that his success in taking the city of *Toledo*, would bring upon him the whole force of the *Moors*, as well out of *Barbary*, as in *Spain*, sent to demand assistance from *Philip* the first of *France*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, whose aunt he had married. Both these princes listened to his request ; and, according to the enterprising temper of the nobility in that age, and the nature of the military tenures then subsisting, Don *Alonso's* desire was no sooner known, than a numerous body of troops was speedily collected for his service, and at their head went *Raymond* count of *Burgundy*, *Henry*, younger brother of *Hugh* duke of *Burgundy*, *Raymond* count of *Thoulouse*, and many others¹. On their arrival at the court of Don *Alonso*, they were received and treated with all possible marks of esteem and respect ; and having shewed, in the course of some years, very high proofs of their courage and conduct, the king resolved to bestow his only daughter the princess *Urraca*, then a perfect child, being at most in her ninth year, upon *Raymond*, count of *Burgundy*, and assigned them the province of *Galicia*, for the support of their dignity¹. This was very probably done at the motion of the queen *Donna Constantia*, who survived only two years. She preferred upon this occasion Don *Raymond*

A. D.
1087.

A. D.
1090.

¹ Frag. Hist. à Rege Rob. ad Philipp. I. ANDR. RESENDIUS, lib. iv. de Antiqu. Lusit. HERNANDO DE PULGAR Historia de la ciudad y obispado de Placentia. Fragment Hist. Franc. ap DUCHESNE, tom. iv. p. 391.

is highly probable, she might be twenty-four when she espoused the count Don *Henry*, somewhat turned of forty when she became his widow, and about sixty at the time of her death (8). This computation will make her ten years younger than her husband, and will perfectly agree with all the dates that are very

judiciously assigned by *Ferreras*, from the ancient historians, such as the archbishop Don *Roderic*, the bishop of *Tuy*, and the old chronicle of *Alcobaza*, in which are contained the most authentic monuments of the *Portuguese* history (9), injudiciously altered and augmented by others.

(8). The reader will observe these are the dates assigned in the text. *toire de Espanna*, § xi.

(9) *Hif-*

to Don *Henry*, because of the alliance in blood between them, which would have rendered their marriage illicit: but it is highly likely, that at the time *Galicia* was bestowed upon Don *Raymond*, the government of the frontiers and of the countries to the south of *Galicia*, were given to *Henry* of *Burgundy*, with commission to further their improvement, by repairing old, and building new towns, and by such other methods as he should devise; to defend the province against the infidels, and to enlarge the boundaries of his jurisdiction at their expence, as occasion should offer, by the king's being in the field with an army. Then a diversion might be expedient or necessary, without any apprehension of the *Moors* entering into confederacies, or suspending those feuds that almost continually raged amongst themselves in order to overwhelm this new establishment, which, in the space of a few years, through the care of this great man, became much more rich and populous than before. Numbers of Christians, who had taken shelter in the adjacent mountains, and had lived there in a desolate and miserable condition, came down to settle in the plains, under his protection: so that by degrees he brought into perfect order the two provinces of *Entre Minho e Douro* and *Tra los Montes*, with a part of that of *Beira*, beyond the *Douro*, at least so much as was held by the *Moorish* king of *Lamego* (D), whom he constrained to pay tribute¹.

ABOUT

¹ MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

(D) The design of this note is to give the reader some idea of the sovereignty possessed by the count Don *Henry*, by a succinct description of the three provinces mentioned in the text, which will be in other respects very useful. The province between the rivers, or as the *Portuguese* call it, *Entre Minho e Douro*, though small, is very fruitful and pleasant. It extends in length about eighteen leagues, and in breadth about twelve: within this space, at the beginning of the current century, there was the archiepiscopal see of *Braga*, the epis-

copal see of *Porto*, three collegiate, one thousand four hundred and sixty parish churches, one hundred and thirty religious houses, richly endowed, six seaports, and two hundred stone bridges. It is divided into four *comarcas* or counties, and the regular militia is fixed at about sixteen thousand men. The province of *Tra los Montes*, or on the other side the mountain, has *Beira* on the South, *Estremadura*, and the kingdom of *Leon*, on the East, *Galicia* on the North, and the province of *Entre Minho e Douro* on the West, very irregular in its form, but well watered,

What the
country
was given
to Henry
of Burgun-
dy with
Donna
Theresa
of Leon.

ABOUT two years after the queen's death, Don *Alonso* be-
ing very desirous to express his affection and esteem for *Henry*
of

ed, and tolerably fruitful. It is about thirty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth: it is divided into four commarcas; and in this province is seated the dutchy of *Braganca*, which was the patrimony of the royal family before their accession to the throne. The settled militia amounts to ten or twelve thousand men. The province of *Beira*, as it lies between the two great rivers *Douro* and *Tago*, is very happily seated, having the ocean on the West, the *Portuguese Estremadura* on the South, the *Spanish* province of the same name on the South-East, the province of *Tra los Montes* on the East, and the river *Douro* on the North. It extends in length thirty-four leagues, and thirty in breadth, and is divided into six commarcas: within this province lies *Lamego*, where the first assembly of the states was held; the episcopal city of *Coimbra* or *Coimbra*, which is likewise an university; and *Viseu*, which is likewise a bishoprick, and was formerly the capital of a dukedom. The country is equally agreeable and fertile, producing corn, wines, and fruits in abundance, and the hills affording excellent pasture to cattle and sheep; the settled militia consists of about ten thousand men (1). The reader will observe, that only part of this last-mentioned province was conquered from

the *Moors* at this time, and that those conquests were very precarious. We must also observe, that tho' there must have been a very wide difference between the condition of those provinces then, and now, yet in respect to their natural advantages arising from the wholesomeness of the air, the fertility of the soil, the great excellency of the rivers and rivulets, they must have been much the same; and this will serve to remove many doubts, under which the reader would otherwise labour, when he finds mention made of such numerous armies in so small a country. It must be also remembered, that during the troubles of *Galicia*, multitudes of people took shelter under the protection of count *Henry*; and that many thousands of Christians, who had lived either independently in the mountains, or in subjection to the *Moors*, took the opportunity of transporting themselves higher, and of occupying those lands of which the Infidels were dispossessed. On the other hand, multitudes of *Moors* chose rather to submit, and to remain in their native country under a gentle tribute, than be exposed to the severities that were exercised by the alcaides in the *Moorish* governments; and to those seditions and revolutions which were the continual effects of their

(1) *Resendii Antiq. Lusitan-Gaspard Alvarez de Lausada. Ant. Vasconcellos Ancepsalensis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanie. Jean Luyts Introduct. ad Geograph. Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal, par Don Juan Alvarez Colmenar. Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rbys.*

of *Burgundy*, gave him in marriage a natural daughter of his, born while he remained in exile at *Toledo*, whose name was *Donna Theresa*; and upon this marriage he gave up in full property, as the *Portuguese* writers assert, all the country of which *Henry* had hitherto held the superintendence, with the title of count, and with permission to conquer what he could from the *Moors*, as far as the river *Anas*, or as the *Spaniards* call it *Guadiana*¹. There may possibly be some reason to doubt the first part of this assertion, because it does not seem consonant to what is styled, Reason of state, that a monarch should bestow absolutely, and without reserving homage, part of his dominions upon a stranger. But with regard to the latter part of the concession, one may take it upon less evidence, since the permitting count *Henry* to keep what he could get by his sword at the expence of the *Moors*, the reduction of whose strength was of great consequence to the king's subjects, was a grace that cost the king nothing, and seems to have added very little to the right that count *Henry* would otherwise have had to what he acquired².

A. D.
1094-

THE count *Don Henry* and his consort *Donna Theresa* fixed their residence in the town of *Guimaraez*, supposed by some to have been built out of the remains of the ancient city of *Araduca*; but certainly very pleasantly situated in the midst of a small, but fertile plain, on the banks of the river *Ave*. The remains of an ancient palace, belonging to some of their successors, are yet visible there; and on account of its having been the ancient capital, the king *Don Denis* grant-

He compels the Moorish king of Lamego to submit, and receive a colony of Christians

¹ *RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. BRANDAN, ED. NUNEZ, VASCONCELLOS, AND. RESEND, Histoire generale de Portugal, par Monsieur LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.*
² *FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, Histoire generale de Portugal, par M. DE LA CLEDE.*

feuds and ambition, as well as the principal sources of their misfortunes. These people, as they were very diligent and industrious, cultivated and improved their lands, and furnished those commodities and manufactures which even in these times maintained a considerable trade, as is apparent from the naval force which it appears from the text they were able to oppose to the joint fleets of *Barbary* and *An-*

daluxia; and in the same proportion that the government became stronger and more secure, all the advantages derived from it must have been augmented; and that they really were so, will be evident from the numerous foundations and endowments made by this prince in the course of his reign, as in their proper place will be hereafter mentioned.

ed

ed its inhabitants an exemption from taxes, which they still enjoy*. The *Portuguese* encouraged by being thus rendered independent, and the presence of a prince of their own, did much upon the borders of the province betwixt the rivers *Douro* and *Minho*, till then not entirely subdued, of which we have no particular account. *Hecha*, king of *Lamego*, being tributary to count *Henry*, rebelled, and drawing together a powerful army, did a great deal of mischief in his territories*. The count, with *Egas Moniz*, or *Nugnez*, a gentleman then famous for his valour and wisdom, afterwards governor to count *Alonso*, marched to recover the booty he had taken, and overtook him in a valley near the monastery of *Arouca*. The *Moorish* monarch, for greater security in case of misfortune, placed his queen *Axa Anzures*, and all the plunder his forces had taken, on the top of a mountain called *Sierra Seca*, and which he judged inaccessible. The Christian army encamped along the river *Alarda*; and *Egas*, seeing the enemy advantageously posted, undertook with a strong detachment in the night to go about the bottom, and so ascending the mountain at break of day, to be ready to fall upon them, whilst the Christian army charged the enemy below. This was accordingly put in execution; and, after an obstinate and bloody fight, the queen was taken upon the mountain, and the king in the plain*. Afterwards becoming Christians, the count bestowed the city of *Lamego* upon them, paying tribute for the same. Upon this the *Moors* rebelling against their king for changing his religion, he fled to *Guimaraez*, to desire assistance of count *Henry*, who, raising forces, marched directly to *Lamego*, which having taken, he restored to that prince, who, fearing in the count's absence his subjects would again revolt, desired him to leave some *Portuguese* to secure the country, which was done accordingly; and the place peopled with inhabitants brought from the province betwixt the rivers *Douro* and *Minho*; that is, old *Galician* Christians, upon whose valour, as well as fidelity, the count *Don Henry* might absolutely depend*.

A. D.
1102.

Donna
Theresa
after her
father's
death af-

THERE are some writers who assert, that count *Henry* being chosen general of the forces that went from *Spain*, made a voyage to the *Holy Land*; and, after performing many glorious actions there, of which, however, there are no authentic testimonies, returned again into his own dominions. We

* Chron. var. Antiq. MAYERNE TURQUET.
SOUSA, FERRERAS, LA CLEDE.
Antiq. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
FARIA Y SOUSA.

* FARIA Y
FARIA Y SOUSA Chron. var.
* BRANDAN,

know

know with greater certainty, that he was actually in *Portugal* ^{sumes the} at the time of the demise of his father-in-law, the King Don *Alonso*; and that soon after this *Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, ^{title of} having attempted, but in vain, the reduction of *Toledo* and *Madrid*, fell into the territories of *Portugal*, and after defeating such forces as those who commanded on the frontiers could draw together, made himself master of *Sentaren*, and several other places in the neighbourhood^a. The reason that count *Henry* did not act in person against the *Moors* was, his being wholly taken up with the disputes in *Galicia*, about the tuition of the young prince *Alonso Raymond*, whom the people of that country had proclaimed their king, and the civil war that was broke out betwixt Donna *Urraca*, queen of *Castile* and *Leon*, and her husband Don *Alonso*, king of *Navarre*: the *Portuguese* writers give us very indistinct and improbable accounts of his conduct^b. Some of them say, that his consort took the title of queen of *Castile* and *Leon*, as being the eldest daughter of the deceased king, and born in lawful wedlock. She might possibly take the title of queen, because, through the courtesy of those times, the daughters of kings were commonly so stiled after their father's decease; but for her entering into any competition with her sister, it seems to be mere fable, or rather calumny, without any foundation, and as to which the most ancient writers are entirely silent^c.

queen, but not of *Castile* or *Leon*.

A. D.
1109.

ON the other hand it is very certain, that her husband, *The death* who never took any higher title than that of count of *Portugal*, assisted queen *Urraca* with all his forces, and this at a *count of* very critical conjuncture, when she was on the very point of being despoiled of her dominions by the king her husband, *Portugal,* whom Don *Henry* forced to raise the siege of *Astorga*, in the *and his* kingdom of *Leon*; and entering into this city, after he had thus happily relieved it, he was seized with a grievous distemper, of which he soon after died^d. His son Don *Alonso*, who was with him in the army, as some writers say, though that is certainly false, caused his body to be removed from *Astorga* to the cathedral church of *Braga*, in his own territories, where it was with great solemnity interred. *Diego de Souza*, who was archbishop in 1513, caused his corpse to be transferred from the place where it was first buried, into a

A. D.
1112.

^a Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^b RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^c FARIA Y SOUSA Chron. var. Antiq. ^d Histoire generale de Portugal, par LE NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

chapel, where he had erected a splendid tomb to his memory, with an inscription full of mistakes as to his country, his family, and his actions°. The *Portuguese* writers, who made him, some sixty-seven, some seventy-seven years of age, are certainly mistaken; for the reasons we have assigned in their proper places. He was a generous, wise, and gallant prince; defeated the *Moors* in seventeen engagements, governed his dominions with equal prudence and justice, and is said to have recommended three things to his successor in his last moments, or rather to have couched these instructions in his testament; *first*, that he should be zealous in promoting and protecting the Christian faith. *Secondly*, that he should treat his subjects as if they were his children, and be very careful in enacting equal and good laws. *Lastly*, that he should attend himself to their execution, and be more especially vigilant to prevent the powerful and the rich from oppressing their weak and indigent neighbours, since the strength of a government consisted in securing and preserving to its subjects the means of subsisting their families comfortably, and in preventing any from becoming so great as to despise, or so poor as to violate the laws through mere necessity^f. At the very time we are writing this, his most faithful majesty of *Portugal* is soliciting at *Rome* the canonization of this prince, of whom we have been speaking, which shews how grateful a sense the people of *Portugal* still retain of the benefits resulting from his administration.

Queen
Theresa
governs
this coun-
try during
the minori-
ty of her
son Don
Alonso.

ACCORDING to the best memoirs, rectified by the comparison and concurrence of events, which are the only certain guides in history, Don *Alonso*, the apparent heir of *Portugal*, was at the time of his father's decease barely entered into the third year of his age: his dominions therefore were governed by his mother queen *Theresa*, and this by a kind of mixed and undistinguished right of dowager of the deceased count, mother of the young prince, and proprietary, as she conceived herself, of this sovereignty as the gift of her father^g. In the administration of public affairs she was assisted by Don *Ferdinand Perez de Traba*, the son of that famous Don *Pedro*, who was governor and protector of the young Don *Alonso Raymond*, king of *Galicia*, son to queen *Urraca*, and nephew to queen *Theresa*, both these princes, *Alonso Raymond*, and *Alonso Enriquez*, being the grandsons of Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon* and *Castile*. The great capacities and moderate disposi-

° E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal.

^f FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^g BRANDAN,

LA NEUFVILLE.

tions

tions of these two able ministers, Don *Pedro* and Don *Ferdinand*, preserved both countries from feeling, at least in an extreme degree, those inconveniencies that usually attend long minorities and the reign of women^h. In *Portugal* more especially this calm continued for nine years, during which there happened nothing so remarkable as to deserve a place in history, except that the queen, by the advice of her minister, took great care of the frontier, and caused the strong fortress of *Souria* to be erected, in order to cover the city of *Coimbra* from the incursions of the *Moors*; which precaution had so happy an effect, that in all this space of time we hear of no attempt made by this busy and martial nation to disturb the peace of the *Portuguese*; though at the same time it must be allowed, that this might be in some measure owing to their being divided into a multitude of little principalities, none of them equal in point of extent or power to that of *Portugal*: so that they were not able to make a war on that side with any probability of success, but by the help of a confederacy; and their chiefs were so seldom upon good terms with each other, that unless insulted by the power of the Christians, this was not easily formedⁱ.

THE tranquillity which both nations enjoyed was disturbed by animosities between the two sisters. Queen *Theresa* insisted, that some part of *Galicia* belonged to her in virtue of her father's grants, or of his last will; and thereupon seized *Tuy*, an episcopal see and a place of some consequence. Queen *Urraca*, when her affairs were brought into some order, determined to recover what she thought was usurped from her, and having assembled a numerous army, went in person into *Galicia*: upon which queen *Theresa* quitted *Tuy*, and being much inferior to her sister in forces, passed the river *Minho*, took shelter in one of her own fortresses, and caused her army to be encamped round it^k. The archbishop of *Compostella*, who had vigorously assisted queen *Urraca*, and without whose assistance she could do nothing, believing she had now done enough, and that her troops might be much better employed than against her sister, demanded leave to retire with his vassals whom he had brought to her assistance. *Urraca*, provoked at this, and recollecting that he had formerly opposed her will, resolved to secure his person; of which queen *Theresa* gaining intelligence, gave that prelate timely notice; but he either suspecting the intelligence, or being willing rather to

Her disputes with her sister Donna Urraca, and her nephew Don Alonso Raymond.

^h Chron. var. Antiq. MARIANA, FERRERAS. ⁱ FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, LA CLEDE.

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN.

suffer

A. D.
1121.

suffer than to desert his prince, accompanied queen *Urraca* in her retreat; who, as soon as she had him in her power, seized and put him in prison; which act of violence having excited a general insurrection, delivered the *Portuguese* from their apprehensions¹. The queen *Donna Theresa*, either suspecting the inclinations of *Don Pelagio*, archbishop of *Braga*, or offended at his not having espoused her cause so warmly as she expected against her sister, seized and threw him into prison; from which however he was quickly delivered by the Pope's bull, threatening her and her subjects with an interdict, in case he was not discharged: and this seems to have been the first signal cause of offence which the queen gave to her subjects. The death of her sister *Urraca* seemed favourable in some respects to her interest, or at least it appeared so, more especially when her nephew *Don Alonso Raymond*, seemed to court her friendship; and in order thereto had an interview with her, in which all differences between their sovereignties were amicably determined^m. But not long after this, that young prince, finding himself obliged to march the whole strength of his dominions against his father-in-law the king of *Navarre* and *Aragon*, queen *Theresa* took this opportunity to cause a body of her forces to repass the *Minho* and to re-possess themselves of *Tuy*; which, however, did not long remain in her hands, *Don Alonso* king of *Leon*, returning with a superior army into *Galicia*, upon which the *Portuguese* thought proper to quit their new conquest, and to secure themselves by a timely retreatⁿ.

A. D.
1126.

*Causes of
Don Alonso
Enriquez dis-
sent with
his mother
queen The-
resa.*

Don Alonso Enriquez, whom his father count *Henry* had intrusted to the care of *Egas Munitz*, received from him an excellent education; and that he might discover to the people that he meant to follow the footsteps of his father, he went, according to the custom of those times, to the church of *Zamora*; and, after going through the usual ceremonies, received there the honour of knighthood^o. Five years were almost elapsed since that time, and some of the *Portuguese* nobility, who either envied *Don Ferdinand Perez*, stiled by some writers count of *Trastemara*, or were really offended with the reports that were spread of his familiarity with the queen, and intention to marry her, and take the title of count of *Portugal*, persuaded *Don Alonso*,

¹ RODERIC Toletan de reb. Espan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. FERRERAS.

^m Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA NEUFVILLE.

ⁿ FARIA Y SOUSA, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, • BRANDAN, E. NUNEZ, ANT. PAEZ DE VIEGAS Principios del Reyno de Portugal, LA CLERE,

who

who was now near eighteen, to vindicate his own right, and to let the people see that he would not tamely submit to such a violation of them. There needed not many arguments to persuade a young prince that he has either a claim or capacity to govern, more especially one whose title was so well-founded in both respects as that of Don *Alonso*. He closed therefore immediately with the proposition that was made him, assumed the sovereign authority, and was, generally speaking, cheerfully obeyed. The queen his mother, however, had not governed so long without having a considerable party in her interests, who were ready to espouse them with their swords. Some, indeed most writers say, that the queen advancing with her army towards *Guimaraez*, the king, without waiting till his governor joined him, engaged them, and was routed; but that afterwards the remains of his army being joined by the troops under the command of *Egas Muniz*, engaged the army of the queen a second time, and gained a complete victory. They farther assert, that the queen being made prisoner by her son, secretly implored the assistance and protection of her nephew Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*; who, marching to her assistance, Don *Alonso Enriquez* gave him battle in the plain of *Valdivex*, and after an obstinate engagement, in which the king himself received two wounds and seven counts were made prisoners, totally defeated his army: from which the flat country where this battle was fought received the name of *Matanca*, that is, the *Butchery*. They then proceed to tell us, that the king of *Leon*, in revenge of this affront, having raised a more potent army than before, came and besieged Don *Alonso* in his capital city of *Guimaraez*, where he must certainly have been taken prisoner, if his tutor *Egas Muniz* had not gone privately to the king of *Leon*, and in his master's name concluded a treaty, by which he promised to do him homage; and upon this the king of *Leon* retired. Lastly they say, that Don *Alonso Enriquez* disavowing this treaty, and refusing to do homage when summoned, *Egas Muniz* presented himself before the king of *Leon* with a halter about his neck, to shew he was ready to suffer the penalty of having deluded that monarch by an engagement it was not in his power to perform. The king, however, admiring his loyalty and fidelity, dismissed him not only unhurt, but with many commendations. All this is very pleasant and entertaining, but we see no sufficient reason to affirm that there is one syllable of it true; but on the con-

A. D.
1128.

P *Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA NEUVILLE, MAY-ERNE TURQUET.*

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C

trary,

*He defeats
her forces,
assumes the
govern-
ment, and
imprisons
his mother.*

trary, the decision of this quarrel between the mother and the son happened in quite a different manner. The nobility about Don *Alonso* persuaded him to give battle to the queen's forces, which he did, and gained a signal and complete victory. Queen *Theresa*, after her defeat, retired into the castle of *Legonaso*, and as for Don *Ferdinand Perez*, he retired with his brother, whom the scandal of those times had reported to have been the queen's first favourite, into *Galicia*. Instead of pursuing them, Don *Alonso* invested the fortress in which his mother had taken refuge, and having obliged her to surrender, caused her to be kept in prison during the remainder of her life, with chains upon her legs^r; which some say she bore very impatiently, and uttered grievous execrations against her son, on account of this ill usage. We are farther told, that she procured the Pope to interpose in her favour, so far as to send a cardinal legate into *Portugal*, who put the count Don *Alonso* and his dominions under an interdict; but with such privacy, that he was in hopes it would not have reached that prince's ears till he was out of his territories. In this he was mistaken; Don *Alonso* had timely intelligence, followed him, and clapping a sword to his breast, compelled the cardinal to absolve him, and to take off the interdict; and then bid him assure the Pope, that he should find him always an obedient son of the church, while he acted towards him with the affection of a spiritual father. It happens unluckily, that for the sake of accuracy, the name of this Pope is mentioned, and said to be *Eugenius III.* instead of *Innocent II.* who then occupied the chair of *St. Peter*, and whose circumstances were such, that if he had been ever so well inclined, he durst not have taken a step of this nature. Upon the whole it is most probable, that Don *Alonso* being well acquainted with the queen's violent temper, judged it expedient to keep her under a gentle restraint, to prevent fresh troubles, till the time of her demise, which happened in somewhat less than two years, upon the first of *November*^s, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and thirty.

Makes several attempts in order to recover what his mother held in Galicia.

Don *Alonso*, count of *Portugal*, having now the full and free possession of his dominions, repulsed with great loss a *Moorish* prince, who, thinking to take advantage of their domestic troubles, had made an inroad, and taken the town of *Francofa*, which, though not without difficulty, Don *Alon-*

^r BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.
MAYERNE TURQUET. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE,
BRANDAN, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

so recovered, and having again defeated the infidels, who attacked him in his return to his capital, he entered *Guimaraez* in triumph, and caused the trophies of his victories to be placed in the principal church. He was very desirous of recovering the places the queen his mother had formerly possessed in *Galicia*, and, under pretence of prosecuting his quarrel against *Don Ferdinand Perez*, he made more than one irruption into that country; but with no great success. At length an opportunity offered that seemed to flatter his hopes. *Don Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, being jealous of the great power of *Don Alonso* king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who assumed the title of emperor of the *Spains*, proposed a league to *Don Alonso Enriquez*, for their mutual advantage. This tempted him to invade *Galicia* a third time with better success than before, since he defeated those who opposed him, and took and fortified several places; but the return of the emperor with a superior army, constrained him to abandon his enterprize, together with his new conquests, in order to retire into his own dominions.

A. D.
1133,

THESE disappointments, together with the news of an irruption of the *Moors* into his own country, engaged this young prince to drop his animosity against the emperor, which proceeded chiefly from his considering him in quality of count of *Portugal* as his vassal, and turn his arms entirely on that side where a *Moorish* king had actually besieged *Coimbra*. His force was so much superior to that of *Don Alonso*, as afforded him little hopes of raising the siege; but the plague, breaking out in the *Moorish* army, destroyed such numbers as enabled him to constrain them to retire: after which he took *Leyria*, which he gave to the monks of the *Holy Cross* of *Coimbra*, from whom the *Moors* quickly took it: but the king not only returned and recovered it, but likewise added *Torres Novas*, *Beja*, *Serpa*, *Moura*, and *Evora*. In all probability, he would have pushed his conquests still farther, if the emperor *Don Alonso* had not entered his country with a numerous army, and begun to lay it waste with fire and sword, *Don Alonso Enriquez* marched against him with all the forces he could raise, and understanding that the count *Don Ramiro*, with a great body of troops, moved at some distance from the emperor, he, by a forced march, surprized and routed him with great slaughter. This, however, did not hinder the emperor from marching directly towards him; but the count

He makes peace with the emperor Don Alonso, and renders his dominions tributary to the Pope,

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, RODERIC Toletan, LUC. Tudens. LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, ⁴ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

A. D.
1137.

being persuaded by some of the nobility about him to offer a treaty, on account of the *Moors* having invaded his territory, the peace was easily made, all places and prisoners taken on both sides being restored. The Pope's legate being very instrumental in this, the count Don *Alonso*, in a high fit of gratitude or piety, declared himself tributary for all his dominions to the holy see, and promised to pay annually in that quality four ounces of gold, as appears from his own letter on this subject to Pope *Lucius* the second ^w.

Ismar,
lieutenant
to the mi-
ramamo-
lin, in-
vades Por-
tugal with
a prodigi-
ous army.

THE progress of the *Christians* in *Portugal* being reported to *Abu-Ali-Texefin*, the miramamolin, or chief monarch of the *Moors* in *Barbary*, he directed *Ismar*, whom some authors call *Ishmael*, his lieutenant in *Spain*, to assemble all the forces of the Southern provinces, and with them to oblige the *Christians* to repass the *Douro*. In consequence of these orders, he directed the alcaides of *Badajoz*, *Elvas*, *Evora*, and *Beja*, to assemble the troops of their respective governments; and having joined these with the forces he brought from *Barbary*, the whole army were very numerous. He was scarce in readiness to march, before he had intelligence that Don *Alonso Enriquez* had passed the river *Tago*, and was in the neighbourhood of a place called *Castro Verde*. This appeared very favourable to the *Moorish* general, as it gave him an opportunity of drawing up his cavalry, in which his strength principally consisted, with all possible advantage, in the plains of *Ourique*; and therefore he took all possible precautions to prevent the *Christians* from repassing the river, and gaining thereby an opportunity of fighting upon more equal terms. However, Don *Alonso* had so early intelligence that he might have retired, to which he was advised by most of his generals, if he had been so disposed; but it seems he declared himself of a contrary opinion. He judged that such a retreat would discredit his arms; and that such a multitude of *Moors* breaking into his dominions might render it impracticable for him to reinforce his fatigued army, so as to be in a better condition to fight than he was at this time, and his soldiers shewing great alacrity, his generals came over to his opinion, and it was determined to wait and receive the Infidels where they were. This resolution being taken, they chose their ground, so as to gain all that could be gained in point of situation; and having thrown up some intrenchments to cover their infantry, divided their horse into four corps, and in this position waited the attack ^x.

A. D.
1139.

^w BALUZ. Miscellanea, tom. ii. p. 320.
SOUSA.

^x FARIA Y

ISMAR divided the *Moorish* cavalry into twelve corps; *Don Alonso* and making sure of the victory, was chiefly intent upon disposing them in such a manner as to cut off all possibility of retreat, and hinder, if it might be done, so much as a single man from making his escape. By thus enlarging his front, he lost, in a great measure, the weight which his superiority might have given him. The *Portuguese* infantry, being attacked in their intrenchments, made so gallant a defence, that the enemy could not force them; and their flanks being covered with morasses, the *Moorish* cavalry, destined to prevent their escape, were of no use. At length the *Moors*, fatigued by repeated and ineffectual assaults, began to fall into confusion, which as soon as the *Portuguese* infantry perceived, they sallied from their intrenchments, and attacked them in their turn with great fury. *Don Alonso* seconded them with his cavalry, and after a bloody and obstinate dispute, which lasted six hours, the *Moors* were totally routed with prodigious slaughter, the nephew of *Ismar*, who had commanded the attack, and the four alcaides already mentioned, being killed upon the spot. Amongst the almost innumerable prisoners that were taken, were upwards of a thousand *Christians*, of those stiled *Moxarabians*, whom, at the request of *Theotonus*, prior of the Holy Cross, *Don Alonso* set at liberty, with their wives and children, and procured them establishments in his territories. This glorious victory, which was indubitably the foundation of the *Portuguese* monarchy, was gained upon the twenty-fifth of *July*; and the anniversary thereof has ever since been celebrated to preserve the memory of so signal a favour vouchsafed to the *Christian* arms by the blessing of Divine Providence.

THIS is as clear and as concise an account, as from the comparison of different authors, we were able to get; but at the same time we must confess, that we have omitted numberless extraordinary circumstances, related with great confidence by the *Portuguese* writers. *Ishmael*, they say, was king of *Ba-dajoz*, and brought with him into the field twenty princes, his vassals, of whom four were in great consideration, in comparison of the other sixteen; who, notwithstanding, had each his corps of troops, so that the whole army amounted to three hundred thousand, according to the most moderate computation; others say, to four hundred and eighty thousand; and

Many fabulous and absurd accounts of the victory in the plains of Ourique.

¹ Chron. var. Antiq. BRANDAN, GARIBAY, MARIANA, VASCONCELLOS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

² MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

some swell them to six hundred thousand : whereas the army of Don *Alonso* is agreed on all sides not to have exceeded thirteen thousand. They tell us likewise, that two days before the battle, their prince, being in no small perplexity, sat down to comfort and compose his mind, by the perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and that having read the story of *Gideon*, he sunk presently into a deep sleep, in which he saw a very old man, in a very remarkable dress, come into his tent and assure him of victory. His chamberlain waking him, told him there was an old man who was very importunate to speak with him. Don *Alonso* ordered him to be brought in, and no sooner saw him, than he knew him to be the old man of whom he had been dreaming. This person acquainted him that he was a fisherman, and had led a life of penance for sixty years on an adjacent rock, where it had been revealed to him, that if the count marched his army the next morning, as soon as he heard a certain bell ring, he should receive the strongest assurances of victory. Accordingly, at the ringing of the bell the count put his army in motion, and suddenly beheld in the East quarter of the sky, the figure of the Cross, and *Christ* upon it, who promised him a complete victory, and commanded him to accept the title of King if it was offered him by the army. Soon after, his forces, being disposed in order of battle, suddenly shouted for joy, and cried out, Long live Don *Alonso Enriquez*, King of *Portugal* : they add, that as a standing memorial of this miraculous event, Don *Alonso* changed the arms which his father had given of a cross azure in a field argent, for five escutcheons, each charged with five bezants, in memory of the wounds of *Christ*; while others alledge, that he gave in a field argent five escutcheons azure, in the form of a cross, each charged with five bezants argent, placed salterwise, with a point sable, in memory of five wounds himself received, and of the five *Moorish* kings slain upon the spot, the name of the place also being changed into *Cabeças de Reies*, i. e. the Heads of the Kings, in order to add a new testimony to the truth of this event. The most irrefragable evidence however of all these wonders, is a charter of the king Don *Alonso*, the first dated in 1142, in which the story of the vision is related upon oath. The *Spanish* critics; notwithstanding, have discovered many inconsistencies in this piece; they find the language intermixed with phrases not then in use : it bears the date of the year of our Lord when that æra had not been heard of in *Spain*; and *John*, bishop of *Coimbra*, signs as a witness before *John*, metropolitan of *Brāja*,

Braja, which is against the rules^a. Upon the whole, all these wonderful circumstances may, without any great fear of violating the regard due to veracity, be considered as so many inventions, by which, instead of adding to the honour of their prince, and of their country, they have really obscured it in a very high degree: nor should we have taken so much pains upon this occasion, if it had not been to have furnished the judicious reader with a sufficient apology for dropping such romantic particulars upon many other occasions.

THERE is, however, under this mass of fable and super-
 stition, a very important matter of fact concealed, which is
 incontestably true; and that is, the proclaiming Don *Alonso*
 king in the plains of *Ourique*, immediately after this victory^b; and it is to heighten and adorn this fact, so as to cut off all
 pretensions of homage to the crown of *Spain*, that so many
 wonders have been fabricated upon his assuming it. It must,
 notwithstanding, be owned, that it is much more probable
 that the regal title was given him after the battle than before,
 though the point is not in itself of any great consequence.
 We shall see hereafter, that even in these rough times, when
 things are fairly and truly represented, mankind were not so
 ignorant and barbarous as to suffer a change in government
 to be made without any further ceremony than a tumultuous
 buzz: for though it be true that Don *Alonso* was stiled
 King, from the very day in which this victory was gained;
 yet the essentials of the regal dignity, together with the form
 and constitution of the monarchy, were not settled till some
 years after; and then in such a manner as will plainly shew,
 that Don *Alonso Enriquez* was a very wise and judicious prince,
 who knew very well what he was doing, and how to conciliate,
 what it is so difficult to bring into a state of true harmony,
 the vigour of monarchical authority, with a just claim
 to liberty in the subject. There was therefore the less need
 to bestow so much false colouring, and disagreeable daubing,
 to set off a character so bright in itself, and which will appear
 so to every critical enquirer, in spite of these officious
 attempts to magnify, which prove in the end rather endea-

Don Alonso
 so Enri-
 quez. salu-
 ted by his
 army King
 of Portu-
 gal.

^a Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, GARIBAY, VASCONCELLOS, E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, GASPARESTACO varias antiquidades de Portugal, Histoire generale de Portugal, par M. DE LA CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^b Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, GARIBAY, DAMIAN DE GOES, BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA.

vours to lessen the reputation of him who founded this kingdom; with which remarkable point of fact we are to conclude this section, and in the next to resume the history of the monarchy, under the long reign of this prudent and victorious prince and his immediate successors.

S E C T. II.

The History of Portugal under the reigns of Don Alonfo I. Don Sancho I. Don Alonfo II. and Don Sancho II.

The king Don Alonfo makes war on the Christians and Moors with various success.

THE defeat which the king of *Portugal* had given the *Moors*, opened to him a free passage for his return into what might be properly stiled his own territories. This battle was fought on the frontiers of *Algarve*, and the rivulets are said to have carried their waters deeply stained with blood into the *Guadiana*, where *Don Alonfo* was not as yet the peaceable possessor of all the countries north of the *Tago*. He judged it therefore convenient to repass that river as soon as he could do it with safety, disposed his army into quarters about *Coinbra*, and dispersed the captives he had made through the interior places in his dominions^a. *Don Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, and regent and possessor in right of his wife of the kingdom of *Arragon*, having proposed a league to *Don Alonfo* against the emperor, his jealousy of that potent prince induced him to accept this offer. In pursuance of his engagements, tho' he had always hitherto been unsuccessful in that country, he entered *Galicia* with a great force, while *Don Raymond* fell upon the emperor's dominions on the other. The scheme of these two princes was well laid, yet neither of them succeeded; as for *Don Alonfo* he met with a severe check in his expedition into *Galicia*, where, in a smart engagement he received a dangerous wound in the loins from the son of count *Ferdinand Gamez*, governor of that province for the Emperor, and at the same time some of the nobility who attended him were taken prisoners. This misfortune, together with the news that the *Moors* had invaded his territories, induced him to retire; and tho' he did this without loss of time, yet he did not arrive early enough to prevent the infidels from taking the fortress of *Leyria*, the garrison of which they put to the sword; and afterwards demolished the place, which affected him with no small concern^b.

A. D.
1140.

^a BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE ^b Chron. var. Antiq. Cronica del Emperador de España Don Alonfo, sacada de un libro antiquo y de muchas Escrituras por PRUD DE SANDOVAL, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

IN order to repair this mischief, the king took the field with a good army, and while his troops were employed in slight excursions, he caused the fortress of *Leyria* to be rebuilt, and rendered stronger than it was before, into which he put a numerous garrison: but it does not appear he undertook any thing farther this campaign^c. The next year the *Moors* invaded his dominions with a very great army, defeated his generals, and carried a considerable number of his subjects into slavery. We have no account where the king was at this time; but it is very certain that he did not renew the war against the emperor, as being perhaps convinced that it served only to give advantage to their common enemy, and to waste his own forces, who fought unwillingly against their neighbours^d. It seems also, that he was embarked in a negotiation at *Rome*, where he was very desirous of getting his new title confirmed, having already meditated another step of importance, as soon as the bulls should be received. In the mean time coming to *Coimbra*, and having a good number of his nobility and forces about him, he formed a project for attacking *Santaren*, which is about twelve miles from *Lisbon*, a large place well fortified, according to the manner of those times, and provided with a numerous garrison. Upon close examination he saw there was little hopes of succeeding by a regular siege, as the *Moors* would have time enough before he could take the place to assemble an army for its relief. He determined therefore to attempt it by surprize, and was lucky enough to succeed in that undertaking, at which he assisted in person. This was a conquest of very great consequence, inasmuch as it procured him a considerable tract of country, covered his frontier, and at the same time restored to their liberty a multitude of his subjects, who were prisoners in the place^e.

THIS glorious success encouraged him to execute without delay a project he had very much at heart. He called an assembly of the states of his dominions at *Lamego*, which consisted of the prelates, nobility, and commons. At the opening of this assembly he appeared seated on the throne, but without any marks of his regal dignity: then *Laurence de Viegas* demanded of the assembly whether in consequence of the election in the plains of *Ourique*, and the briefs of Pope *Eugenius* the third, they were content to have Don *Alonso Enriquez* for their king? To which they answered, they were content. He then demanded, if they desired he should conti-

Renders himself master by surprize of the important post of Santaren.

A. D.

1143.

A. D.

1144.

A. D.

1143.

Causes his titles to be recognized, and the constitution settled, by an assembly of the states.

^c BRANDAN, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET, LE CLEDE.

^d BRANDAN, FERRERAS.

^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE,

MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

nue king only during his life, or that this dignity should remain to his family? They declared their intention to be, that the crown should descend to his heirs male. "This being your intention, added *Laurenco de Viegas*, is it your pleasure that he be invested with the ensigns of royalty?" The people having answered in the affirmative, the archbishop of *Braga* placed the crown upon his head, the king having his sword drawn in his hand. Then turning to the assembly he said, "Blessed be God, who has always assisted me, and has enabled me to deliver you from the hands of all your enemies with this sword, which I shall ever wear for your defence. You have made me a king, and it is but just that you should share with me in taking care of the state. I am your king, and as such let us make laws proper to secure the tranquility of this kingdom." The people having assented, the king consulted with the prelates and nobility, and having framed eighteen short statutes, they were assented to by the people. At length *Laurenco de Viegas* proposed the great question, whether it was their pleasure the king should go to *Leon*, do homage, and pay tribute to that prince, or to any other? Upon which every man drawing his sword, cried with a loud voice, *We are free, and our king is free, and we owe our liberty to our courage, and if he shall at any time submit to such an act, he deserves death, and shall not reign either over us, or amongst us.* King *Alonso* rising up approved this declaration, and declared, that if any of his descendants consented to such a submission, he was unworthy to succeed him, and should be reputed incapable of wearing the crown. The people in their turn having approved the king's declaration, the assembly was dissolved (A).

THE

^f Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, BRANDAN, E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, GASPAR ESTACO, GARIBAY, DAMIAN DE GOES, VASCONCELLOS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(A) It will be of considerable use in the reading the remaining part of this history, and it cannot but afford satisfaction to the reader, to be acquainted with some of the principal points established by these constitutional laws. By the third it is provided, that if the king died without heirs male, his brother shall succeed him, but shall only reign for his life, unless the hereditary right be fixed in his family by a new election. By the fifth, the infants of *Portugal* are called to the succession, in case the male line of the Royal Family fail; but upon condition, that the heirs of the crown marry a nobleman

THE next year the king, very probably by the advice of *By the assistance of the Crosses* the nobility and clergy of his realm, judged it expedient to marry, and made choice of the princess *Mafalda*, or *Matilda*, daughter to *Amadeus* count of *Maurienne* and *Savoy*, which marriage was celebrated with suitable magnificence, and to the

be reduces the city and haven of Lisbon.

nobleman of *Portugal*, who is not to bear the title of king, till after the queen is delivered of an heir male. In all public places, he is to walk on the left hand of the queen, and is not permitted to set the crown upon his head. The sixth runs in the king's name, and in these words: "This last law shall be always observed; and the eldest daughter of the king shall never espouse any other than a *Portuguese* nobleman, that foreign princes may never become masters of this kingdom. If the daughter of the king espouse a prince, or a lord, who is a foreigner by birth, she shall never be acknowledged for queen, because we will not that our people should be obliged to obey a king who is not born a *Portuguese*, because they are our countrymen as well as our subjects, who, without the assistance of strangers, and who, by their own valour, and at the expence of their own blood, have made us their king." By the ninth it is declared, that all of the blood royal, and their descendants, shall be considered as princes. The *Portuguese*, who have fought for the person of the king, for his son, for his son-in-law, or in defence of the standard-royal, shall be reputed noble; but the descendants of *Moors*, the sons of *Jews*, or the children of Infidels, shall not aspire to nobility. If a *Por-*

tuguese is made prisoner of war by the Infidels, and dies without changing his religion in captivity, his children shall be noble; he who has killed the king of an enemy, his son, or who gains a royal-standard, shall *ipso facto*, become noble: the ancient nobility shall be always esteemed as such; and all who bore arms in the glorious battle of *Ourique* shall be reputed noble, and the ancient vassals of the crown. In the tenth are set down the causes for which nobility shall be forfeited; such as, cowardice, treason, striking a woman, perjury, deceiving or concealing truth from the king, blasphemy, robbery, deserting to the *Moors*. Theft was to be punished the first time by sitting in the pillory, the second by being marked in the forehead, for the third offence the thief might be condemn'd to death, but not executed without the king's special command. In case of adultery, the law is very singular, for upon due proof both the guilty persons are to be burnt; but if the husband will forgive his wife he may, and in that case the law pardons the man also. Murder is to be punished with death; as also the rape of a woman noble by birth, who is also to be entitled to the estate of the ravisher. The ravisher of a woman, who is not noble, is by the law obliged to marry her, let the difference in point of rank or riches be what they will.

general

general joy and satisfaction of his subjects^c. When this solemnity was over, he spent some time in visiting the several provinces of his dominions, giving directions for rebuilding such places as either through time, or the rage of war had been brought to decay, and resettling episcopal sees in such places as were known to have enjoyed that honour in the time of the *Goths*; and at this season, in all probability, he made a vow of building a noble monastery for monks of the *Cistercian* order, in case Providence blessed him with success in the great enterprize then in his mind. This was the recovery of *Lisbon* out of the hands of the *Moors*, and it is said, that he invested it with a powerful army: but it is probable the reader will scarce credit this, when he hears the place was defended by a garrison of two hundred thousand men. It is a strange thing that men of parts and learning will disfigure their histories not only with improbabilities, but impossibilities, and put it thereby out of the power of those who came after them to do that justice to the courage and conduct of their ancestors, to which they are sincerely inclined. All we can collect from their relations, amounts to no more than this, that the king undertook this siege with a small army, and that he was able to make but little progress in it, partly from the strength of the place, and partly from the numerous garrison that was in it. At length, very fortunately for Don *Alonso*, a fleet of adventurers, *French, English, Germans, and Flemings*, that were going to the *Holy Land*, anchored at the mouth of the river *Tagus*, whose assistance he demanded, as not altogether foreign to their purpose of making war upon the infidels, and his request was readily granted. Here again we are oppressed with absurdities and impossibilities; for, exclusive of a king of *Denmark*, a duke of *Burgundy*, and other princes whom we cannot find out, we are assured that the fleet and army was commanded by *William Longsword* duke of *Normandy*, who flourished only two hundred years before this event happened. But whoever these adventurers were, or whoever commanded them, it was by their help that king *Alonso* took the place, and having gratified them out of the plunder, they departed well satisfied^d. This conquest so raised this monarch's reputation, and brought such numbers to recruit his victorious army, that before he quitted the field he

A. D.
1147.

^c Chron. var. Antiq. FERRERAS. ^d FR. BOSQUETUS, ROBERT DU MONT, ROGER in Steph. JOMAN. BROMTON, NIC. TRIVET, HELMOD. Chron. lib. i. cap. ix. FARIA Y SOUSA, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

added

added *Maфра, Almada, Palmela, Cintra, Obidos, Trancofo, Alenquez, Serpa, Beja, Elvas, Coruche, and Cezimbra*, to his dominions¹ (B).

THE king, knowing that the glory of a monarch arises no less from the glory of knowing how to keep, than how to acquire, very wisely applied himself to put all the places he had lately conquered into repair, and to provide as far as possible for their protection and preservation. Amongst other cares of this sort, he restored the episcopal see of *Lisbon*, and appointed Don Gilbert, an *English* divine, whom he had prevailed upon to stay with him instead of going to the *Holy Land*, the first bishop of that see². He also founded in the pleasant town of *Alcobaco*,

Governs
his domi-
nions with
great pra-
dence, dili-
gence, and
prosperity.
A. D.
1148.

¹ *Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.*
² *FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRBRAS, LE CLEDE.*

(B) The conquest of *Lisbon* was the most remarkable event of this reign, and it would require some sheets to discuss all the particulars that relate to it, more especially who those strangers were that so seasonably assisted Don *Alonso Enriquez* in the reduction of it. All historians agree, that the *English* made up a great part of them. The town of *Villa-Franca* was peopled by them, and they called it *Cornwall*, either in honour of the country from whence they came, or, which seems to be more probable, from the rich meadows in its neighbourhood, where prodigious herds of cattle are kept, as in the *English Cornwall*. *Almada*, on the other side the *Tagus* over against *Lisbon*, was also peopled by them; and the king also gave them a great part of the country in property (1). With respect to *Lisbon*, it was the most considerable conquest he could have made, as it

put into his hands a most noble port, and secured to him the possession of the whole province of *Estremadura*; of which we will first give a succinct account, and then add a few remarkable heads in respect to this city. This country is divided into two unequal parts by the river *Tagus*: it is bounded on the North by the province of *Beira*, on the East by that of *Alentejo*, on the South by the same province, and by the ocean, which likewise bounds it on the West. It is computed to be thirty-five leagues in length, and eighteen in breadth, and is divided into six commarcas. The soil of this province is excellent, and the climate admirable, so that pasturage, arable land, and vineyards, are equally fruitful, the prospect finely diversified, and all the towns and villages seated therein equally wholesome and pleasant (2). The city of *Lisbon* is at present distinguished in

(1) *Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys, p. 273, 280, 281.*
(2) *Merula, p. 1. Geogr. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 31. Anar. Resendius in Antiq. Lusitan.*

almost

Alcobaco, so called from its standing between the two rivers *Alcoa* and *Baca*, in pursuance of his vow, a royal convent, which was amply endowed, and which he intended for the burial place of the kings of *Portugal*. He prosecuted the war against the infidels without relaxation; and sent an ambassador to *Rome* to support his cause against the emperor, as well as that of the archbishop of *Braga*, with whom the archbishop of *Toledo* had a long suit about the primacy¹. Many years after, that we may put an end to this subject, Don *Alonso* procured a bull from Pope *Alexander* the third for the confirmation of his regal dignity: all steps of this kind being directed to the same end, which was freeing his country from all vassalage to the crown of *Leon*, on account of part of it being formerly annexed to the government of *Galicia*. If the reader is desirous of knowing how the Popes came by a power of bestowing kingdoms, all we can say is, that from the time of Pope *Gregory* the seventh, they assumed a power of bestowing all countries in the hands of infidels; asserting that, when they were recovered, they belonged of right to the Holy See. It is, however, highly probable, that so wise a prince as Don *Alonso* was not at all the dupe of this strange notion; but very prudently made use of the Pope's authority against the claim of the kings of *Leon*, as believing that their bulls was a cheaper and more effectual way of supporting his claim to in-

¹ Chron. var. Antiq. Cronica del Emperador de España Don Alonso, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

almost all the means by which a place can be rendered famous. It is not only the capital of a province, and of the kingdom of *Portugal*, and the royal residence, but is also the seat of a patriarch, and of the first parliament in the kingdom; besides, it has one of the finest ports in *Europe*, and is, and has been always a place of very great trade. In point of situation, it is pretty irregular, as it is generally said to be built upon seven hills; but notwithstanding this, the streets are many of them very regular, and the

houses very well built. It contains forty parish churches, twenty convents, and eighteen nunneries. It is fortified by an old *Moorish* wall, flanked by seventy-seven towers; comprehends between thirty and forty thousand houses, and is about six miles in length, and fourteen in circumference. The air is wonderfully healthy, and the season so temperate, that people live there to a great age; and roses and other odoriferous flowers blow there all the year long (3).

(3) *Damian Göes Descript. Olissip. Linseb. Voyag. Delices de l'Espagne et Portugal, par D. Juan de Colmanar, p. 747.*

dependency

dependency than armies: for it does not appear, that the tribute stipulated to the pontiffs, was ever regularly paid them; and, in process of time, the kings of *Portugal*, as well as other princes, distinguished between the spiritual and temporal power, allowing the former to be in the Pope, but asserting the latter to belong to themselves, without account to any, save God and their subjects^m.

It would be of little consequence to the reader, supposing it was practicable, as indeed it is not, to have an exact detail of all the expeditions made by the king *Dón Alonso* into the territories of the *Moors*; and on the other side, the history of their excursions into the dominions of *Portugal*, in which the same places were taken and retaken almost every year, with singular and extraordinary circumstances. We will content ourselves then with saying, that having with great courage and indefatigable diligence cleared the province of *Estremadura* and *Beira* from infidels, he became entirely master of four of the six provinces that compose the kingdom of *Portugal*, and raised the reputation of his arms to a very high degree, in an age when courage was most respected, and in a country where the most authentic proofs of it were given by as brave and gallant commanders as any history have recorded. In saying this, we by no means intend to exclude the *Moors*, who certainly defended their country with great spirit and resolution, as appears by the length of time it required to drive them out of those conquests which they originally obtained almost within the compass of a single year. We must also assert, though the *Portuguese* historians furnish us with but slender proofs upon this head, that he was no less provident in peopling and improving, than enterprizing in the acquisition of territories: and on this head it may not be amiss to observe, that it was certainly one maxim of his policy to invite and allure strangers, who either came into his country on the account of trade, or, during the long progress of the holy war, put into his ports for refreshment, to remain and settle amongst his subjects; of which, though we have but a few, and those dark and perplexed, hints in their histories, yet we have a clear and satisfactory proof in the language of the *Portuguese*, which consists of a mixture of *Spanish*, *Latin*, and *French*, with some sprinklings of other languages, which sufficiently denote their being a mixt people. Neither is there any imputation upon them; but quite the contrary, since in

Enlarges his territories, restores decayed cities, and improves his dominions, &c.

^m FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

those days it was not the low and vulgar, but the bravest and the best men that quitted their own countries, to signalize themselves in other climates ; and very probable the most moderate and prudent made it their choice to stay in so fine a country, and to carve out their fortunes under the protection of so generous a prince, who piqued himself upon being equally the protector of letters and arms ⁿ.

Is very unfortunate in his war against his son-in-law Don Ferdinand king of Leon.

He was seconded in all his great and good designs by his queen *Mathilda*, a princess equally famous for her exquisite beauty, and singular piety. She was also conspicuous for her great capacity, which she discovered in the management of civil affairs, when the protection of his subjects called the king her husband into the field. By her he had a numerous offspring, which enabled him to strengthen his interests by great alliances. His eldest daughter *Donna Mafalda*, or *Mathilda*, he married to *Don Alonso* king of *Aragon*; his second, *Donna Urraca*, to *Don Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, the son of his old antagonist the emperor *Don Alonso* ; and the third, *Donna Theresa*, to *Philip* earl of *Flanders* ^o. The marriage of his second daughter did not prevent him from having disputes with his son-in-law *Don Ferdinand*, who, as we have shewn in another place, had the good fortune once to make him prisoner, and the generosity and good sense to remember that he was his father-in-law, and to forget that he had been his enemy. We have also shewn, that when this misfortune befel him, he met also with another, that of breaking his leg, which, through his impatience, rendered him ever after so lame that he was unable to mount on horseback ; which the superstitions in those days ascribe to the curses of his mother : but some writers, who were perhaps better informed, give us another account of the matter. They say, that his impatience to recover his liberty, induced him to submit to the hard condition which *Don Ferdinand* imposed, of coming in person to *Leon*, there to do homage for his dominions as soon as he should be able to mount on horseback ; and that for this reason he ever afterwards affected to drive in a calash, and would never get on horseback more ^p. This did not at all abate his military ardour ; for notwithstanding this inconvenience, joined to the weight of years and infirmities, his courage transported him into the field, wherever the safety or the interest of

ⁿ Chron. var. antiq.

^o Histoire general de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. CHRON. MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^p FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, LE CLEDE.

his people called him ; so that there was no relaxation in the whole course of his reign, but the same activity distinguished the latter, that had done honour to the earlier part of his administration. It is true, that the infant Don *Sancho* was a great stay and relief to his father, whom he very much resembled in the impetuosity of his valour, and his early affection for a military life ; but as this heat perhaps made him unfortunate in his first enterprizes, so repeated checks made him more cautious, and taught him that to be a great captain, conduct was at least as necessary as courage ; and as he derived the former from nature, so by degrees time and experience taught him the latter⁹.

TOWARDS the latter end of the king's reign, an opportunity seemed to present itself, of obtaining office for all an entire release from the disagreeable pretensions of the king of *Leon*, and this was the quarrel between that monarch and his nephew Don *Alonso* of *Castile*. The latter sought the friendship of *Portugal*, and Don *Alonso Enriquez* closed too readily with the proposal. Don *Ferdinand* of *Leon* having intelligence of the measures they had concerted, and that the infant Don *Sancho* was advancing towards *Ciudad Rodrigo*, assembled his troops on the frontier with such diligence, that he was enabled to attack the infant very unexpectedly, and, after a very warm dispute, defeated him^r. The Portuguese writers are silent upon this head, though in its consequences this untoward event proved very beneficial to their country: for Don *Ferdinand* understanding that the infant, piqued at his disgrace, was recruiting his forces with great diligence, he gave him to understand, that they might be much better employed against the infidels, who expecting the issue of this war, remained careless and unprepared. Don *Sancho* made proper use of this salutary advice, and after making some motions purely for amusement, made a sudden irruption into *Andalusia*, and penetrated as far as *Triana*, which is one of the suburbs of *Seville*. The Moorish alcaides assembled as great a force as they were able, in order to attack him on his retreat. The infant Don *Sancho* having fatigued them first by the celerity of his march, at length chose a strong camp, and having given his troops some time to repose, drew them out; and offered the enemy battle ; in which being victorious, he returned into *Portugal* with spoils to an immense value^s. The next year *Aben Jacob*, lieutenant for the mirammolin, to revenge

Embarked
at the close
of his reign
in wars
with the
Christians
and with
the Moors.

A. D.
1178:

⁹ BRANDAN, GARIBAY, DAMIAN DE GOES, LA NEUFVILLE; FERRERAS, MARIANA. ^r Chron. var. Antiq. ^s Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE:

this affront, made an irruption into *Portugal*, and besieged *Abrantes*, on the bank of the *Tayo*; but upon the infant Don *Sancho*'s advancing towards him with the troops of *Portugal*, they retired. The year following the mirammolin sent both a fleet and an army out of *Barbary*, and expressly directed they should be employed in a joint expedition against *Portugal*. Don *Fuas Raupino*, who commanded on the frontier, and who had a stronger corps of troops than the *Moors* expected, posted them behind the rocks adjacent to a little castle, which *Gama*, alcaide of *Merida*, who commanded the infidels by land, must of necessity attack, and while he was busy in this service Don *Fuas* fell upon him behind, routed his forces, and sent him and his brother prisoners to the old king of *Coimbra*. After this the same gallant officer took the command of the fleet, and having routed one of the enemy's squadrons, sent nine of their gallies to *Lisbon*, and then proceeded with twenty-one sail to engage the *Moorish* fleet, composed of fifty-four large gallies. This act of temerity cost them dear; for the *Moors*, having drawn his small squadron towards the center, surrounded and destroyed them, so that the sea, which had so lately furnished him with trophies, now supplied him with a tomb^t.

A. D.
1180.

Gains a
glorious
and com-
pleat vic-
tory over
the latter
at Santa-
ren.

THE war was continued without any very remarkable events for the next three years; during which *Joseph* king of *Morocco*, and emperor of the *Almohades*, having transported at several times both men and military stores into *Andalusia*, at length followed in person, and having collected a prodigious army under the command of thirteen alcaides, swept all before him as far as the *Tayo*. He presented himself before *Santaren*, into which, not able to keep the field, the infant Don *Alonso* had retired with a choice body of troops. There he sustained for the space of a week several assaults; and, notwithstanding the great superiority of the infidels, repulsed them with loss, till, as the *Spanish* writers say, he was relieved by Don *Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, and the archbishop of *Campo-stella*; but, as the *Portuguese* writers affirm, by his father Don *Alonso*, by whom the *Moors* being totally defeated, the mirammolin having received a wound from the hand of the infant Don *Sancho*, perished in repassing the river. There are indeed very strange variations in the different recitals we meet with even in ancient authors concerning this battle, and the princes who were present therein; for some will have the *Moorish* monarch to have perished by a fall from his horse,

^t Chron. var. Antiq. BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TROUBET.

and

and others will not allow that there was any fight at all; but that the *Moorish* army, fatigued with the siege of *Santaren*, and much diminished by the losses received in their several assaults, abandoned their baggage and their camp on the approach of the *Christians*, and in the confusion of their precipitate retreat their mirammolin came by his death, concerning which there were various reports. This decisive stroke was given upon *Midsummer-day*; and the consternation of the infidels was so great that they left the *Portuguese* at liberty to improve the interior part of their country, and to fortify their frontiers all the next year^u.

THIS repose was very seasonable to the good old king, who passed the time at *Coimbra*, surrounded by his nobility and prelates, with whom he concerted the properest means for preserving the territories he had gained by his arms, and the title bestowed upon him by his people, without impeachment of any kind, till being quite worn out with cares and fatigue, he departed this life, to the great sorrow of his subjects, on the sixth of *December* one thousand one hundred and eighty-five; having governed *Portugal*, from the time he assumed the sovereign authority, fifty-seven years, and as a king in the forty-seventh year of his reign^w. Some *Portuguese* historians make him ninety-one, others ninety-three years of age; but according to our computation, which likewise agrees with the most accurate accounts, he was in the seventy-sixth year of his age at the time of his demise (C). His body was interred with

Dies with the universal regret of his subjects, after a long and prosperous reign.

^uANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitaniz. BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, Don ROGERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LE CLEPE. ^w BRANDAN, Chron. var. Antiq. Annal Toletan. Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, GARIBAY, DAMIAN DE GOES, VASCONCELLOS, E. NUNEZ, GASPAS ESTACO, ANT. PAES DE VIEGAS, Monarchia Lusitana, FERRERAS,

(C) In this note we pretend to assemble various particulars relating to the person, character, and private history of Don *Alonso Henriquez*. In the first place, it is reported that he was born with both his legs growing together, and that he was cured by the prayers of his tutor *Egas Nunez* (9). One may, however, collect from hence, that even from his birth there was

(9) *Brandan, Monarch. Lusitan. Faria y Sousa.*

with great funeral solemnity in the church of the *Holy Cross* at *Coimbra*: and we find in the works of an esteemed histo-

something amiss about his legs; so that there is no need of introducing a judgment, or any thing stupendous or miraculous, to account for his weakness and infirmity in his old age. According to the pictures that are preserved of him, he was of a gigantic size, not less than seven foot high, his visage long, his eyes large, black, and full of fire, his mouth wide, his complexion good, and his hair somewhat redder than his fathers (1). He instituted two orders of knighthood: the first was that of the wing, because in the battle of *Santaren*, against the *Moors*, he saw a winged arm fighting near him, which he took to be that of *St. Michael*. He instituted it at the monastery of *Alcobaza*, upon his going thither for a month, after he had obtained that victory (2). The badge of this order was a scarlet wing in a field of gold, its patron *St. Michael*: the prelate of the order was the prior of *Alcobaza*, who administered the oath to the knights companions; these were the king and the principal nobility: and the principal duty was to guard and cover the king's standard whenever it was carried into the field. As the king gave no lands for the support of this foundation, though the first knights were persons of the greatest distinction in his dominions, they proved notwithstanding the last (3). In *Portugal*, as well as in *Spain*, honours, if unwatered by royal

bounty, have the misfortune to be unsought. The other order was that of *Avis*; of which we shall speak more largely in another place, as it still flourishes in that kingdom with honour. It is also reported, that he received the order of *St. James of Campostella*, in a full assembly of the states, and by their consent (4). He was very generous to the knights templars, and to the knights of *St. John* at *Jerusalem*, and was extremely respected in quality of an accomplished knight throughout all *Europe*, which may be one probable cause of the many absurd and incredible stories that we are told of his military exploits (5). These obscure and throw into shade other parts of his character, that we have reason to wish had been better explained. The constitutions of *Lamego*, if they be as they are generally held authentic, do not speak his times so barbarous as we find them commonly represented; and in this respect they are particularly remarkable, that through the whole record the king proposes, the prelate and peers deliberate, and the commons approve. He took care to have these laws, as well as his own election, sanctified by bulls from *Rome*. He knew they could do him no hurt; and it appears plainly that through the course of his reign he lived not only in a good but close correspondence with the holy see.

(1) *Epítome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iii. c. 2.

(2) *Vasconcellos*,

Faria y Sousa.

(3) *D. Nunex de Leon, as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal*.

(4) *Manuel Faria y Sousa Epítome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iii. c. 2.

(5) *Robert de Monte, Nic. Trivet, Chron. Fortalicium Fidei*.

rian², a description of the funeral lamentations at the death of this monarch, which differs but very little from those that were in use not very long ago in countries now under the dominion of the crown of *Britain*. This shews that these customs were derived from a more ancient people, who, by conquest or transmigration, became possessors of all these countries.

DON *Sancho* succeeded his father in the flower of his age, being then in his thirty-first year. With him was seated on the throne *Dulcia*, the daughter of *Raymond* count of *Barcelona*, and the sister of the king of *Arragon* (D). It must appear strange,

* FARIA Y SOUSA.

Don Sancho I. succeeds with much reputation, and governs very wisely.

(D) Don *Sancho* having married, in the lifetime of his father, Donna *Dulcia*, daughter of *Raymond Berenger*, count of *Barcelona*, had by her Don *Alonso*, his successor; and *Ferdinand*, who by the marriage of *Joanna*, the daughter of *Baldwin*, emperor of *Constantinople*, became earl of *Flanders*. The French monarch, *Philip Augustus*, is said to have been very instrumental in making this match; but he made him pay dear for it, by the cession of *Airand St. Omer's*. This occasioned a quarrel between them, in which, tho' *Ferdinand* was the aggressor, *Philip* had the advantage, and took from him great part of his country. He was taken prisoner by him in the battle of *Bouvines*, and remained long in captivity. He was afterwards set at liberty, and restored to his dominions by queen *Blanch* (6). Don *Pedro*, the third son of king *Sancho*, was born in 1187, and made a great figure in the world, both in prosperity and adversity. He married the countess of *Urgel*, and, as we have shewn elsewhere,

held for a time the kingdom of *Majorca*. Don *Henry*, the fourth son, died young. Donna *Theresa*, became queen of *Leon*; but her marriage being annulled by the Pope, she retired to the monastery of *Lorvam*, where she died with the reputation of a saint. Donna *Mafalda*, or *Matilda*, married *Henry* the first, king of *Castile*; but her marriage had the same fate with that of her sister. She founded the monastery of *Arouca*, where she died in 1290. Donna *Sancho* was abbess of *Lorvam*; she founded at *Alenquer*, the first monastery of *Franciscans*, in the lifetime of St. *Francis*, as he is called. Donna *Blanca*, stiled the lady of *Guadalajara*, lived and died in *Castile*; from whence her body was brought into *Portugal*, and buried at *Coimbra* (7). Donna *Berengara*, espoused *Waldemar* the second, king of *Denmark*; and accompanying that monarch into the field, was killed by an arrow in 1220 (8). By his mistress Donna *Maria Anes de Fornellos*, the king had *Martin* of *Portugal*,

(6) *Paul. Emil. Sainte Marthe, Histoire generale de la maison de France, Maser, Marchant.*

(7) *Brandan. Mo. arch. Lusitan. Faria y Sousa.*

(8) *Histoire generale du Royaume de Portugal, par M. Lequien de la Neufville.*

strange, that this prince, who before his accession was so extremely restless and unquiet, that he was almost continually in the field, from the moment he was seated on the throne, became a lover of peace, and began to apply himself with great vigour, to repair the cities that had suffered most by the war, and to repeople the country round them. He was also very solicitous in respect to their government, appointing magistrates every where, granting charters, and marking out, with great exactness, the several districts that were to depend upon every great town in his dominions. His delight in, and steady attention to things of this nature, by which in the space of a few years he entirely altered the appearance of his territories, and out of ruined hamlets, and a country frequently ravaged by barbarous enemies, brought well-built towns and innumerable villages to the spectator's eye, procured him the glorious title of restorer of cities, and the father of his country. He was likewise very solicitous in providing proper alliances for his family; and with this view very willingly bestowed his daughter Donna *Theresa* on the king of *Leon*, without considering the misfortunes that had arisen from the marriage of his own sister Donna *Urraca* with the father of this young prince, by which Donna *Theresa* stood in so near a relation to him, as brought the like difficulties and distresses upon them. So blind is ambitious policy, even when it pretends to foresee things at a great distance !

Gains the
adventu.

A fleet composed for the most part of *English* vessels, but having on board a great body of adventurers of all sorts, bound

Y ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæsis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanæ, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LE CLEDE, Annal Toletan FERRERAS.

count of *Trafemara*, who commanded the armies of the king of *Leon*, against his brother Don *Alonso* and Donna *Uracca* of *Portugal*. By another mistress of his, Donna *Maria Paex de Ribeira*, the king had *Martin Sanchez*, who became afterwards count of *Trafemara*, and high-steward of *Leon*; *Gilor Giles Sanchez*, who became an ecclesiastic; *Ruy Sanchez*, killed in the battle of *Porto*; Donna *Uracca*, married to *Laurence Suarez*;

Donna *Theresa*, who married *Alonso Tollez*, from whom are descended the noble family of *Monefes*, counts of *Mariaiva*; and Donna *Constantia*, who founded the monastery of St. *Francis* at *Coimbra*, on the banks of the river *Munda* (9). It may not be amiss to observe, that the king had these children by Donna *Maria Paex*, before his marriage, and his son and daughter, by Donna *Maria Anex*, after the queen's demise.

(9) *Faria y Sousa*, la Neuville, le Clede.

to the *Holy Land*, entering into the river of *Lisbon*, was very kindly received and supplied with all sorts of refreshments by the king *Don Sancho*, who took this opportunity of soliciting them to assist him in a design he had formed for attacking the city of *Silves*, in *Algarve*: to which they readily yielded. He joined a squadron of his own galleys, and marched a body of troops by land; and though the place was well defended, it was at length taken, and the *English*, according to their agreement, rewarded with the plunder, which was very rich^z. This so alarmed *Jacob Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, that he passed the next year from *Afric* into *Spain*, with a great body of troops, and having joined the forces raised by his alcaides, passed the *Guadiana*, and laid siege to *Silves*; but an *English* ship being in the harbour, all that were on board joined the garrison, and by their assistance the place was preserved. The king of *Morocco* then marched to *Santaren*, which was brought into great distress; but another fleet of adventurers arriving happily in the harbour of *Lisbon*, the king, by their help, and with the assistance of his son-in-law *Don Ferdinand* of *Leon*, forced the *Moors* to retire^a. The next year, however, the emperor of *Morocco* returned into the kingdom of *Algarve*, with such a superior army, that he not only recovered *Silves*, but all the places the *Portuguese* had taken in that kingdom; while *Don Sancho* was forced to act upon the defensive. The war that followed between the *Moors*, and the monarch of *Castile*, diverted their forces from the dominions of *Portugal*; but a body of troops that *Don Sancho* sent as auxiliaries to the prince before-mentioned, were cut to pieces in the fatal defeat at *Alarcos*^b. The kingdom of *Portugal* having been put under an interdict by the Pope, on account of the marriage of the king of *Leon* with the infant *Donna Theresa*, obliged the two monarchs to submit to the sentence of divorce; upon which, that innocent and unhappy princess returned to her father's court^c. The arrival of a fleet of *German* and *Flemish* ships, furnished the means of recovering *Silves* once again out of the hands of the *Moors*; but *Don Sancho*, being sensible of the difficulties that would

pers who
touch on
his coasts,
to render
him impor-
tant ser-
vices.

A. D.
1189.

A. D.
1190.

A. D.
1191.

A. D.
1195.

^z E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, VASCONCELLOS, FARIA Y SOUSA, JOHAN BROMTON, ROG. HOVEDEN, FERRERAS.

^a Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, LE CLEDE.

^b RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. LUC. TUDENS. Chron. FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, VASCONCELLOS.

^c Epist. Innocent III. LUC. TUDENS. Chron. FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

attend keeping it, caused it to be demolished. He then set himself to form a regular frontier for the protection of his subjects; and while he was thus employed, the queen Donna *Dulcia* died, to the great grief of the king, and of the whole nation ^d.

*Sustains
his govern-
ment, un-
der a long
train of ca-
lamities, by
his steady-
ness.*

IN the course of this king's reign, there happened, as all the ancient writers agree, a long train of grievous calamities, which were considered as so many judgments from heaven; such as famines, pestilences, earthquakes, feuds amongst the nobility, and great quarrels and disputes amongst the clergy. These the monks took care to attribute to the obstinacy with which the king had opposed the marriage of his daughter, and to some other differences with the court of *Rome*; but these calumnies made no impression except upon the vulgar. The king Don *Sancho* was in truth so far from being at all instrumental in bringing evils upon his people, that it was entirely owing to the vigilance and prudence of his conduct, that they did not suffer much more by these calamities, which were of such a nature, as in conjunction with the incursions of the infidels, must have ruined the kingdom, under an administration less frugal or less attentive to the welfare of the subject. Don *Sancho* was in reality the author of their domestic œconomy; he settled the limits of dioceses, and obliged their prelates to be content with them; he brought all the grants made to monasteries into exact order; he settled commanderies for all the knights of different kinds that were established in his dominions; he abolished many bad customs that had been long in use, and others that had been lately borrowed from the *Moors*, from strangers, and from those who resorted to *Portugal* on many accounts; he connived, in some measure, at the sanguinary contentions amongst his nobility, that, by weakening their forces, his authority might at length take place, without any shew of tyranny, and with the general approbation of the wiser and better part of his subjects ^e.

*Reduces
Elvas, and
dies for
those times
immensely
rich.*

HIS last enterprize was the reduction of *Elvas*, which the mirammolin, during the time of his superiority, had recovered, and with the conquest of which the king was extremely pleased ^f. He caused the churches to be purified, the fortifications to be repaired, and, by granting many privileges and immunities, invited thither a multitude of new inhabitants.

^d Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^f BRANDAN, VASCONCELLOS, LA NEUFVILLE.

He

He is reputed to have been the best œconomist that ever sat upon the throne of *Portugal*; for, without oppressing his subjects with taxes, and being esteemed rather liberal than avaricious, he left behind him a treasure of upwards of seven hundred thousand crowns, in ready money, besides fourteen hundred marks of silver, and one hundred of gold plate, which he disposed of some time before his death, by his last will and testament; for the due performance of which he took the infant Don *Alonso's* oath. Authors are not perfectly agreed as to the time of his death; those who are most accurate in other things fix it to the month of *March*, in the year one thousand two hundred and twelve, when he had reigned twenty-six, and lived fifty-seven years. He was interred, by his own command, with much less pomp than his father, on the left side of the altar of the church of the *Holy Cross*, in *Coimbra*, Don *Alonso* lying on the right. His body being taken up four hundred years after, by order of the king Don *Emanuel*, that it might be placed in a new tomb, erected to his memory, was found uncorrupt². A circumstance singular and worth recording, independent of any superstitious prejudices.

DON *Alonso* succeeded his father at the age of twenty-seven, *Alonso II.* or thereabouts, and is distinguished in the *Portuguese* history seated on by the surname of *the Fat*. At the very entrance of his reign the throne, he did two very popular acts; he sent a body of infantry to and, by the assistance of the king of *Castile*, who behaved with great reputation in the famous battle of *Navas de Tolosa*; and he gave the castle of *Avis* to the knights of that order, since distinguished by this title, upon which Don *Ferdinand Yanez*, their grand-master, removed thither from *Evora*^h. But notwithstanding this, the lustre of his reign was eclipsed in the very dawn. His father had observed, that he had no great tenderness for his brethren and sisters, which induced him to put the former as much out of his power as possible, by making provision for them in money and jewels; and to the latter he gave some of the best places in the kingdom, with their revenues. To Donna *Theresa*, queen dowager of *Leon*, he left *Monte-major* and *Esquerria*; and to Donna *Sancha*, *Alamquer*. The king laboured to persuade them, that it was not in his father's power to dismember his dominions; and when he found his eloquence vain, he had recourse to arms. The

² FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES, E. NUNEZ, GARI-
BAY, FERRERAS. ^h BRANDAN, RODERIC TOLETAN de
reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudeus. Chron. FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF-
VILLE, LE CLEDE.

two princesses, who were much favoured by the nobility, defended themselves vigorously; and at the same time, applied themselves to the king of *Leon*, and to Pope *Innocent* the third, for their interposition, which they obtained. Don *Ferdinand* entering the dominions of *Portugal*, from *Galicia*, with an army, and the pontiff threatening an excommunication, Don *Alonso* endeavoured to defend himself against the one, and to excuse himself to the other. Authors differ about the success of the war with *Leon*; but they agree, that by the mediation of the crown of *Castile*, these differences were at last appeased: but however, the peace of the royal family was so far from being restored, that the infant Don *Ferdinand* retired to the court of *Castile*, and the infant Don *Pedro*, who had served in the army of the king of *Leon*, withdrew after the peace, and demanded the protection of the mirammolin¹. These events created great jealousies and heart-burnings amongst the *Portuguese* (E), some being moved by the king's

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(E) In his father's lifetime, the young infant Don *Alonso* married Donna *Urraca*, daughter of *Alonso*, the noble king of *Castile*, by whom he had issue four sons and one daughter (1). Don *Sancho*, the eldest, became afterwards his successor. Don *Alonso*, the second son, became, in right of his wife, earl of *Bologna*, and was actually in *France* when the people of *Portugal* recalled him home, for reasons that will appear hereafter. Don *Ferdinand*, from a lordship he had of that name, was stiled the Infant of *Serpa*. He distinguished himself at the head of a corps of troops sent to the assistance of Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, against the *Moors*. He espoused Donna *Sancha*, the daughter of *Ferdinand*, count de *Lara*, by whom he had an only daughter, Donna *Leonora*. The infant Don

Vincent, who was the youngest, died in his cradle. The infanta Donna *Leonora*, became the wife of *Waldemar*, prince of *Denmark*. Besides these, the king had one natural son, *Juan Alonso*, who lies buried in the church of *Alcobaza* (2). As Don *Alonso* was in the twenty-seventh year of his age, at the time of his accession, and had served with great courage and reputation against the infidels, and was withal married to a princess of very high spirit, he was the less able to bear any restraint, and having had no share in the difficulties and dangers, by which his ancestors had raised this sovereignty to the rank in which he found it, he had nothing to temper that haughtiness of spirit which the sense of his own greatness inspired. (3)

(1) *Faria y Sousa Epitome Historias Portuguesas*, iii. 3.

Brandon, Faria y Sousa.

(2) *D. Nunez,*

(3) *Sainto-Marthe, Histoire generale, &c. Mariana, Ferreras.*

arguments,

arguments, and believing that one government only can subsist in one state; while others, whom Don Sancho had sworn to see his will obeyed, respected their oaths; and others again doubted the kindness of a prince to his subjects who shewed so little to his own family.

THE thunder of the Pope's excommunication had some effect in *Portugal*, where, though it might not terrify the king, yet it filled the minds of his subjects with such fears and uneasinesses, that Don *Alonso* could not help perceiving how much it was his interest to recover the good graces of Pope *Innocent* the third. He first sent his agents to represent, that his disputes with his sisters had no connection with ecclesiastical affairs; that the places his father had bestowed upon them belonged to the crown, and therefore he had no right to separate them from the rest of his dominions; that it was a dangerous precedent, and had a tendency to subvert a sovereignty, raised by the valour, and at the expence of the blood of the *Portuguese*, to whom Don Sancho, or at least his father, stood indebted for the crown he wore, and could not therefore lessen its value, by impairing its territories; and that lastly, the advantages gained by the king of *Leon*, and the party of the infantas, were no proofs of the justice of their cause, but were plainly beneficial to the infidels, by the losses they brought upon both kingdoms. All this was without effect, the Pope was as obstinate as the king of *Portugal*; and at length Don *Alonso* found it expedient to be reconciled to his sisters, in order to have the excommunication recalled, which was accordingly done, and the king absolved with great solemnity^k. The calm that was thus restored had not subsisted long before it was disturbed, by the incursions of the *Moors*, who from *Alacaçar-do-Sal*, where they had an impregnable fortress seated on a rock, came with such large corps of cavalry into the flat country, along the banks of the *Tagus*, that the king found it equally difficult to repel them, or to make himself master of a place, the neighbourhood of which occasioned him so much disturbance. However, a favourable accident, or to speak with greater propriety, the unexpected interposition of Providence enabled him to accomplish his wishes. The *Germans* and *Flemings* had equipped a numerous fleet, which authors of established reputation assert, consisted of three hundred sail, with a great army on board, destined for the *Holy Land*. In their passage, being dismally

Compelled by the Pope to compromise matters with his family.

^k BRANDAN, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

By the assistance of the crosses takes Alcaçar-do-Sal, and beats the Moorish army.

beaten by tempests, they were constrained to put into the harbour of *Lisbon* to refit, at the time Don *Alonso* was forming an army that might block up at least, if not besiege, *Alcaçar*. The king instantly deputed some of the principal persons among his clergy to solicit the crosses for their assistance, alledging, that as they might employ their arms against the *Moors* in *Portugal*, it would answer the ends of their vows as effectually as if they proceeded to the *Holy Land*. *William* earl of *Holland*, and most of the generals, came readily into this proposition; but about a third part of the fleet, with those on board it, quitted them out of a scruple of conscience, and as soon as they were able to put to sea, endeavoured to prosecute their voyage; in which, however, they were frustrated, and obliged to retire into a port of *Italy*, where they wintered. The earl of *Holland*, with most of the nobility and gentry, landed, and very frankly offered the king of *Portugal* their services. On this it was agreed, that they should proceed by sea and block up *Alcaçar-do-Sal*, while the *Portuguese* army, reinforced by the knights of all the military orders, marched and invested it by land. The *Moors*, knowing the importance of the place, and foreseeing the consequences that must follow from the loss of it, resolved to make their utmost efforts for its preservation. Accordingly the alcajdes of *Seville*, *Jaen*, *Cordova*, and *Badajoz*, marched an army of fifty thousand men to its relief: the Christians thereupon raised the siege, gave them battle, and defeated them, the alcajdes of *Cordova* and *Jaen* being in the number of the slain¹. The *Portuguese* writers unanimously affirm, that the banner of the cross was displayed by angels; and that they were sensible of supernatural assistance in the battle. On the 21st of *October* the fortress surrendered, and was bestowed on the order of St. *James*; but notwithstanding the strongest applications that were made to Pope *Honorius*, he would not be prevailed upon to permit the crosses to remain in *Portugal* another year, which gave great discontent to all the Christians in *Spain*^m. It seems the Pope was desirous of having these troops, and their commanders, at a greater distance.

Differs with his

THE progress of the war being thus interrupted, civil dissensions broke out afresh; the people complained of the se-

¹ ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita æstorum Regum Lusitanæ, GODEFRID MONACH, MATT. PARIS, ALBERIC, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, Histoire de Espana, part vi. § xiii. BRANDAN, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 112, 113, 114. ^m MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

verity

verity of the laws; the archbishop of *Braga* took it amiss, that the king expected the clergy should contribute in troops and money to defend the kingdom against the infidels, and excommunicated those who attempted to levy such taxes by the royal authority: upon which the king seized his revenues, and obliged him to quit his dominions^a. In the midst of these troubles died queen *Urraca*, on the 3d of *November*^o. The next year the Pope, by his commissioners, excommunicated the king, and put his dominions under an interdict, which of consequence threw things into the utmost confusion: to put an end to which the king, though a prince of great spirit, entered into a kind of negociation with his subjects; but while this was depending, Providence removed him out of this life on the 25th of *March* 1223, in the twelfth year of his reign^p, and before any thorough reconciliation had taken place between him and his sisters. He was interred with little ceremony, under a plain tomb, in the conventual church of *Alcobaca* (F). His kingdom was left in great confusion, as having been for many months under an interdict, which, depriving

clergy, and dies under ecclesiastical censures, and his dominions under an interdict.

A. D.
1220.

^a RAINALD, BRANDAN, FERRERAS, *Histoire de Espanna*.

^o LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 115. BRANDAN, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^p ANT. VASCONCELLOS, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA.

(F) This king was in his person above the common size, and very fat, though his height hindered it from being disagreeable to the eye; his forehead large and open; his eyes full of vivacity; the rest of his features regular; his complexion delicate, and his hair of a bright red, which he wore long flowing upon his shoulders. He was very brave, as well as uncommonly strong, which induced him to expose himself so much in the field, that after having been once buried under the slain, and with great difficulty drawn out alive, his subjects took care to restrain him in the field. His reign was full of trouble and disturbance, and

yet he was far from being an ill man, or a bad king (4). He was a great promoter of justice; but it was not the name he loved, but the thing, which rendered his conduct liable to misrepresentation. The laws of *Lamego* had appointed judges in every town: the king did not think this enough; and therefore he caused a general body of laws to be framed, by which they were to render justice, which most of those magistrates considered as curtailing their authority. They were still less pleased with a particular law, by which he gave damages against a plaintiff who brought his action without any just cause of suit. He directed a stay of

[4] *Brandan, Monarch. Lusitan. lib. xiii. Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.*

execu-

prising the people of all exterior offices of religion, threw them first into a maze, and next into a dissolute course of life, and a contempt of all religion, from whence they were not easily recovered. But at *Rome* this was little considered, because they knew that the nobility, and better sort of people, feeling the bad effects of such a degeneracy in manners, would be more assiduous to bring their monarch, and his ministers, right or wrong, to a compliance with the pontiff's pleasure. A strain of policy that had dismal consequences, and first let in those streams of Judaism and Mohammedism that have been so fatal since.

Don Sancho II. succeeds his father, and begins his reign with great reputation. DON *Sancho* the second, surnamed *Sancho* with the Hood, succeeded his father when about twenty years of age; a prince of a gentle spirit, and much more indebted to nature than to education. He no sooner ascended the throne, than he found himself oppressed by the mischiefs that had sunk his father into his grave in the flower of his age; that is, the quarrel with the clergy and the princesses his aunts⁹. In regard to these two difficult points, he took very different measures,

⁹ E. NUNEZ DE LEON as crônicas dos Reis de Portugal, Luc. Tudens. Chron. BRANDAN, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

execution for twenty days, in all capital cases, because in them justice might be at any time carried into act, but injustice could never be redressed. But the regulation which created those troubles he could never appease, was giving redress to the laity, in the king's courts, whenever they were injured by ecclesiastical judges (5). It was for this the archbishop of *Braga* excommunicated *Gonzalo Mendez*, his chancellor; for the king's resenting which, the Pope excommunicated him. *Honorius* took another step, which was to the full as strong; he wrote a very abusive letter, in which he told him over and over he was a tyrant. He might be indeed a tyrant; but if it consisted on-

ly in hindering the priests from being tyrants over his own subjects, he was a tyrant of a very singular kind; but he was never esteemed so by the bulk of his people, in whose favour he made a law, to hinder the price of necessaries from being raised for the sake of private profit, and to exempt them from taxes, that all who would work might eat (6). This preserved their affection to his person, and their veneration for his memory, in spite of papal censures, which served only to raise confusion in his dominions, and to hinder the progress of his arms against the infidels, who notwithstanding, through their own intestine divisions, were hindered from doing him much hurt.

(5) Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.

(6) Honor. Epist. lib. ii,

He intimated to the archbishop of *Braga*, that men had no right to be judges in their own causes; that if he would leave the disputes between the crown and the church, to the arbitration of ecclesiastics of established characters, he was disposed to give them whatever satisfaction they should judge reasonable; and the prelate having condescended to this, satisfaction was accordingly given, and the interdict removed^r. This young prince was not so complaisant to the infanta's as he had been submissive to the priests; he insisted upon the surrender of the fortresses they held, and threatened to reduce them by force. His aunts upon this had recourse to the king of *Leon*, who entered *Portugal* with an army, and either took or had some places surrendered to him. Don *Sancho* sent him word, that he had no inclination to kindle a war between the two nations; that he meant no injury or injustice to his aunts, but that one king in one realm was sufficient: upon these grounds the dispute was referred to arbitration; and the decision was, that the infanta's should do homage to the king; that the inhabitants of their towns should acknowledge his authority, but that they should enjoy all the rents and revenues to their own use. Security being given on both sides for the due performance of articles, the places taken were restored, and Don *Sancho* left in the free possessions of his kingdom^s; which however was sadly rent into factions through the too great power of the nobility.

As soon as peace was restored, the king thought proper to visit his territories, to receive homage from his subjects, and to regulate whatever might have fallen into confusion during the disturbance of his father's government. In this progress he did justice, and left marks of compassion and mercy wherever he came. After this, he turned his arms against the *Moors*, in conjunction with the king of *Leon*, and obtained several advantages against them, uniting, amongst other places, the town of *Serpa* to his dominions^t. Pope *Innocent* the fourth sent the cardinal bishop of *Sabina* to hold a council in *Portugal*, in order to reform the corruption of manners, which, through the interdict cast upon that kingdom by his predecessor, had been chiefly introduced. Where he held that council does not appear, or what was done in it: all we know is, that the legate obliged the king to engage that whatever

Visits most parts of his territories; does vast charities, and many acts of justice.

A. D.
1228.

^r BRANDAN, RAINALD, MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS. ^s MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^t RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. ANT. VASCONCELLOS, E. NUNEZ, BRANDAN, FERRERAS,

capons

canons were made therein should be strictly executed. The king shewed great justice in the quarrel between St. *Perdinand*, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and his sisters, which he might easily have improved to his own advantage. That monarch was so sensible of this, that having had an interview with Don *Sancho* at *Sabugal*, he restored to him the fortress of *Chaves*, of which his father had been dispossessed^u. Some stirrs still continued amongst the clergy in *Portugal*, where it is on all hands agreed, that their discipline was very much relaxed. The king himself was very intent on carrying on the wars amongst the *Moors*, and advanced once more into the kingdom of *Algarve*; where he might probably have done great things, if he had not been perplexed with perpetual complaints against him to the court of *Rome*. As it was, he reduced several small places, and kept his own dominions entirely free from those unwelcome visits of the infidels to which they had been formerly exposed.

A. D.
1235.

*A sudden
and strange
turn in his
subjects
dispositions
to this mo-
narch's
ruin.*

HITHERTO Don *Sancho* had maintained his credit with his subjects tolerably well; and they were content to allow, that a prince very affable in his manners, brave in his person, who did good to many, and injury to none, was a blessing. But now, by a strange turn of fortune, many of the nobility forgetting their duty to the king, committed great exorbitancies; and because he did not punish these, when in truth it was out of his power, the people began to clamour against him. The infant Don *Ferdinand*, having violated the immunities of the church, the prelates, notwithstanding the mischief done by the last, had recourse to another interdict; and the king, though he had no share in the offence, was obliged to make a deep submission, while the infant made a tour to *Rome*, and underwent a severe penance before he could be again received into the church. It was from these troubles, which had their source in the too great lenity of the king towards a lazy and luxurious nobility, that those terrible disorders arose, which afterwards threw the kingdom into confusion, and drove him out of his dominions. But to set this matter in a clear light, and to shew how this monarch, who is not charged with any glaring vice, such as cruelty, oppression, drunkenness, or debauchery, came to be dethroned, at the instance of his people, by the Pope, will require some compass, though we shall endeavour to confine ourselves within as narrow bounds as truth and perspicuity will allow.

^u RAINALD Chron. St. Fernand. FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 121. ^w BRANDAN, RAINALD; FERRERAS, MARIANA.

THE bulk of the *Portuguese* writers agree, that their king Don Sancho espoused, not long after his accession, Donna *Mencia*, the daughter of Don *Lopes dias de Haro*, lord of *Biscay* by Donna *Urraca*, the natural daughter of *Alonso*, the ninth king of *Castile*, a lady of exquisite beauty^x; who held Don Sancho in such close captivity, and governed his thoughts and actions with an influence so arbitrary, that, according to the superstitious notions of those times, she was believed to have disturbed his senses by a draught, as if such effects were not every day wrought without any other charms than those which the sex derive from nature. Those who were about the king, who loved his person, and supported his authority, were stigmatized to render them odious in the sight of the people by the name of favourites, and said to hold their employments, not through merit, or even the king's choice, but by the recommendation of the queen. The clergy, who had not so great power at court as they desired, concurred in and conducted this clamour, which, as we observed before, had its first rise from the youthful errors of the infant Don *Ferdinand*. Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, an older man, and who had seen more of the world, was in the secret of the malecontents; and fomented those confusions, which he hoped might at least place regal power in his hands, if not the regal title; which ambitious scheme did the king great mischief, though it did himself no good; a fate common enough to such disturbers of the public peace.^y

The causes, pretended and real, of this great defection of the people in Portugal.

THE king Don Sancho, seeing his nobility rent into factions, and finding it impossible to carry on the war against the *Moors* in person, and in a manner suitable to his dignity, committed the care of it to Don *Pelayo Correa*, of the order of St. *James*; who, with the help of the knights of that, and other orders, performed great things in *Algarve*; the king himself, before he quitted the army, having taken *Elvas*, and thereby effectually secured the province of *Alentejo*. Don *Pelayo* was a nobleman, who, with the most intrepid courage, had a large proportion of coolness and prudence, which enabled him to take every advantage offered by the disputes amongst the *Moors*, who at this time had thrown off the yoke of the mirammolin, and by forming various small principalities, while they thought in their own imagination to strengthen their respective sovereignties, were in reality compassing their

Conquests gained notwithstanding, by their forces under the king's auspices against the Moors.

^x MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, ANT. VASCONCELLOS Monarchia Lusitania. ^y E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYEKNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

common destruction². Don *Pelayo*, who saw this clearly, took sometimes a town from one, and sometimes a town from another; and at length understanding, while he was employed in one of these sieges, that *Aben-Afan*, governor of *Silves*, was in full march, with the greatest part of his garrison, for the relief of *Paderna*, before which he lay, raised the siege in the night, and by another road arrived unexpectedly before *Silves*, and invested it. The *Moorish* general, to repair one mistake committed another; he drew out the forces that were in the last-mentioned place, and returned with all possible expedition to *Silves*. He attacked the Christians in their camp, with forces harrassed by their great fatigue; and, after a brisk assault, was repulsed. Those in the town making an effort at the same time, were likewise driven back, the Christians entering with them into the city, which, by this means, was suddenly and unexpectedly taken; and the castle, which was very strong, soon after surrendered upon terms. The reputation of this conquest brought great reinforcements to Don *Pelayo*, who returned by a quick march to *Paderna*, and having given the necessary orders, before the troops were in motion, began a general assault as soon as he came before the place, which was presently taken by storm, and most of the inhabitants put to the sword³. These great exploits, however, deprived Don *Sancho* of this able officer; for Don *Rodrigo Yunquez*, grand-master of *St. James*, dying at this juncture, the commanders elected Don *Pelayo*, upon which he went to take possession of his new dignity in *Castile*.^b

The regency of Portugal conferred, by Innocent IV. on the infant Don Alonso.

IT was not long before the loss of this able and fortunate general was severely felt, from the incursions made by the infidels into the territories of *Portugal*; and this, though without cause, the malecontents placed to the account of the king, and made it one of their principal motives for applying to the Pope, in order to his being deprived of the administration as a prince, who was either negligent or incapable of government. Some historians very honestly confess, that they had come much nearer the truth, if they had owned themselves incapable of being governed; for after all they could fix nothing upon the king, and not much upon those whom they stiled his favourites^c. There was a spirit of faction and

² MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS. ³ E. NUNEZ, MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, BRANDAN. ^b RADES, FERRERAS. ^c MAYERNE TURQUET, RAINALD, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

anarchy

anarchy abroad ; and the king and his friends were forced to exert what little strength they had, in order to compel obedience to the king's commands, in points of the greatest consequence to the public safety. Pope *Innocent* the fourth had called a general council at *Lyons* in *France*, where he and his prelates deposed the emperor *Frederic* ; thither the *Portuguese* commissioners, who were the archbishop of *Braga*, the bishops of *Porto* and *Coimbra*, and two noblemen, repaired ; and having set forth their business, the Pope very roundly, on the 24th of *July*, deprived Don *Sancho* of the administration ^d of his dominions, and declared his brother Don *Alonso* regent ; and he being at *Paris*, the commissioners repaired thither, and upon the 6th of *September* administered an oath to him, that he should execute the office of regent faithfully. The infant Don *Alonso* went immediately to *Bologne*, where he settled the government of that county in the hands of his consort, to whom it of right belonged, and then prepared for his voyage to *Portugal*. In the mean time, as most writers say, *Raymond Portocarrero* seized upon the person of the queen *Donna Mencia* ^e, and carried her away prisoner, so that she was never heard of more. This affected the king in such a manner, that he resolved to provide for his own safety, and accordingly withdrew into the territories of St. *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, where he was very kindly received by the infant Don *Alonso*, who wrote to the Pope in his behalf ; and after insinuating how dangerous a precedent he had made, suggested many reasons to prove, that the regent Don *Alonso* was in reality the author of those miseries, which were falsely ascribed to the king. How much soever this act of friendship, and the high honours that were paid him, might console Don *Sancho* under his misfortunes, they did not in the least relieve them : however, the prince Don *Alonso* promised, and did all that was in his power to keep his word ^f, and would have kept it effectually, provided the Pontiff had not interposed.

As general as the defection seemed to be in *Portugal*, some of the most considerable among the nobility adhered steadily to their duty, and garrisoned several places of strength for the king : amongst these, *Ovedos*, *Celerico*, and *Coimbra*, were the chief. The regent Don *Alonso* left nothing unat-

A. D.
1245.

Attempt
made by the
king to re-
cover his
territories,

^d Epist. Innocent. IV. RAINALD, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, MARIANA. ^e LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 126. ^f Chron. St. Fernand, BRANDAN, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. MAYERNE TURQUET.

by the assistance of St. Ferdinand.

A. D.
1246.

tempted, in order to shake the fidelity of their governors, but without effect. At length he caused *Ovedos* to be besieged, and reduced by force. This example he judged would have frightened the rest, but he was mistaken. Don *Ferdinand Rodriguez Pacheco* defended *Celerico* with such obstinacy, that the regent was compelled to raise the siege ². Don *Ferdinand of Castile* besieged *Seville* the next year, then in the hands of the *Moors*; but the prince Don *Alonso* prevailed upon him to spare a part of his army for the service of his unfortunate friend, with whom he entered *Portugal*, and bore down all before him, till the regent sent some priests into his army, who by scattering the Pope's bulls, in favour of the new government, and threatening excommunication to all who opposed it, struck such terror into the army of *Castile*, that the king, the prince, and Don *Lopez de Haro*, thought it expedient to retire. But the lords of the king's party were proof against the bulls, and every thing else, and took the advantage of this invasion to recruit their garrisons and re-victual their fortresses; so that the regent found himself obliged to besiege *Coimbra* in form. ^b

Being disappointed in this expedition, he retires to Toledo, and dies.

THE unfortunate Don *Sancho* returned again to *Toledo*, where he spent the short remainder of his days in acts of penitence and piety, and dying ¹ in the month of *January* 1248, was interred with great magnificence in the cathedral of that city, no less deplored by the *Castilian* than by the few *Portuguese* noblemen, who were the companions of his disgrace. Such was the melancholy end of this reign, in its twenty-fifth year (G). Here it ought naturally to conclude; but as the

Portuguese

² BRANDAN, FERRERAS.
LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.
VILLE, MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE, MARIANA.

^b TURQUET, MARIANA,
¹ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF-

(G) This unfortunate monarch was of so weak and tender a constitution in his youth, that his mother, queen *Urraca*, dedicated him to St. *Augustine*; and he was actually educated and brought up amongst the canons regular (1). In process of time, however, he outgrew this weakness: his countenance was beautiful; his fore-

head high and open; his eyes had somewhat of a greenish colour; his complexion pale; and his hair long and light (2). In some of the royal palaces he is represented in scarlet robes, with the crown upon his head, a book in one hand, and a scepter in the other, on the top of which is a dove, intimating the constancy and sweetness of his na-

(1) Brandan, Vasconcellos, Nunez, *Historias Portuguesas*.

(2) Faria y Sousa *Epitome da*

ture

Portuguese historians add another event, the reader will probably excuse us for following their example. *Martin Freitas*, who defended *Coimbra*, gave the regent *Don Alonso* so much trouble, that as soon as he had the news of his brother's death, he sent him notice of it; but the governor would not believe him, upon which he offered him a pass and an escorte to go to *Toledo*, which he accepted. When he came thither, he demanded to see his master's body; when the tomb being opened for that purpose, he deposited the keys of *Coimbra* by his side: after they had lain a little time, he desired his leave to deliver them to his brother, and so taking them up, returned back to his garrison*. An action which appeared heroic and extraordinary even to *Spaniards*.

* FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE,

ture (3) The *Spanish* historians speak of him as a prince very brave in his person, prudent, mild, punctual in his administration of justice, and who by no means sought to oppress his subjects, or to injure his neighbours (5). There are great doubts about his marriage; for, notwithstanding the best part of the *Portuguese* historians relate it very positively, and even assert, that it was cancelled and declared null by the Pope, yet *Brandan*, who is one of the most accurate and judicious, positively asserts the king was never married to *Donna Mencia*, which he thinks is sufficiently proved by there not remaining any charter, grant, or other record, amongst the archives of the kingdom in which she is mentioned, which could not have happened if she had been really queen (5). It may be she was never acknowledged by the states; and therefore, though

the king's wife, was not considered as his queen. We know not how or when she died, but her corps lies buried at *Najara* (6). Pope *Innocent* pretended to depose *Don Sancho* as his lord paramount, *Portugal* being a kingdom tributary to the holy see, yet not from his title or dignity, but from his administration only, which he committed to *Don Alonso*, count of *Bohlogne*, on account of his brother's incapacity. The *Portuguese* writers however in general agree, that *Don Sancho* wanted only that boldness, or that cunning, which enables princes to deal with factions, to deceive those who would deceive them, or to destroy, while it is in their power, such as seek their destruction. His brother repaired his loss; he had many of his virtues and good qualities, and withal a spirit of intrigue, and other properties necessary in those times, which *Don Sancho* wanted (7).

(3) *Nunez, Vasconcellos, Brandan, Ferreras.*

(5) *Brandan.*

las Historias Portuguesas.

(7) *Nunez, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.*

(4) *Mariana, Mayerne Turquet,*

(6) *Manuel Faria y Sousa Epitome de*

Don Alonso III. succeeds his brother, and enters into a war with the Moors.

DON *Alonso* the third ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and was certainly a prince of very great abilities, exclusive of his immeasurable ambition, to gratify which he had corrupted many of his brother's subjects, and bribed several governors to deliver up the places they held. But being once become the legal monarch of *Portugal*, he changed the scene, had little or no regard to such as had served him at the expence of their honour; but received all the lords who had been in his brother's interest to the last into his favour and councils; amongst these was *Martin Frietas*, governor of *Coimbra*, whom he not only continued in his office, but refused to accept either homage or an oath of fidelity, which favour he would have extended by patent to four generations; but *Martin* told him bluntly, that though it was a good compliment, it was a bad precedent; and that he would lay his curse upon any one of his posterity who should dare to command in the king's town without having first rendered homage, and sworn allegiance. The king more and more struck with this man's virtue, submitted, and let him take the government in his own way¹. In the second year of his reign, he made a great irruption into *Algarve*, having a good fleet upon the coast, as well as a numerous army, with which he besieged the city of *Faro*, then esteemed the capital of the *Moorish* territories; which after a long siege submitted, the *Moors* promising upon oath, to be the king's obedient subjects. It fell out otherwise at *Loule*, a town of no great strength, lying to the North-West of *Faro*, but very populous; and though the king over and over offered them good terms, they obstinately persisted in their resolution to defend the place. The king, upon this, caused it to be attacked, and being carried by storm, every living creature in it was put to the sword, which rigorous severity frightened all the adjacent country into submission^m; and thereby added a considerable district to the dominions of *Portugal*.

Acts with great prudence and address in his domestic administration.

THESE enterprizes, undertaken with spirit, and executed with prudence, raised his reputation at home and abroad, rendered him respected by his neighbours, and dreaded by his enemies. His conduct in civil affairs corresponded with this: while he stood upon so good terms with his subjects, he held an assembly of the states, in which he suggested several wise and just laws, which were readily enacted, and by which he was enabled to reform a multitude of abuses. His power and

¹ BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^m BRANDAN, FERRERAS. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 136, 137.

his popularity were by this means so much increased, that he did, without much difficulty, what his brother ought to have done, and would have done, if he had been able, that is, he punished the licentious and the factious; but he took them singly, and in the most distant parts of his dominions, taking care to efface immediately, by a successful expedition against the *Moors*, the memory of any punishments that became necessary at home. He took care likewise to remain upon good terms with Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who had many essential reasons for paying great attention to the king of *Portugal*, from whose dominions he drew a large revenue, and of whose maritime power he stood some times in great need: in a word, *Don Alonso* distinguished himself as a soldier in the field, and as a statesman in the cabinet, with no small reputation to himself, and with great advantage to his crown and subjects.

A. D.
1251.

THE prosperity which had hitherto attended his councils and his arms, elevated the thoughts of *Don Alonso* so much, that having pushed his conquests southward within sight of the ocean, he began to think of extending his frontiers on the East, being equally tempted by the weakness of the *Moors*, and by the beauty and fertility of *Andalusia*. His next irruption, therefore, was on that side; and his design was to despoil *Mohammed Aben-Afan* king of *Niebla*, of his small territories, which he might have easily accomplished. But *Mohammed* having put himself under the protection of *Don Alonso the Wise*, who had lately succeeded *St. Ferdinand* in the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, demanded succours of that monarch, who took the field with a powerful army, and making use of his superiority, over-run the kingdom of *Algarve*, and erected the town of *Silves* into a bishoprickⁿ. The king of *Portugal* was too wise a prince not to discern the danger he was in; and therefore had recourse to the interposition of the Pope, who readily interfered, and disposed *Don Alonso the Wise* to listen to an accommodation^o. *Don Alonso* of *Portugal* understanding that this prince had a great affection for a natural daughter of his, *Donna Beatrix*, whom he had in his youth by *Donna Maria de Guzman*, discovered an inclination to marry her, to which the king of *Castile* very readily consented, notwithstanding there were many, and amongst these some very strong, obstacles to such a marriage. In the first place, the king had already a wife; but he found certain divines who judged her sterility a sufficient cause to dissolve

Esposes
Donna Be-
atrix, the
natural
daughter of
Don Alon-
so the wise.

A. D.
1253.

ⁿ BRANDAN, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS.
^o RAINALD, Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

A. D.
1254.

that marriage. In the next place, the ties of consanguinity stood in the way; but by his interest with the Pope, it was hoped a dispensation might be obtained. Besides all this, there was a great disproportion in point of age, Don *Alonso* was in his forty-third year, and Donna *Beatrix* not ten. However, the marriage was concluded; and the monarch of *Castile* gave the kingdom of *Algarve*, reserving homage, and the town of *Silves*, in dowry with his daughter P. The next year the king of *Portugal* had another assembly of the states at *Leyria*, where several useful regulations were made, and the interior concerns of the kingdom settled, to the general satisfaction of all his subjects, except the clergy (H.)

THE

P. RAINALD, E. NUNEZ, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE
CLEDE.

(H) As we have given the reader a succinct account of the other five, we will also speak to this sixth and last province of the kingdom of *Portugal*, and which, though small, has been and still is reputed a kingdom. It is unanimously agreed, that *Algarve* is taken from the *Arabic* word *Algarbia*: and it is almost as universally agreed, that this signifies a fertile country; but it may be, this etymology was derived rather from the nature of the province to which it refers, than from the genius of the language from which it is supposed to be deduced; for there is no doubt that in *Arabic* the genuine signification of the word is no more than the west point (8). It is the most southern of all the provinces of *Portugal*, being bounded on that side, as well as on the west, by the ocean; on the east by *Andalusia*, from which it is separated by the *Guadiana*; on the north by a ridge of hills, called *Sieras de Calderaon*, which divides it from the province of

Alentejo. It is in all respects perhaps the best fortified country by nature in the world, since the steep banks of the *Guadiana*, and the mountains behind them may be considered as impenetrable intrenchments; and the same thing may be affirmed of the mountains of *Calderaon* (9). It extends about twenty-seven leagues in length, but is scarce any where so many miles broad, though there are commonly reckoned about thirty-five leagues of coast. But this narrow space produces great abundance of corn, that which grows about Cape *St. Vincent* being esteemed the best in *Portugal*. Besides this, there are numberless vineyards, and whole woods of fig trees, which with raisins, almonds, and a plentiful fishery upon its coasts, have justly gained it the reputation of a very rich country. In ancient times it had the title of a county, and Don *Alonso* was the first who assumed the title of monarch of *Portugal* and *Algarve*. The arms of this

(8) *Dictionario de la Lengua Castellana*, tom. i. p. 291.
murar, de la Neufville.

(9) *Nunez*, Cal-
kingdom,

THE marriage between Don *Alonso* and Donna *Beatrix*, was celebrated as soon as that lady was turned of twelve years of age, and the rejoicings on that subject were hardly over, before Pope *Alexander IV.* who had succeeded *Innocent*, on the application of the countess *Matilda*, directed the archbishop of *Campostella* to separate the king and queen till the merits of the cause could be heard, to which the king would not give ear. The countess herself made a tour to *Campostella*, to quicken the motions of the Pope's legate⁹. Some *Portuguese* historians say, that she came to *Cascaes* in that kingdom by sea; but the fabulous circumstances they add, destroy the credit of this relation. All we know with certainty is, that the countess returned into *France*, and applied herself to St. *Lewis*; and that the Pope's legate, finding the king obstinate, put his kingdom under an interdict^r. The king remained, notwithstanding, inflexible, and having brought his nobility into subjection, proceeded in repairing, fortifying, and peopling his dominions, with so much the more spirit, as he had now a son and a daughter to inherit them. In the mean time *Alexander* being succeeded by *Urban* the fourth, Don *Alonso* resolved to try whether he might not be softened; and while he meditated this application, the countess *Matilda* died, and not only forgave him on her death-bed, but left him also a very considerable sum of money, as a testimony of her sincerity^s. These lucky incidents induced the king to call a general assembly of his clergy, upon whom he prevailed to address themselves unanimously to the Pope on the behalf of himself and his family, which they did; and Pope *Urban*, at their request, granted a dispensation, legitimated the children of Donna *Beatrix*, and removed the interdict, the rather because it had hardly ever been observed^t. In order to prevent all disputes in succeeding times with the crown of *Castile*, the two kings caused the boundaries between their respective dominions to be settled by commissioners, and recognized this settlement by a settlement dated the fifth of *June*. At the

This marriage disapproved by the Pope, and the kingdom put under an interdict.

A. D.
1257-

A. D.
1262-

⁹ BRANDAN, RAINALD, FERRERAS. ^r LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^s BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS. ^t BRANDAN, RAINALD, LE CLEDE.

kingdom, given by Don *Alonso*, were sanguine semee of castles, or. Over them he placed the arms of *Portugal*; so that the castles of the former made an orb to the latter. He also made an alteration in the number of bezants in each escutcheon of the *Portuguese* arms, leaving but eleven in each, whereas before there were thirteen. (1)

(1) Manuel Faria y Sousa *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*.

same

same time the homage of *Algarve* was reduced to the sending fifty lances to the assistance of the monarch of *Castile*, when demanded; and in all probability *Silves* was likewise restored, since we find it in the next year in the hands of the king of *Portugal*, who augmented the privileges of its inhabitants^u. The happy issue of his enterprizes, and the flourishing state of his territories, occasioned by his frequent progress from one part of them to another, induced the king to extend the authority of the crown, and to oblige the clergy, and even the prelates, to contribute to the welfare of the state, and to the discharge of those expences which he thought requisite for the safety and welfare of his people. This quickly revived the old disputes; and *Martin* archbishop of *Braga*, pushed things so far as to put the kingdom again under an interdict: after which he made his escape to *Rome*.

A. D.
1268.

Obtains an
exemption
from all
claims from
Castile, by
an act of
address.

It appeared, however, necessary to Don *Alonso* to give the Pope very strong assurances of his respect and obedience; and at the same time to inform him, that the prelates who had quitted his kingdom, did it without any real necessity, and that they might return without any apprehensions. He then went with his queen and the infant *Donis*, heir apparent of his dominions, to *Seville*, to pay a visit to her father, who was so well pleased with his grandson, that for his sake he remitted all claims whatsoever upon the crown of *Portugal*, and declared its monarchs free from all kind of homage, which gave his subjects no small offence^v. After he returned into *Portugal*, Don *Alonso* dispossessed the knights of several orders of the places they held, and annexed them to the crown, under various pretences; but in reality he thought fortresses in the hands of subjects a thing incompatible with the safety of the monarchy. These and some other steps taken, he began to think it time to perfect his reconciliation with the Pope, and after various altercations, called an assembly of the states at *Santaren*, to enquire into and redress the grievances of the clergy; but as this did not produce immediately all that was expected from it, the Pope talked in higher terms, and threatened to release his subjects from their obedience and their oaths of fidelity, which likewise had but little operation, though this threat was repeated more than once^x.

A. D.
1277.

^u Histoire generale de Portugal, par NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio. ^v MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^x BRANDAN, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

THE whole reign of Don *Alonso* was a scene of policy well conceived, and executed with very great address. The king rewarded and punished with equal justice (1). He was extremely active and vigilant in points of real concern to his government; and perceiving that it was no longer practicable to extend his dominions, very prudently bent his whole care to their improvement. In some places he founded new cities, in others he repaired old ones: he granted new privileges to a multitude of places, and was particularly solicitous for the

Reconciled on his death-bed to the church, Pope, and clergy.

(1) This prince was very remarkable in his person, being in stature much above the ordinary size of men, which appeared not only from his pictures, but from the view of his body when, at the command of king *Sebastian*, his tomb was opened: his countenance was open and pleasant; his eyes small, but sparkling; his hair black; his complexion ruddy: he was very adroit in all the exercises becoming a prince; very gallant in his person, and formed to attract the love and esteem of all about him. In times of peace, and when his revenue would permit, he affected magnificence; but when his affairs required it, he was extremely prudent and frugal. He loved to be called the friend of the poor, to which he had a good title, since he pawned his crown to furnish them with bread in a time of scarcity. His familiarity and interest with the people, made him respected by the nobles, and obeyed by the clergy, even against the wills of several Popes. It appears, by their epistles, that his horrid and grievous oppressions of the clergy were in reality nothing more than obliging them to do justice,

and to live suitable to their characters, by punishing them as well as he did the rest of his subjects, if they were deficient in either. He is blamed by the *Portuguese* for his complaisance to Don *Alonso* the wife, of *Castile*; but the *Spaniards* say, that he made him pay so dear for it, that he had a better title to be stiled the wife than he; it may be, his claim may be better supported from these maxims to which he steadily adhered: he had many counsellors but no favourites; he punished severely and rewarded generously; his income was the rule of his living, and though he loved pleasure and expence, he chose to retrench rather than impose any new taxes upon his subjects; but he was exact in levying his revenue; and when he resumed the grants he had made while regent, he gave no other reason than that those to whom he made the grants did not deserve them (2). In a word, he acted the politician whenever it was necessary, and as far as it was necessary; but at other times he was as frank, as gentle, and as liberal as his brother, whom if he had used better, his reputation had been without stain.

(2) *Nunex, Brandan, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turques, Ferreras, de la Nouville, le Cide, &c.*

relief of the common people. He caused many churches to be erected, and founded and endowed some convents. In his differences with the clergy he acted as he thought fit; but never without plausible reasons, had his agents constantly at the court of *Rome*, and amused more than one pontiff during his whole reign, with a fruitless negotiation. He received the cardinals and legates that came into *Portugal* with all possible respect, treated them with the utmost magnificence, and left nothing unattempted to gain their friendship; but in point of action he was more sparing, till at length, finding himself sinking under the weight of a mortal disease, he took a resolution of being reconciled to the church: having made a full submission, done some things, and directed the infant *Don Denis* to perform the rest, he received the absolution from the hands of *Stephen* abbot of *Alcobaza*, and departed this life on the sixteenth of *February*, 1279, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and the sixty-ninth of his life^r. He left the kingdom of *Portugal* complete to his successors, which had been gradually augmented by himself and his predecessors^z; and therefore his reign naturally puts an end to this section.

SECTION III.

Containing the Reigns of Denis, Alonso IV. Pedro I. Ferdinand, and the Interregnum that followed upon his Demise, and which lasted eighteen Months.

Accession of Don Denis the liberal, or father of his country, and quarrel with his mother.

THE king *Don Denis*, surnamed *the Liberal* and *the Father of his Country*, succeeded his father in the nineteenth year of his age, and began his reign in a manner that gave great offence to the *Spaniards*, and which is highly commended by the *Portuguese* historians. It seems the queen dowager, *Donna Beatrix*, thought herself entitled in that quality to take a large share in the government, which the king was by no means inclined to permit; upon which she retired in great displeasure to her father the king of *Castile*, who, at her request, made a journey to *Badajez*, and solicited the king of *Portugal* to make him a visit there; but the young king, being determined not to depart from his point, and foreseeing that in this case such an interview might

^r MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, *Histoire de Espana*, part vi. § xiii. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.
^z FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

be attended with disagreeable consequences, contented himself with sending the princes and princesses of the royal family to pay their respects to the monarch of *Castile*; but could not be prevailed on by any intreaties to make him a visit, which was so ill taken by his mother, that she refused to return into *Portugal*, believing that she should be less considered there than in the dominions of the king her father^a. As for *Denis*, he consulted the principal nobility about his person on the important subject of his marriage: and by their advice was determined to send three of the principal lords of his court to demand Donna *Izabella*, the daughter of Don *Pedro* king of *Arragon*, who was very justly reputed the most amiable prince in *Spain*, as well for her virtue and prudence as for her exquisite beauty; which negotiation was speedily accomplished, to the great joy and satisfaction of both kingdoms, though the marriage was not celebrated till two years after^b. The infant Don *Sancho* of *Castile*, having about this time formed a resolution of assuming very unjustly the administration during the life-time of his father, demanded the friendship of the kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal*, which, from motives of policy, they granted him, though not long after they had just reasons to repent^c. It was, however, in some measure owing to this alliance that the new queen Donna *Izabella*, passing through *Castile*, in her way to *Troncofo*, where the marriage was to be solemnized, was received by queen *Violante* and part of the royal family, by whom she was treated with all possible marks of affection and respect. On her arrival on the frontiers of *Portugal*, she was received by some of the principal nobility, who conducted her to *Troncofo*, where the marriage was celebrated with all the splendor suitable to such a ceremony, and to the disposition of the king, who was the most magnificent prince of that age^d.

A. D.
1280.A. D.
1283.

THE joy and satisfaction which diffused itself through the kingdom of *Portugal* upon this occasion, were quickly interrupted by the revival of the old disputes with the clergy, which very soon ran as high as ever: for the king, being very intent on correcting those disorders which the last interdict had brought into the kingdom, and in which the ecclesiastics had as great a share as the rest of his subjects, the prelates inter-

New disputes with the clergy, which are at length compromised by the court of Rome.

^a MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUVILLE, LE CLEDE.

^b E. NUNEZ, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. BRANDAN, LA NEUVILLE, LE CLEDE.

^c Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, E. NUNEZ, LE CLEDE.

^d E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.

posed,

posed, and the archbishop of *Braga* particularly insisted upon the king's giving the bishops satisfaction in several points; and, upon his refusal, had recourse to the old remedy, which the clergy had ever at their fingers ends, an interdict^c. The king bore this with great temper and patience, representing to the clergy, that the punishment was not only great, but of a nature perfectly different from the offence, since he neither favoured heresy nor heretics, and never intermeddled with ecclesiastical affairs, or offered any insult to the church, or its members. He then desired they would specify what their demands were; and having regulated every thing as well as he could, he desired their agreement might be sent to *Rome*, and have the sanction of the Pope's approbation. This was accordingly done; and *Martin* the fourth, one of the most haughty pontiffs ever seated in the chair of *St. Peter*, moderated some of the demands of the clergy, and approved the king's concessions^f. The five points of which the clergy complained most, were these, that the king insisted that his hereditary estates were free from tythe; that he would not suffer the clergy to purchase land estates; that he insisted upon a fourth part of the price when they did; that he would not permit them to carry money out of the kingdom when and in what proportions they pleased; and that when lands were left to the church, he insisted they were still liable to the taxes with which they were formerly charged.

A. D.
1284.

His brother
Don Alon-
so raises an
insurrec-
tion, and
advances a
claim to the
throne.

THE king found himself at the same time in danger of a rupture with *Don Sancho the Brave*, now become king of *Castile*, *Don Nunez de Lara*, his subject, having taken refuge in *Portugal*. However *Don Denis* believing they should understand one another better in a conference, proposed an interview to *Don Sancho*, which was readily accepted. There the two kings agreed, that it was highly expedient for both for the king of *Portugal* to take into his own hands those places on the frontiers which his father had given to the infant *Don Alonzo*, and this produced a quarrel between the two brothers; insomuch, that *Don Alonzo* not only took up arms in his own defence, but insinuated also, that he had a better title to the crown, because *Don Denis* was born during the lifetime of the countess of *Bolegne*, and himself after her decease. The king coming with an army before *Portalegro*, where the infant *Don Alonzo* was, with what strength he could raise, he quickly found his affairs in so untoward a condition, that

A. D.
1287.

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, RAINALD, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, BRANDAN, FERRERAS, RAINALD, MARIANA.

he

he was very well content to listen to any propositions the king would make; and upon his assurance, that he meant him no injustice, and that he was willing to give him a settled revenue of forty thousand pounds, he resigned the towns of *Ouren* and *Cintra*, which were the principal places in question^g. The war that followed between the crowns of *Castile* and *Aragon*, occasioned another interview between *Don Denis* and *Don Sancho*, at *Sabugal*, where they parted good friends^h. By this time the clergy were become restless again: upon which the king applied first to the Pope, now *Nicholas* the fourth, who heard the *Portuguese* prelates in person, and the king by his proctors; and decided, that if the king swore to maintain his agreement, the clergy should abide by it: and accordingly an assembly of the states was called for this purpose, in which the king swore with all the solemnity the Pope had prescribed, and the clergy were constrained to be quiet for this timeⁱ. But they still retained a grudge against the ministers, on account of the advice given by them in these affairs.

A. D.
1289.

As there were few princes so learned in this age, so it may be truly asserted, there was none more a friend to learning, or learned men, than the king of *Portugal*, who erected an university at *Lisbon*, and ordered schools and other seminaries of learning to be set up in all the great towns throughout his dominions^k. This gained him the affection of the better part of the clergy, notwithstanding he adhered steadily to his own maxims, and, by the advice of his brother *Don Alonso*, who was now thoroughly reconciled to him, procured a law to be enacted by the states, which forbid, under very severe penalties, the selling of any land to ecclesiastical communities, whether regulars or seculars; and upon these wise principles, that the church was but a trustee for the poor, and that therefore, in accumulating wealth, she laid up what was not her own: that it was an injury to suffer this money to be vested in land, for the maintenance of indolent and lazy people; and that it tended strongly to weaken and impoverish the nation to suffer those to purchase any thing who could part with nothing, and who, in process of time, must of necessity ac-

Wise provisions made by the king for the safety and improvement of his dominions.

^g BRANDAN, FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^h FERRERAS Historia de España, part vi. § xiii. Cronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁱ RAINALD, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^k LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 159. RAINALD, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

quire

quire all¹. Some things he had done in the beginning of his reign, he now thought it necessary to cancel and rescind, such as grants without proper motives, and a kind of asylums, or cities of refuge, to which such as had committed homicides, or other crimes, might repair and reside safely ; but this was after they had answered the ends for which he granted these privileges, that is, when from being empty they were become inhabited, and when those, who setting the laws at defiance, had maintained themselves by rapine in rocks and mountains, had again so far entered into obedience, as to fix their residence in the frontier towns, from whence he took care they should not be able to depart, and where that humour, so dangerous elsewhere, might be useful against the infidels.

The true sources of the differences so long subsisting with the crown of Castile. WE are assured by many of the *Portuguese* authors, that Don Sancho the Brave made inroads into the territories of king Denis, and laid them waste with fire and sword, without any provocation ; and that upon this the monarch of *Portugal*, being not immediately able to resist him, sent him a challenge. But it is infinitely more probable, that these hostilities were not committed till after the death of that prince, who, if the most accurate of the *Spanish* historians may be depended upon, had another interview with king Denis, in which a double marriage was concluded between their families, and some other points stipulated for the advantage of the king of *Portugal*, Don Sancho being then in a very declining state, his heir apparent a child, and his concerns in great confusion. It was to enforce these terms, and to recover the fortresses on the side of *Castile*, which his mother, Donna Beatrix, had all along held, that Denis began to arm immediately after Sancho's death, chiefly by the persuasion of his brother Don Alonso, who had for many years been carrying on intrigues with the malecontent lords, and in conjunction with them, was now very desirous of drawing some advantage from the weakness inseparable from a minority under the direction of female councils. At least this is the most probable account of this rupture, which did not continue long, though possibly there might be some great acts of violence committed on both sides ; for the queen regent of *Castile*, perceiving plainly of what consequence the friendship of the king of *Portugal* might be, and the infant Don Henry, to whom she gave a share of the administration, pressing her to a speedy accommodation, it was agreed, that a negotiation should be set on foot, and in order to bring it the sooner to

¹ LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

a conclusion, the management of it was left in the hands of the infant Don *Henry*, who, the *Spaniards* say, had a very great complaisance for the monarch of *Portugal*, but whom the *Portuguese* writers assert, managed this treaty with great skill and dexterity^m.

THE issue of all these conferences was an interview between Don *Denis* and the queen dowager of *Castile*, in which the former contracts were renewed, and the places, which the king of *Portugal* thought necessary for his safety, were abandoned to them^a. The pacification that was thus brought about lasted not long; for the troubles in *Castile* augmenting, and there being no less than two competitors set up against Don *Ferdinand*, viz. Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, who had claimed against his father, as we have shewn in another place, and the infant Don *Juan*, brother to the deceased Don *Sancho*, Don *Denis* was prevailed upon, from political motives, to put himself again in arms, in order, by the assistance of the kings of *Aragon* and *Granada*, to establish *la Cerda* on the throne of *Castile*, and the infant Don *Juan* in the kingdom of *Leon*. Yet after some skirmishes, in which there was but too much blood shed on both sides, a new negotiation was set on foot, which produced another interview with the queen dowager of *Castile*, when, through the interposition of the queen of *Portugal*, who was sincerely desirous of peace, things were brought somewhat nearer a conclusion than they had been before, by an exchange of the two princesses, Donna *Constantia* being left in *Castile*, where, as soon as she was of a proper age, she was to marry the king; and Donna *Beatrix*, that monarch's sister, who was to espouse Don *Alonso*, prince of *Portugal*, returned with them into their own dominions^b. In some short time after this the king's brother, Don *Alonso*, pressed him to legitimate his children; not that they were bastards, but that the princess his wife was so nearly allied to him, that he had just reason to apprehend the validity of their marriage might be some time or other questioned. The king, who was naturally tender and humane, complied with this request; but refusing not long after to unravel, at his brother's solicitation, all that had been concluded with the king of *Castile* and his brother, Don *Alonso* revived his old discontents, and at length broke out into open rebellion. However, the king had so great success in

Compromised at last by a double marriage in the royal families.

^a Cronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b FERRERAS, *Histoire de Espana*, part vi. § xiii.

^c BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

A. D.
1300.

this dispute, that his brother found himself blocked up in the city of *Portalegre*, and in great danger of being reduced to extremities, if his mother the queen Donna *Beatrix*, and his sister-in-law the queen of *Portugal*, had not interposed in his behalf, and induced the king to grant him more honourable and advantageous terms than he had any reason to expect. This flame thus extinguished, king *Denis* resolved to proceed with all imaginable diligence to the celebration of those marriages upon which the peace of *Spain* and his own dominions so much depended, and in consideration of which a cession had been made him by the late treaty of a very considerable district in *Galicia*.

Advantages accruing to the crown of Castile by this close alliance with Portugal.

IN consequence of the joint application of the courts of *Castile* and *Portugal* at *Rome*, the necessary dispensations were obtained; but notwithstanding this, the new troubles that broke out in *Castile* occasioned a delay of the marriage; which, however, was at length solemnized at *Valladolid*, with all the solemnity the distracted state of affairs in that kingdom would permit. It was not long after that Don *Ferdinand* desired an interview with his father-in-law at *Badajoz*, to which he consented, and it was managed with great friendship and tenderness on both sides. But the king of *Castile* being very young, and at variance with his mother, to whose care and prudence he owed the preservation of his life, his crown, and dominions, he was prevailed upon by those about him frequently to vary his designs, and sometimes to pursue such as were not very consistent either with his interest or his duty; and because the king of *Portugal* did not supply him with such sums of money as he desired, some of the *Spanish* writers have treated his memory rudely; and on the other hand, the *Portuguese* historians, in resentment of this, have magnified exceedingly the obligations conferred upon him by his father-in-law. It is, however, on all hands agreed, that the king Don *Denis* assisted him in his wars against the *Moors*, made a new tour, at his request, into *Castile*, and after having spent some days with the king and his mother, went with them to *Agreda*, where they met the king of *Aragon*, and where, by the interposition and mediation of Don *Denis*, all points in dispute between those two monarchs were amicably determined, and a compensation settled, which was to be given to the family of *la Cerda*. We do not enter into the particulars of these important treaties here, because they have been already fairly and

P BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
 1 Cronica del Rey Don Fernand, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, Monarchia Lusitana.

fully

fully represented in the history of *Spain*, and the only end for which they are mentioned here is to shew how much the monarchy of *Castile*, and indeed all *Christendom*, were indebted to the prudence and moderation of Don *Denis*, who, by temporizing with all parties, brought to an end those differences which had perplexed *Spain* for so many years, and prevented the infidels from taking those advantages that otherwise they certainly would have done of recovering a part, at least, of what had been taken from them. It may be, and indeed it is highly probable, that in the course of twenty years transactions, embarrassed with difficulties and confusions of all kinds, Don *Denis* might do many things rather excusable in a politician than commendable in a prince; yet upon the whole, and taking in the difficulties to which he was exposed by the continual perplexities of his brother, and the pressing suggestions of the king of *Arragon*, he had much less regard to his own interests, and was infinitely more careful of the affairs of his son-in-law than is usual amongst princes. If it be true, which the *Spanish* writers assert, that in most of these points he was influenced by his queen, yet this will not acquit them of any part of the obligation, since the great authority that princess gained over him was chiefly owing to the high opinion he entertained of her wisdom and prudence, and not at all from a weak or uxorious disposition, which might have led him to a blind compliance with whatever she desired.

It was indeed in a great measure owing to the prudence of this great princess, and the great respect paid her, that the kings of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*, lived for so many years in so good intelligence; and that when Don *Ferdinand* at length complained, that his guardians had been over-reached in his nonage in those cessions that were made to the crown of *Portugal*, and threatened to recover them by arms, Don *Denis* was induced to leave the matter in dispute wholly to the decision of the king of *Arragon*, to whom both kings sent ambassadors, and who was on the point of pronouncing sentence when the king of *Castile* died. This entirely changed the face of affairs: *Denis* entered warmly into the interests of that crown, and neglected nothing that might support his grandson upon the throne, or the queen, his daughter, in the regency. He was the more able to do this, as every thing

A new misunderstanding between the two crowns, which is left to the king of Arragon.

ZURITA Annal. Arragon. BRANDAN, Cronica del Rey Don Fernand, MAYERNE TURQUET, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, Histoire generale de Portugal, MARIANA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, Histoire de Espana, part vii. § xiv.

was entirely quiet in his own dominions : the death of his brother, the infant Don *Alonso*, having freed him from continual inquietudes ; for which, however, he was very far from making the children of his brother responsible, treating them on the contrary with the same kindness and courtesy as if the deceased infant had been the best subject in his dominions. The repose of princes, however, is seldom of long continuance, and the death of his daughter, the queen of *Castile*, which threw the regency of that kingdom again into the hands of the old queen dowager, was the first source of his chagrin, and it was quickly followed by a new and greater misfortune¹.

The infant Don Alonso begins to discover an inclination to rebel against his father.

THE prince Don *Alonso*, under various pretences, made several tours to the court of *Castile*, and the queen dowager burning with impatience to see her daughter *Beatrice* a queen, which gradually impaired that reverence due from him to the king his father, whose sentiments and whose actions he began to criticize, he in a little time found himself at the head of a strong party. At first Don *Denis* endeavoured to reclaim him by good advice, by shewing him the folly of such a proceeding, and by assuring him, that when he came to the throne, he would find those persons who were now his favourites less fit to be trusted than any of his subjects. But these salutary representations, instead of producing any effects, only inspired the prince with stronger inclinations to increase his party, and to render himself formidable, by becoming the head of all the malcontents in the kingdom². Don *Denis* dissembled his resentment, and persisted in pursuing the wise designs he had formed for the benefit of his subjects. He regulated the proportion and manner of levying the taxes on the *Moors* settled in his dominions, and this in such a manner as proved equally satisfactory to them and to his successors. He treated the knights templars, persecuted by the Pope and all the princes of *Europe*, with equity and clemency : he improved one military order, and instituted another under those regulations³ ; which have for the most part continued ever since, and which rendered both of them dependent upon the crown, and useful to the state.

A. D.
1317.

Wise precautions of

THE king, who saw with infinite concern the disturbances that continued in *Castile*, and apprehended the *Moors* would

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, LA NEUFVILLE, ² Monarch. Lusitan. ZURITA Annal. Arragon. FERRERAS, LE CLEDE, RAINALD. ³ FARIA Y SOUSA, ANT. FAVIN, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 177. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, part vii. § xiv. MAYERNE TURQUET.

take advantage of them, as well as of those in his own dominions, thought it prudent to have a good fleet at sea, to prevent their drawing over reinforcements from *Africa*; and to defray the expence of this armament, he sent ambassadors to the Pope, then at *Avignon*, to desire his permission to levy a tax upon the clergy; to procure his approbation of the new order of knighthood, and his interposition with his son, to prevent the kingdom from being plunged in a civil war. His ambassadors, besides the instructions they carried on all the heads, were likewise intrusted with a very considerable present in ready gold, which, as the Pope's finances were in much disorder, was very kindly accepted, and procured them a speedy dismissal, with all that they could desire^w. On the other hand, the prince Don *Alonso* had again recourse to the queen dowager of *Castile*, who was his oracle, and as the *Portuguese* authors^x assert, prompted him to that conduct he pursued. *Ferreras* expresses some resentment at this, and stiles it^y a cruel attempt to blacken the memory of that great queen; but at the same time confesses, that the king of *Portugal* forbid his son to go into *Castile*: that notwithstanding this, he went thither with the princess his consort; and that the queen dowager went to meet them, and had a long conference with them; soon after which the troubles in *Portugal* began. This shews that he was a better historian than an apologist; and though offended with the liberties taken with the queen Donna *Maria's* character, he would not attempt to defend it at the expence of truth.

THE prince Don *Alonso* committed his first hostilities in paper. He published a strong manifesto against his father, in which he charged him with applying to the Pope, to legitimate his natural son *Alonso Sanchez*, with an intent to render him his successor. In answer to this, the king declared it never entered into his thoughts; the Pope asserted in the most solemn manner, that no such application had ever been made to him, and appeared extremely incensed at the report^z. The prince then varied his story, and charged his natural brother with an attempt to poison him, and affirmed he had in his hands the most convincing proofs^a. The king found means to come at these proofs, and published to the world when and where they were forged by the prince's orders. *Alonso*

A civil war breaks out, in which the king is victorious over prince Alonso.

^w RAINALD, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

^x FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.

^y Historia de España,

part vii. § xiv.

^z RAINALD, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

^a LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, BRANDAN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

then employed some of those desperate persons who were about him to assassinate Don *Alonso Sanchez*: he failed in this too, and then broke out into open rebellion, prevailing upon the governor of *Leyria* to surrender to him that important place. The king presently marched that way with a body of troops: upon which the inhabitants took up arms, and compelled the garrison to open the gates, assuring the king that they had no share in the governor's treasons. Don *Denis* acted with more severity than he had ever shewn upon any other occasion; he put the governor and part of his garrison to death, and left the town to the custody of the people ^b. While he was thus employed, the prince took *Santarem*, which, however, the king quickly recovered. The prince then amused him with a treaty, and attempted to surprize *Lisbon*, which by a quick march his father disappointed; he afterwards came up with him near *Cintra*, defeated his forces, and might have made him prisoner, but the king forbid his troops either to take or hurt him ^c.

Queen Isabella brings about an accommodation, and is as successful a second time.

THIS was so far from having any effect on the prince, that when he was in a condition to take the field again, he kept no kind of measures, but burnt and destroyed without mercy the country wherever he came. What puts his behaviour out of dispute, and sufficient to stamp a brand of infamy upon his memory, is the case of *Girard*, bishop of *Evora*, who having acquainted him, that if he continued to act in this manner, and did not return to his obedience, the Pope had given him full powers to proceed against him by spiritual censures; but that he was still desirous of respecting in him the blood of his prince; for which admonition the prelate was barbarously put to death ^d. *James*, king of *Arrogon*, sent his brother Don *Sancho* to compromise these matters, but he had no better success than the rest of the mediators: on the contrary, the prince's army having become very numerous, he was persuaded to lay siege to *Guimaraez*: there his brother, the infant Don *Pedro*, came to him, but authors are not very clear whether it was to give him good advice, or to join with him in his evil practices. However, the place being strong made a vigorous defence; and the king having now lost all patience, marched with a very complete army towards *Coimbra*, now in the prince's hands. This, as he expected, brought the prince to its relief, and consequently to hazard a battle; but the good queen

^b RAINALD, BRANDAN, FERRERAS, part vii. § xiv. ^c FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, BRANDAN.

Isabella interposed, and after passing several times between both armies, procured at length a cessation of arms. The king went then to *Leyria*, to which place the prince followed him of his own accord, threw himself at his feet, and desired his forgiveness, of which his father gave him the strongest assurances. He removed from thence to *Lisbon*, where he fell dangerously ill, made his testament, by which he founded an university at *Coimbra*, and gave very large sums to the poor. The prayers of his subjects saved his life; but he was no sooner recovered than he had the dissatisfaction of perceiving that his son was relapsed. He discovered his bad intentions by presenting a memorial, in which he demanded many things beyond what his father had promised him. The king received this memorial without heat, and laid it before his council, who unanimously advised the king to reject it. The prince, who was prompted to this by some about him, immediately drew his forces together, and attempted to seize *Lisbon*, upon which the king also assembled forces; but before he marched against his son, he sent a gentleman of his bed-chamber, whose name was *Azevedo*, to tell him that he acted as much against his interest as his duty; that he was teaching those rebellion whom he was shortly to govern; that he was ruining a kingdom which would be his own; and that as his health was daily declining, if the prince consulted his credit, he would at least suffer him to die in peace. *Alonso* was little moved with this; and only answered, that his father used him harshly, and meant to use him worse. *Azevedo* replied, that the king had no such intentions, and that he was abused by such as told him these stories. The prince bid him be gone, if he had a mind to keep his head. "I do not value my head, sir, returned *Azevedo*, in the king's service; the only pain I shall feel in losing it, is perceiving that he has begot a son capable of such an act." After all, the queen reconciled them a second time, and the prince went again to kiss his father's hand, who received him with much affection, assured him of his forgiveness, and suggested to him a great deal of good advice. The prince behaved, on his side with all exterior marks of submission, and sorrow for what had passed.

THIS reconciliation did not last so long as the former; for *A third* as the prince did not care to live with his father, he was con- *compre-*

* ZURITA Annal. Arragon, RAINALD, BRANDAN, FERRERAS.

† LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, RAINALD, FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, CLEDE, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

mise,
which is
soon after
followed by
the king's
death.

tinually surrounded with flatterers, who poisoned his mind with jealousies and suspicions; for he was not either disobedient or obstinate of himself, but rather of a contrary disposition. The point upon which they chiefly insisted was the kindness shewn by Don Denis to his natural son *Alonso Sanchez*, to whom he had given the first employment in the kingdom, and who acted as his prime minister. They persuaded the prince to demand of his father the divesting him of his employment, and removing him from his person. This mortified Don Denis to the last degree, more especially when he saw that some of his most faithful servants advised him to yield. *Alonso Sanchez* cut the matter short; and to justify the king's conduct, by shewing that he respected nothing in him but merit, resigned his office freely, and retired into *Castile*. The prince Don *Alonso* upon this came to the court, and brought with him his little son Don *Pedro*, with whom the king was exceedingly pleased. In a very little time the prince made a strange alteration in his conduct, and gradually expelled from his presence those who had been the authors of his revolts. The king going from *Leyria* to *Santaren*, spent some time there, as being very much pleased with the country. He went from thence to *Lisbon*, where finding himself again indisposed, he sent immediately to the prince, and after giving him a great deal of good advice, and pointed out to him the means of avoiding the bad consequences that might naturally attend his former faults, he breathed his last on the thirtieth of *December*, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and at the close of the forty-fifth year of his reign, to the universal grief of his subjects of all ranks, who not only revered him as their prince; but loved him as their parent ^b (A).

He

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, Monarch. Lusitan, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE. ^b FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, BRANDAN, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

(A) This monarch was of a very singular way of learning middle stature, broad shoulder'd, it, and which nothing but the full faced, his hair black, and strength and excellency of his his eyes large. He applied him- own genius could have rendered himself diligently to his studies in successful (1). We have his youth; and when he came observed, he differed with his to the possession of his throne, mother, and declined an inter- he considered reigning as a view with his grandfather; and science, which it was his busi- from the same motive he dis- ness to acquire; but he took a missed his father's ministers, be-

(1) *Nunes, Va'cancellor, de la Neufville.*

ing

He was, without all doubt, one of the wisest, most fortunate, and most magnificent monarchs of his time. He gave largely, but he gave with propriety; yet he did this so often, so freely, and with such an apparent pleasure, that his name became a proverb, and they say to this day, *As generous as king Denis*. His bounty, however, was not restrained to gifts: he founded two universities, and a military

Some remarks upon the reign of Don Denis, and on the trade of Portugal.

ing resolved to have no instructors. His first care was to visit his dominions, province by province, and wherever he came he took notice of what he thought right, and what wrong (2). He was particularly careful of agriculture, and favoured it so much through his whole reign, that the country people called him the husbandman. He had a most magnificent crown, and a large scepter, made of the gold washed out of the sands of the *Tago*. When it was suggested to him, that the labour in picking this gold was more than it was worth, he added calmly, but it is a fine exercise for those who have nothing to do (3). In the twenty-second year of his age, he corrected all that he had done amiss at the opening of his reign, and from that time would do nothing without good advice, which, when some wondered at, he said pleasantly, that it was a dangerous thing for kings to take advice, before they know how to distinguish it, and imprudent to act without it afterwards. He understood all things, and he rewarded all men, provided they had merit; and this was such a spur to in-

dustry, that it raised his revenue exceedingly, without imposing taxes (4). He did not hoard money, but chose to empty his coffers in works of utility and magnificence, some of which are yet remaining, and appear to have been very costly. He excused this to those that wondered at it, by saying, if I do not give it them they cannot give it me; meaning, that if wealth did not circulate, his revenues must sink. He was particularly careful in keeping up a naval force; so that he was master at sea, during his whole reign. He was very strict in the administration of justice; and one great cause of his disputes with his clergy, was his not suffering priests to violate the laws with impunity. He built a magnificent tomb for himself in the monastery of *Odivellas*, where he was interred (5). He possessed the hearts of his people so entirely, that there was not a family in his dominions but lamented his death as a misfortune to themselves. All the *Portuguese* authors concur in their commendations of *Don Denis*, and stile him the father of husbandmen, and the protector of commerce (6).

(2) *Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet.*
las Historias Portuguezas, le Clede, &c.
Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferrenay.
Mayerne Turquet.

(3) *Nunex, Epitome de*

(4) *Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa,*

(5) *Nunex, Rainald, Faria y Sousa,*

(6) *Brandan, Nunex, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, de la*

Nusville.

order;

order; he completed many good designs that his predecessors had left unfinished; he fortified and raised magazines in most of his frontier towns, arsenals in his ports, and in other things was at a vast expence, and never without money; yet he did not either tax, or oppress his subjects. His wealth was the wonder of his own times; for observing how thoroughly he performed whatever he undertook, the common people were wont to say, that Don *Denis* could do what he would. This is an argument that there must have been a vast trade then in *Portugal*; and another proof of this is, that through his whole reign the king kept a great naval force at sea, by which he awed the *Moors*, and protected his own coasts and those of *Andalusia*. There is yet another evidence of what has been before advanced: the king is highly commended by the *Portuguese* historians for not affecting any thing that was foreign in his dress, at his table, or in his furniture. This implies, that he was singular in this respect, and his motive certainly was to promote the commodities and manufactures of his own country, so as to raise their value in the sentiments of his own people and of strangers, which was one of the most effectual methods he could devise for bringing wealth into his country, which will always attend commerce, if luxury does not carry it away again. We speak of these matters doubtfully, and from conjecture, because the *Portuguese* historians are not very explicit upon this head; and yet from a comparison of circumstances, there can be nothing clearer than that a great commerce was carried on there at this time, which, in all probability, was the effects of the frequent visits made to the coasts of *Portugal* by those fleets of adventurers that from all parts of *Europe* sailed to the *Holy Land*, and the intercourse that resulted from thence with the islands of the *Archipelago*, and the ports of *Greece*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, from whence, in process of time, they derived those lights that put them upon attempting discoveries, of which in this age they had not even the most glimmering prospect. But they had already the effects of trade and shipping, by which they were rendered rich and powerful, in comparison with, and in the general estimation of their neighbours.

Don Alonso IV. succeeds, and is very indolent in

DON *Alonso* the fourth, surnamed *the Brave*, succeeded his father, and was crowned with great solemnity¹. His conduct while he was heir apparent had not given the most favourable opinion of him to his subjects; and more especially to such of the nobility as had been intrusted by the late king

¹ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, Historia de España, part vii. § xiv.

Don

Don Denis, and who, by a long acquaintance with affairs, ^{the dis-} had acquired a very high authority, and a general influence ^{charge of} over the whole nation. Don Alonso did not consider either ^{his duty.} their characters or his own in a proper point of view; but seemed to look on the possession of the crown as a sufficient title to act as he thought fit, to pursue his pleasures without disturbance, and to live in all respects above and without controul. But the council thought otherwise; and though they might easily have converted this temper of the new king to their own advantage, by engrossing all power into their own hands, and barely administering the government in his name, yet they acted another and a better part, and that too with all the success they could desire (B). The king, who
at

(B) Though the ancient Portuguese historians, like those of other countries, are so inattentive in point of chronology, that it is impossible to discover from them where the extraordinary fact we are going to relate ought to be placed; yet with the modern historians of that country, we are of opinion, it is most likely to have happened soon after Don Alonso's accession to the throne. He was in the vigour of his age; hunting was his favourite diversion; those who shared his confidence encouraged and allured him to this sport; so that he spent his time in the forests about *Sintra*, while all affairs of government were neglected, or which was worse, executed under the direction of those who took pains to keep their master in ignorance (8). At length, the king returned to *Lisbon*, and coming into his council, with all the brisk impetuosity of a sportsman, he gave them, with great frankness and spirit, the history of a whole month's hunting, fishing, and shooting. When he had done speaking, a person of great quality rose up, and said, courts and

camp were designed for kings, and not woods and deserts. The affairs of private men suffer when recreation is preferred to business; but as they are public persons, a whole nation is consigned to ruin, whenever the whim of pleasure turns the head of a king. We sit here for other purposes than to hear exploits admirable to the eyes, and only intelligible to the ears of grooms and falconers. If your majesty will attend to the wants, and remove the grievances of your people, you will find them obedient subjects; if not — the king starting with passion at this said, if not, what? — If not, continued the nobleman, in the same tone of voice, they must look for another and a better king. Alonso at this lost all patience, and after having expressed his resentment, in very loud and strong terms, threw out of the room in the highest transport of rage. In a little time he returned quiet and composed. I perceive, said he, the truth of what you say; he cannot long have subjects who will not be a king. Remember, that from this day

(8) Nunez, Vasconcellos, de la Neuville.

at the bottom, had good sense, as well as great spirit, entered by degrees into the knowledge and into the discharge of his duty, which he began by calling to an account some of his old creatures and favourites, not for the bad advice they had given him, and the disturbances which they had thereby created in the kingdom, but for those crimes and offences of which they had been personally guilty, and from the just punishment of which they were in hopes of screening themselves by the royal favour^k. He paid all possible respect to his father's memory, and promoted those who had opposed him with the greatest vehemence; not believing they were enemies to him, but considering them as the true friends of the crown. He shewed much duty to his mother the queen dowager, great affection for his consort queen *Beatrix*, and began to form designs for the firm establishment of his family, and the security of his dominions (C).

Declares his brother BUT with all his good qualities, and in spite of all his good conduct, the king could not overcome in his mind the

^k LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanæ, LE CLERE.

you have nothing more to do with *Alonso* the sportsman, but with *Alonso* king of Portugal (9). A fact so extraordinary that it could not be invented.

(C) Don *Alonso* was born at *Coimbra*, in the year 1296; he was educated with care during his infancy, and discovered such a pregnancy of parts, as induced the king his father to leave him to himself a little too soon (1). His marriage with Donna *Beatrix*, daughter to *Sancho* the fourth, and sister to *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, brought him into an early acquaintance with the factious princes of that family, and excited in him a desire of giving law, when in reality he received it from those about him. By his princefs he

had four sons and two daughters, viz. *Alonso*, *Denis*, *Juan*, *Pedro*, *Mary*, and *Leonora*: of these the three first died in their infancy; Don *Pedro* succeeded him; Donna *Maria* espoused *Alonso*, the eleventh king of *Castile*; and Donna *Leonora*, Don *Pedro*, the fourth king of *Arragon* (2). In the disposition therefore of his children he acted very prudently, and so as to draw to himself and his subjects, a share of all the good fortune that happened in the neighbouring kingdoms as well as his own, and secured their interest, in case he was at any time attacked by the *Moors*, points which had been the principal objects of his predecessors (3).

(9) Nunez, Vasconcellos, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, p. iii. c. ix. le Clere.

(1) Nunez, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa. (2) Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Mariana, Ferreras. (3) Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

aversion he had conceived against his natural brother *Alonso Sanchez*; and therefore in the first assembly of the states that he held, he ordered his process to be made, and affirming, that he was the sole author of all the differences that had happened between him and the deceased king his father, he directed all his great estate to be seized, and himself proclaimed a traitor¹. This was so much the more extraordinary, as he is commended for passing at this time an excellent law, by which he prohibited private persons from revenging their own injuries, and obliged them to have recourse to the law, as to an impartial judge. *Alonso Sanchez* wrote the king a very respectful letter, in which he assured him of his innocence, of his willingness to serve him with the same fidelity he had done his father, intreating him not to carry into execution the severe sentence he had passed against him. But the king persisting in his revenge, *Alonso Sanchez*, at the head of a considerable body of troops, entered *Portugal*, and did a great deal of mischief. The king sent against him the master of *Avis*, with a superior corps of troops, whom *Alonso Sanchez* engaged and routed. The king, full of resentment, took the field in person; and the governor of *Codeceyra*, near *Albuquerque*, having put that strong place, which belonged to *Alonso Sanchez*, into the king's hands, he burnt it to the ground, and then returned into his own territories². His mother *Donna Isabella*, understanding that *Alonso Sanchez* had written again to the king, interposed with her son, and told him plainly, that all he had imputed to *Alonso Sanchez* was false, that he was a very brave and a very great man; and that as he had divested himself of other prejudices, so he would find it for his interest to get the better of this, and recal his brother. The king took her advice in good part, and sent *Alonso Sanchez* word, that if he would return, he was content to hear him; on which, notwithstanding all that had happened, he came immediately to court, and the king, after a short coldness, received him into high favour³. An action so royal, that it deserves to be communicated to posterity.

Alonso Sanchez a proscribed traitor, and is after reconciled.

A. D.
1336.

AT the persuasion of his consort, the king was very desirous to marry his daughter to Don *Alonso* the eleventh, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and caused some propositions on this head to be made to that prince, who, the *Portuguese* historians say, was already married to *Donna Constantia*, the daughter of Don *Juan Manuel*, a powerful and turbulent prince of the blood; but the

A war with Castile, which is at length compromised, and an alliance concluded.

¹ Saint Marthe Hist. FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

² ED. NUNEZ, MARIANA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERREAS.

³ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

best

best *Spanish* writers say, that he was only contracted to Donna *Constantia*, which is more probable, as that lady was too young to be married. At first the king of *Castile* had no great inclination to the princess of *Portugal*; but at length, from motives of policy, grew very desirous of it; caused Donna *Constantia*, whom he should have married, to be put into prison, and made so much haste to conclude it, as not to stay for a dispensation, which was held necessary in those days^o. Soon after this, prince *Peter*, heir apparent of the crown of *Portugal*, espoused Donna *Blanch*, daughter to the infant Don *Pedro* of *Castile*; but she proved to have some distemper that rendered her incapable of marriage. This produced a negotiation for espousing the lady *Constantia*, who should have been the king of *Castile*'s consort, to prince *Peter* of *Portugal*. To this Don *Alonso* gave his consent in words, but took every method possible to prevent it. This monarch also being fallen into an amour with Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, treated the queen Donna *Maria*, though the daughter of the king of *Portugal*, with great indignity, notwithstanding the interposition of the two queens of *Portugal*, who were his near relations, and for whom he professed great deference and respect. At length, after reciprocal injuries, things ended in an open war by land and sea; and the subjects of both crowns were for twelve years exposed to all the miseries of repeated incursions with fire and sword, for the sake of these domestic jars between their princes. But as we have already entered into the detail of this matter in the history of *Spain*, it would be both needless and tedious to enter into it here; and therefore we shall only observe, that Don *Alonso* the eleventh of *Castile*, finding himself in danger of being attacked by the whole force of the *Moors*, was obliged to have recourse to the kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal* for assistance, even before the war was concluded with the latter; and finding that monarch well disposed, very wisely entered into a treaty, which was concluded in the month of *July* at *Santaren*, by which Donna *Constantia* was permitted to go into *Portugal* to consummate her marriage with the infant Don *Pedro*: and the king of *Portugal* promised to assist his brother of *Castile* with all his force; which he religiously and gallantly performed; and was present in the glorious battle of *Tarifa*, or *Celdano*, fought on the 30th of *October*: in which the *Moors* were totally defeated; and for his assistance in which his son-in-law made him all possible acknowledgments^p.

A. D.

1340.

^o LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^p FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, LA NEUFVILLE.

THE

THE war against the *Moors* continued for several years; and the king *Don Alonso*, in pursuance of his engagements, furnished his son-in-law with succours both by land and sea; in consideration of which, he obtained from *Rome* a permission to levy the tenths upon the clergy for two years^a. The *Moors*, to revenge their losses, projected and executed a descent on the kingdom of *Algarve*; where they burnt and plundered the country, murdered the inhabitants, and having made themselves masters of *Castro Marim*, demanded assistance from *Granada*, in hopes of being able to keep possession of that country: but the king of *Portugal* soon awakened them from these dreams, and by coming with a superior army, recovered the place^c. This success restored the quiet of his dominions, which in all other respects were in a very flourishing condition; the laws being strictly executed, the king very active in his administration, and not addicted either to luxury or covetousness. Yet in the midst of this calm, and when it was least expected, a new storm arose, which shook the government to its very foundations, and the dismal effects of which were felt some ages after, as state-convulsions often are.

Don Pedro, prince of *Portugal*, had given very pregnant signs of a noble and well regulated courage; had behaved very dutifully towards his father, and was a very kind and good husband to *Donna Constantia Manuel*, by whom he had several children. Yet it was thought he had a tenderness for *Donna Agnes de Castro*, the daughter of a *Castilian* gentleman, who had taken refuge in the court of *Portugal*. Some say, that the princess *Donna Constantia* perceived, and grew melancholy upon it, and it is even thought to have hastened her death^d. The king *Don Alonso* being apprised of it, acted like a great politician; he appointed *Donna Agnes* godmother to his grandson *Don Ferdinand*; because in the *Romish* church this creates a kind of religious alliance, which disables the godmother from ever marrying the father of the child. The scheme was certainly subtil, but it proved notwithstanding ineffectual. As yet the kindness of *Don Pedro* for this lady had not exceeded the bounds of decency; perhaps had not proceeded so far as any declaration, when the princess *Donna Constantia* died: for whom *Don Pedro* shewed a becoming concern, and *Donna Agnes de Castro*, who it is likely knew nothing of the suspicions that were entertained concerning her, manifest-

The Moors make a descent upon Algarve, and are obliged to abandon it.

Unfortunate amour of Don Pedro, prince of Portugal, with Donna Agnes de Castro.

A. D.
1344.

^a RAINALD, MARIANA, LE CLEDE. ^c E. NUNEZ, GARIBAY, LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS. ^d LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA.

ed an affliction equally tender and sincere, which affected the prince so strongly, that it contributed not a little to fix his inclinations for that unfortunate lady, which discovered themselves not long after, with all the transports of a violent passion ; but whether this was of a criminal nature, is at least very doubtful, since Don *Pedro* afterwards affirmed, in the most solemn manner, that he was privately married to her ; and in justice to that lady's memory, we ought to believe that this marriage took place before she had any share in his bed^t. It was, however, kept very secret ; and out of respect to his father, and from other motives of policy, he suffered his commerce with her to pass for that kind of gallantry which was held excusable in a person of his rank, who was become a widower in the flower of his age.

Represent-
ed in a
very strong
light to the
king Don
Alonso by
his fa-
vourites.

UPON the accession of Don *Pedro the Cruel* to the throne of *Castile*, many of the nobility of that kingdom, and some even of the first distinction, thought proper to retire into the dominions of the crown of *Portugal*, where they were kindly received by the prince Don *Pedro*, and generously entertained and protected by Donna *Agnes* and her brethren^u, whose conduct in this respect was generally applauded in public, and in private as generally condemned. Our prince, said the politicians, out of complaisance for his mistress, encourages the *Castilians* who desert their master's service to retire hither, and there is the highest probability that his kindness to these exiles may involve us in a war with our neighbours. The common crowd of courtiers whispered, that all passages to favour and preferment were blocked up by the mistress's relations or countrymen, who obtained whatever they asked, while those who had a natural right to what they obtained, were deluded in their hopes, and disappointed in their expectations. The mob of the court (for courts have their mob) hated the *Castilians*, merely because they were so, hated those who provided for them, and hated those for whose sake this provision was made : thus the fuel was prepared and placed before fire was set to the machine. Those who managed the contrivance, insinuated to the king, and perhaps to the queen, that it would be for the honour of the crown, and perhaps for the interest of the nation, if Don *Pedro* could be prevailed upon to marry again ; that his distaste to this proposition arose entirely from his attachment for Donna *Agnes*, and his tenderness for his children by her ; and that this in-

^t E. NUNEZ, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.
del Rey Don Pedro, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERRIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, E. NUNEZ, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

^u *Cronica*

trigue,

trigue, though at present it only vexed the royal family, might in the end prove fatal to the state *. The common pretence of those who would rise by extraordinary counsels.

AT last, the malice of those who envied the fortune of the family of *Castro*, induced them to suggest to the king, that his son was married to *Donna Agnes*, and that this match was very much beneath him; and to carry this still farther, they named *Giles*, bishop of *Guarda*, as the prelate by whom it was solemnized. That the king spoke of this to *Don Pedro*, and that he did not own the marriage, seems to be certain; in which the conduct of the prince deserves blame, more especially if it be true, as some have written, that the king also told him, that if he would avow the marriage, he would cause her to be treated as princess of *Portugal*. In the end, when the king's uneasiness and dissatisfaction plainly appeared, these people hinted the danger of his grandson *Don Ferdinand*, from the ambition of *Don Ferdinand* and *Don Alvaro de Castro*; and when the king demanded what remedy could be applied to this evil, they wickedly suggested the putting lady *Agnes* to death, as an expedient actually requisite to the safety of the royal family. The king hesitating, the thing took air, and coming to the ears of the queen and the archbishop of *Braga*, they, from a generous and christian spirit, gave notice of it to the prince; who, believing his father incapable of such an action, looked upon it as a new artifice to engage his consent to a marriage. But those who had the ear of the king, and knew how capable he was of resolving even of matters of the greatest importance on the sudden, and executing these resolutions without advice, took their opportunity, and carried him to *Coimbra*, when the prince was absent from thence † on a hunting match.

THE unfortunate *Donna Agnes* was then at the monastery of *Santa Clara*; and the manner of the king's coming, joined it may be to some previous information, rendered his purpose so apparent, that the innocent victim went out to meet him, and with her children threw herself and them at his feet, with which spectacle the king was so much moved, that he desisted from his design; but his three counsellors, *Alvaro Gonfalez*, *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, and *Pedro Coello*, reproaching him with his want of spirit, and his having more tenderness for a woman than for his subjects and the state, he relapsed to his former resolution; and gave them commission to go and execute what he first intended; which with great

Propose to remove Donna Agnes out of the world by violence.

The king at length consents, and gives his orders for the murder of the princess.

* ED. NUNEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.
 † FARIA Y SOUSA.

A. D.

1355

brutality they did, and then returned to the king with their daggers reeking with the blood of the princess his daughter-in-law ^y. He was so strangely misled, as to avow and approve this horrid action; and having ordered her corps to be interred in the monastery of *Santa Clara*, he left *Coimbra* as if he had done nothing there for which he ought to be ashamed ^z. But when the prince was informed of this cruel event, he suffered himself to be transported into such fury, that he wasted all the country between the rivers *Minho* and *Douro* with fire and sword; and had carried things to greater extremities, if the queen and the archbishop of *Braga* had not interposed, and represented to him in the strongest terms, the absurd barbarity of resenting the injury done him by the king upon his subjects, who were one day to become his own; which, as he easily comprehended, and had naturally the greatest love for justice, he readily complied with their request, and accepted such terms as they proposed; and thus a civil war, that might have been of the most dangerous consequence, was hardly felt before it was composed ^a.

Don Pedro
takes up
arms, and
begins a
civil war
against his
father.

THE king Don *Alonso*, who had this peculiar in his temper, that he quickly saw his errors, and was very earnest to repair them, not only accepted his son's submission, and received him again into favour, but studied every method to oblige him; and to bring him so far to forget the deplorable fate of his princess, as not to aim at revenging it; and some say, that he took an oath at his father's request to this purpose. It is more certain, that contrary to the natural plainness and candor of his disposition, the prince dissembled with his father, and with the world, in such a manner that he was thought to have suffered time not only to dry his tears, but to heal his heart; and what seemed to put this past all doubt, was his entering into a new amour with a *Galician* lady ^b, and the readiness he shewed to embrace the proposition made by *Henry*, count of *Trastemara*; who advised him, in his mother's right, to set up a title to the crown of *Castile*, against Don *Pedro*, who was already considered as a tyrant: but the king Don *Alonso* interposed out of compassion to his own subjects, whom he would not suffer to be embarked in a quarrel he thought to be unjust. In the mean time, *Mary*, queen dowager of *Castile*, daughter to the king and sister to the

^y E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, LE CLEDE.

NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, E. NUNEZ, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA.

prince

prince of *Portugal*, died ^c in that kingdom, to which she retired, out of the reach of her son, who was as little famed for piety as pity. *Mariana* suggests, that she died unfairly, on account of her indecent familiarity with the *Portuguese* noblemen, by order of the king *Don Pedro of Portugal*; but as his sister's death happened before he was king, it shews there is a mistake in the story: and perhaps it may be entirely a mistake; for the *Castilians*, after the death of *Donna Leonora de Guzman*, bore that princess no good-will, and took great freedoms, whether with or without foundation at this distance of time it would be very hard, if not impossible, to determine.

A. D.
1356.

Don Alonso, now advanced in years, and grown very infirm, began to think of disposing all things for his quiet passing out of this world; and therefore did various acts of charity, piety, and bounty, enquired into, and redressed grievances throughout his dominions, established just laws for repressing immorality and avarice, dictating what he thought to be the proper maxims for ruling the state, and labouring all in his power to efface from the memory of *Don Pedro* the injury and insult he had received. But, however, fearing, or perhaps foreseeing that this would prove a task impracticable, he had recourse to what remained still in his own power, the providing for, and putting out of his reach such as were most likely to become the objects of his resentment. He gave therefore considerable sums of money to *Alvaro Gonzalez*, *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, and *Pedro Coello*, enjoining them to retire into *Castile*, and endeavour in a foreign country to enjoy that ease and safety which their own impetuous counsels had rendered it improbable would ever be their lot in their own^d. These measures taken, he departed this life in the month of *May*, 1357, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and the sixty-seventh year of his age^e. It was said, and with great truth, that he was an undutiful son, an unnatural brother, and a cruel father. But these harsh epithets expressed, as was fit, all that was hateful in his conduct. In other respects he was a great man, and a great king. He was very brave, and very fortunate in war. All *Spain* stood indebted to him for the generosity with which he assisted *Alonso* the eleventh, king of *Castile*, burying his private resentments in the noble desire

Death of
Don Alonso, and a
succinct
view of
his administration.

^c Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, de PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^d E. NUNEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^e E. NUNEZ, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLÈDE, LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA.

of distinguishing his own and his subjects courage at the expence of the common enemy. He was a politician, indeed too much of a politician ; for all his misfortunes arose from that false and fatal maxim, that good can ever be attained by illicit means. He loved his children, and his subjects as if they had been his children. He was strict in the administration of justice, and would suffer no rank of men to plead the unrighteous privilege of being exempt from, or superior to law. He was so tender of property, and so attentive to public welfare, that industry flourished under his reign, and his people were rich, and at their ease, while their monarch's coffers were full ; and yet he drew nothing from them beyond the ordinary and accustomed revenue. After all, he was rather revered for a right use of power, than relied on as a public parent ; and though much esteemed, was not very much beloved. He gave for his device an eagle on the wing, with these words, *Altiore Peto*, i. e. My hopes fly high ^f.

Accession of Don Pedro, and his care to negotiate an alliance with Castile.

DON Pedro ascended the throne in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and by some historians is surnamed *the Cruel*, by others *the Justiciary*, or *Lover of Justice*^g, either from an apprehension that this was more suitable to his real character, or to distinguish him the better from the other *Pedro's*; since at this time Don Pedro *the Cruel* occupied the crown of *Castile*, and Don Pedro the fourth that of *Arragon*^h. The first care of the new monarch was to send *Arias Gomez de Sylva* and *Gonzalo Yanez de Beja* to the court of *Castile* to renew the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and to inform the king of his sincere desire to live with him in the strictest friendship possible (D). This produced an embassy the

^f LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 214. ^g E. NUNEZ, LA NEUFVILLE, ^h FERRERAS, ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

(D) Don Pedro was born at *Coimbra*, on the 13th of May, 1320, and was about five years old when his grandfather died, for whose memory he always preserved a very high veneration. His marriage with Donna *Constantia*, daughter to Don *Juan Manuel*, brought him an immense sum of money, and drew to him also many of the *Castilian* lords, particularly his wife's brother, to whom he gave

lands in *Portugal*, and created him count of *Sintra*. By his first princess he had two sons and a daughter ; these were Don *Lewis*, who died young ; Don *Ferdinand*, in high favour with his grandfather, and who succeeded his father ; and the infant Donna *Maria*, who espoused the infant *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, marquis of *Tortosa*, son to the king Don *Alonso* the fourth. By the unfortunate lady *Agnes de Castro*,

the next year from *Castile*, when, besides ratifying the ancient alliances, a new family-convention was concluded, by which it was agreed, that *Ferdinand* prince of *Portugal* should marry *Donna Beatrix*; and that the infantas *Constantia* and *Isabella*, all three daughters of *Donna Maria de Padilla*, should espouse the princes *Juan* and *Denis*, sons of *Donna Agnes de Castro*. The king farther entered into a league with *Don Pedro* of *Castile*, against the king of *Arragon*; and it was stipulated by an express article, that both parties should reciprocally deliver up such malecontents as should fly to them from each other's dominions¹.

THE true aim of this treaty soon appeared; for the king of *Portugal* having in the first assembly of the states held after his accession, caused the three murderers of his beloved *Agnes de Castro*, to be attainted, and their estates confiscated, *Don Pedro* of *Castile* suggested to him, that if he would seize some persons, Part the
murderers
of Donna
Agnes de
Castro to
death.

¹ Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

Castro, he had issue *Alonso*, who died young; *Don Juan*, who married *Donna Maria de Telles*, by whom he had *Ferdinand* of *Portugal*, lord of *Eca*. After he returned into *Castile* he married the king's bastard sister, *Donna Constantia*, with whom he had the county of *Valencia*, and by whom he had three daughters: he had also several natural children. *Don Denis*, the third son, who was obliged to quit his country because he would not pay homage to queen *Leonora*, married in *Castile* *Donna Joanna*, natural daughter to *Don Henry* the second, from whom descended the counts of *Colmenerejo* and *Villars*. The infanta *Donna Beatrix*, married the infant *Don Sancho* of *Castile*, count of *Albuquerque*, and by him had an only daughter, *Donna Leonora*, who espoused the infant *Don Ferdinand* of *Castile*, who in process of time became king of *Arragon* and *Sicily*. Besides these

children, the king had by *Donna Theresa Lorenza*, a lady of quality of *Galicia*; a son, *Don Juan*, whom he caused to be elected grand-master of *Avis*, whom he legitimated, and who became afterwards king of *Portugal*. Some of the best *Portuguese* writers affirm, he was not given to women; that in the life-time of his first princess, he curbed his passion for *Donna Agnes*; and that it was not till after her decease, he took *Donna Theresa*, to console his melancholy, and to prevent the king's forcing him upon a marriage. It is at least certain, that he had a great aversion to incontinency in other men, and punished it very severely, but more especially in the clergy; but it was chiefly adultery against which he pointed his justice, stiling it a sin against society, and esteeming it the source of more mischiefs than almost any other vice.

G 3

his

his subjects, who had retired into his dominions, he would deliver up those who had imbrued their hands in the blood of his princess. The Portuguese monarch accepted the proposal, and having caused *Men Rodriguez Tenorio*, *Hernando Gudiel de Toledo*, and *Fortuna Sanchez Calderin*, to be seized, he sent them to *Seville*. Don Pedro Nunez de Guzman had met with the same treatment; but he fled to *Albuquerque*, to *Sancho Ruiz de Villegas*, upon whose friendship he depended; but he either sold or sacrificed him to the king, by whom he was put to a cruel death. On the other hand, *Pedro Cpella* and *Alvaro Nunez*, were seized in the like manner in *Castile*, and sent to the king of *Portugal*; but *Diego Pacheco*, who happened to be hunting, having timely intelligence given him by a beggar of what had happened, made his escape into *Arragon*. Don Pedro, having the sentence of the law on his side, and the criminals in his hands, gave a loose to his resentment; and, with an impetuosity excusable in a lover, but no way becoming a king, not only caused them to be put to death with exquisite tortures, but was present at this shocking scene, and insulted them in their last moments; in which they behaved with great spirit, and returned the same language they received. This terrible execution was performed at *Santaren*^k. Don Vasco Fernandez, archbishop of *Toledo*, being ordered to retire into *Portugal* by Don Pedro of *Castile*, who seized his estate and effects, that prelate was received with the utmost respect, and had a retreat given him at *Crimbra*, where he spent the remainder of his days in acts of piety and devotion^l.

*Causes her
corps to be
removed
from Co-
imbra to
Alcobaca,
with vast
pomp.*

THE king Don Pedro's affections for Donna Agnes continued as strong as ever, and his grief for her death was not assuaged by the torments exercised on the authors of it. He summoned therefore at *Cantanedes* an assembly of the states, where, in the presence of the Pope's nuncio, he swore upon the gospels, that having privately obtained a dispensation at *Rome*, he had secretly espoused at *Bragança* Donna Agnes de *Castro*, in the presence of the bishop of *Guarda*, and of his master of the wardrobe, both of whom testified their know-

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, E. NUNEZ DE LEON as crônicas dos Reis de Portugal, Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæsis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanæ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 218. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, Historia de España, part. viii. §. xiv. LE CLEDE. ^l Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA.

ledge of the truth of what the king had sworn^m. In consequence of which, the king having first published the Pope's bull, containing the dispensation, ordered the body of the deceased lady to be removed from *Coimbra* to the royal monastery of *Alcobaça*, with a pomp unknown in *Portugal*, and there to be interred under a white marble monument, with all the funeral honours due to a queen. This, with the legitimization of her children, and the care he took of all who had been in her service, consoled him in some degree, and rendered him more conversable than hitherto he had been. The king had sent his ambassadors into *Arragon*, in order to reconcile the king *Don Pedro* to the monarch of *Castile*; but the first mentioned prince declined his mediation, and sent ambassadors to his court, to represent the unkindness of his late treaty with *Castile*; and offered to treat of a marriage between the infanta *Donna Joanna* and prince *Ferdinand* of *Portugal*; which, the circumstances of affairs being much altered, was not wholly rejectedⁿ. He saw the instability of affairs in *Castile*, and was determined not to twist them with his own.

A. D.
1364.

In the course of his reign, the great object that *Don Pedro* had in view was the absolute reformation of every thing that was amiss throughout his whole dominions: a resolution singular in itself, and prosecuted with as much steadiness as if it had been less difficult. He began with himself; and that he might the more thoroughly understand his duty, he went frequently to the monastery of *Alcobaça*, where he contemplated the tomb in which he was to lie, and the account he was one day to give. He was very easy of access, and examined every thing to the bottom. In general his court was very frugal and modest; but upon particular occasions very splendid and magnificent. In those cases the common people and the poor had their share; for, he held, that those who worked and laboured hardest, had the most need of refreshments. He made short tours into the provinces, that he might hear with his own ears, and see with his own eyes. On such occasions he carried a sceptre and a whip, to signify that he meant to reward and to chastise. He was alike vehement in both: he bestowed freely, and frequently; but his enquiries were very strict, and his punishments severe. He suspended for a certain time all taxes; and when it was represented that his treasure would be soon exhausted, he said, that a king who gave

Don Pedro resolves to make a thorough reformation throughout his kingdom.

^m E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, FERREIRA, MARIANA. ⁿ ZURITA Annal Arragon. FARLEY SOUSA, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, MAYERNE TURQUET.

wisely, and only to those who deserved it, might be liberal at no great expence. He had no respect of persons; but administered justice as he expected to see it administered, when the secrets of all hearts are laid open. The memoirs nearest his own times speak of him with admiration, and are very far from loading him with those indecent epithets, that would have been attached to the name of any other prince, who had done as many severe acts as he. But it seems that he so far attained his end, so qualified the strictness of his justice by his affability and kindness to all the world, and brought the bulk of his subjects to have such a relish for that regularity which he so much affected, that, by degrees, the people were as much altered as the prince; and almost universally admired those qualities in their king, that in any other country would have procured him the appellation of a tyrant (E).

WHILE

(E) In this note we propose to give a few of the many extraordinary marks of justice for which this monarch was famous, and these as features of his character, and to support the account we have given of his reign. An ecclesiastic, in a high fit of passion, killed a mason whom he had employed, for not executing something agreeable to his mind. The king dissembled his knowledge of the crime, and left it to the cognizance of the proper courts, where the issue of the business was, that the priest was suspended from saying mass for a year. At this slight punishment the family of the deceased were highly offended. The king caused it to be hinted to the mason's son, that he should kill the priest; which he did, and falling into the hands of justice, was condemned to suffer death; but as no capital sentence could be executed without the king's consent, this was laid before him amongst the rest, upon which he asked, what was the young man's trade? It was answered, that he followed his

father's; then said the king, I shall commute this punishment, by restraining him from meddling with stone or mortar for a twelvemonth. But after this he punished capital crimes in the clergy with death; and when they desired that his majesty would be pleased to refer their causes to a superior tribunal, he answered very calmly, that is what I mean to do; for I send them to the highest of all tribunals, to that of their maker and mine. A woman of intrigue, whose name was *Eleanor*, having corrupted a young girl for his admiral *Lanforata Pesania*, the king condemned the old woman to the flames, and the admiral to lose his head. It is indeed true, that at the request of the republic of *Genoa*, he pardoned him; but it was some years before he was suffered to appear again at court. Complaint being made to the king, that an officer of justice having delivered a summons to a person of distinction, he in a rage gave him a box in the ear, and pulled him by the beard; the king, turning

WHILE Don Pedro of Portugal was acquiring, Don Pedro of Castile was losing the character of a good prince, and became at last so generally hated, that upon his brother the count of Trastemara's assuming the title of king, he was abandoned by the best part of his subjects °. A little before this cruel reverse of fortune happened, he had sent his eldest daughter, the infanta Donna Beatrix, with an immense sum in ready money into Portugal, where, pursuant to the treaty between the two crowns, she was to marry the prince Don Ferdinand, and not long after took the same rout, with a small body of troops which remained faithful to him, not doubting of a good reception, and of a powerful support; but the king of Portugal was no sooner informed of his arrival on the frontiers, than he sent to desire he would remain where he was; and when he had deliberated with his principal nobility, acquainted him that he was sorry for his misfortune; but that his son, the prince Don Ferdinand, having taken an absolute resolution not to marry the infanta Donna Beatrix, and as his subjects were by no means inclined to enter into a war with the people of Castile, he had sent back the princess with all her treasure, and desired he would seek some other retreat. Don Pedro attempted to retire into the castle of Albuquerque; but finding the gates shut against him, he had recourse once more to the king of Portugal, for a safe-conduct through his territories into Galicia, which had not yet declared against him. This was granted, and Don Ferdinand and Don Alvaro de Castro were sent to escort him, who, by the orders of the infant Don Ferdinand, procured the means of escaping to Donna Leonora, the king's niece, and daughter of the count de Trastemara, by whom Don Pedro was de-

His conduct towards Don Pedro of Castile, and his death.

° E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

turning to the sheriff who was near him, said, such a one, naming the person of distinction, gave me at such a time a box of the ear, and pulled me by the beard, for which he was immediately apprehended, and lost his head. If this inflexibility of his had ever digressed from the road of strict justice; if he had ever respected persons, or been less severe to those about

him than to the rest of his subjects, he had certainly become odious; whereas the rectitude of his conduct rendered him, in spite of his severity, revered; insomuch that his subjects said unanimously of him on his death-bed, that ten such years of government had never been seen before, nor would be seen again.

throned.

throned². This conduct in the *Portuguese* king was extremely satisfactory to his subjects, and opened a new passage for the reconciliation with *Aragon*, to which the infant *Don Ferdinand* was very much inclined; but before things could be reduced into any order, the king *Don Pedro* fell into a disease, which brought him to his end on the 8th of *January*, in the year of our lord 1367, at *Estremos*, when he had reigned ten, and lived forty-seven years³. His device was a star, with these words *Monstrat lier*, This shews the way. As if, thro' the course of his reign, his thoughts had been fixed rather on a celestial than temporal state (F). His subjects expressed much concern for their loss, as foreseeing that the regularity which he introduced would not last much longer than its author; and therefore they applied to him what the *Romans* said of *Titus*, that either *Don Pedro* should never have been born, or never died⁴.

P FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, E. NUNEZ, MAYERNE TURQUET. ³ ANT. VASCONCELOS Anacephalæsis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitaniae, FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, part viiii. § xiv. LA-QUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 230. MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, cap. x.

(F) *Don Pedro* in his person was rather above the common size; his forehead high, and well spread; his eyes large, black, and very quick; his hair long, and his beard also, about which he was remarkably nice. He loved learning, and was himself a man of letters. He was pleased with music and dancing; wrote himself very elegantly in verse, as appears from some compositions of his, which are still extant. His voice was very soft and agreeable, notwithstanding he had a small hesitation in his speech. He was so far from being naturally peevish, passionate, or fullen, that he was rather of a gay and sprightly disposition; allowed the nobility, and such as were about his person, to live

with him on terms of the greatest liberty, and shared with them in all their diversions. His common saying was, if you do not offend the laws you cannot offend me, which he observed with the greatest punctuality, and looked with an eye of scorn on such as shewed either too much timidity, or seemed to be too eager in endeavouring to please him. His people in general had a very high opinion of him, because he devoted his whole time to the study and the practice of his duty, and would very commonly say, that a king who passed a whole day without doing something that was remarkably and incontestibly for the good of his people did not deserve to be thought a king.

DON

Don Ferdinand, the only son of the deceased king, by his first princess *Donna Constantia Emanuel*, ascended the throne with the universal acclamations of the people. He had a very fine person, was in the flower of his age, being about twenty-seven, courteous in his manners, very bountiful, and of a very easy chearful temper *. This prejudiced almost all men in his favour; and yet some of the old king's ministers began to doubt the stability of that great reformation, which with equal vigour and perseverance he had wrought, and under a young prince who seemed to be in all respects the very reverse of that father. Instead of a sound and solid judgment, they perceived that *Don Ferdinand* had a warm, lively, and roving imagination, which he laboured to gratify, without considering consequences; that so far from strictness of morals, or even a proper respect for the decorum of his court, the king was inclined to pleasure, and troubled himself but little either about the conduct of others, or what they thought or said of his own. The frugality of the last reign was the jest of the present; insomuch that *Don Ferdinand* considered it as a hard task to dissipate the vast treasures which the three preceding kings had laid up. In few words, he was a prince not without virtues, and those much superior to his vices; but he had a kind of levity in his disposition, beyond the power of education to correct, or experience to root out; and never shewed any constancy but in a single instance, and there it did him hurt. Yet notwithstanding this, his majestic presence, his being always in good humour, his boundless liberality, and a kind of sweetness in his nature, which discovered itself in all his actions, preserved him the affections of the populace, when he had lost the esteem of the wiser part of his subjects. The reader will perceive, that we were under a necessity of drawing his character previous to the history of his reign, which will be found little more than an illustration of it, and the events of which would otherwise appear absurd and incredible; so much the humour of this prince wrought upon his affairs, and gave a turn to almost every thing that he undertook, either in his private character or public administration: in other princes, tho' this might be no less true, yet scarce in any prince was it ever so perceptible, for in assigning the motives of their conduct, even able historians often differ. But in regard to *Don Ferdinand of Portugal*, all who have written concerning him are unanimous; and though

Don Ferdinand succeeds his father; his disposition, temper, and character.

* E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARJANA.

some

some are milder than others in their expressions, yet in respect to the general representation of his conduct they all agree, which we hope will prove a sufficient apology for this variation from our usual method, and for the placing the picture of this monarch at the beginning rather than the end of his reign.

*He inclines
to set him-
self up for
the heir of
Castile, on
the death of
Don Pedro
the Cruel.*

THE same humour that led him in his father's life-time to refuse the infant Donna *Beatrix*, and to prevent his giving any assistance, or so much as countenance, to her father Don *Pedro*, prompted him as soon as he had ascended the throne, to compliment the count of *Troasmara*, now stiled king *Henry* of *Castile*, and to offer him his assistance and alliance. But when the affairs of that prince took another turn, and he was obliged to abandon that kingdom, which he had so lately acquired, Don *Ferdinand* never attempted to lend the least support to his falling fortune¹. He preserved, in all appearance, the same spirit of neutrality; and after the prince of *Wales's* retreat, king *Henry* again entered *Castile*, and after a short but sharp struggle, once more seated himself on that throne, from whence, using his own arm as the instrument, he had by death removed his brother². In his conduct hitherto, Don *Ferdinand* seemed to act the politician; but no sooner was Don *Pedro* dead, than he declared himself most zealously in his favour, giving the opprobrious names of tyrant, traitor, and murderer, to *Henry*, and assuming to himself the title of king of *Castile*, as great grandson to Don *Sancho the Brave*. He coined money with the arms of *Castile* and *Portugal*: he suffered no distinction to be made at his court between the two nations: he received several towns on the frontiers into his protection; and bestowed so bountifully lands and estates upon all the *Castilian* nobility who came to take refuge in *Portugal*, that his palace was quickly full of them, and his subjects saw with amazement their prince surrounded by those as his favourites who but a little before were esteemed his enemies. In order to support his pretensions, he found that taking a few malcontents into his pay would not go very far: he therefore projected a league with the king of *Aragon*, undertook to marry the infanta *Leonora*, his daughter, who had been promised to the prince of *Castile*, and to furnish large subsidies for the assistance that prince was to give him.

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERRERAS Histoire de Espana, part viii. & xiv. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ² E. NUNEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique, Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, FERRERAS, BARNES's History of Edward III.

He entered into a negotiation likewise with the king of *Granada*; in which he also succeeded, and had no reason to complain of the infidelity of the *Moor*; and yet he gained not either credit or conquest by this war^x.

HE began his military operations by making an irruption *Enters into* into *Galicia* with a small army, where, after over-running *a war* the open country, he made himself master of *Corunna*, and *with king* some other places, into which having put competent garrisons, *Henry,* he found himself in no condition to keep the field; so that *and soon* upon the approach of the *Castilian* army, he retired into his *after con-* own territories^x. King *Henry*, who was an older man, and *cludes a* a better officer, did not amuse himself with recovering the *peace.* places he had taken; but fell with all his forces into *Portugal*, took the city of *Braga*, burnt it, and, wasting every thing with fire and sword, passed through to his own frontiers. King *Ferdinand*, having at length collected an army, marched against him, and sent a herald before to challenge him: but *Henry*, too wise a king, and too brave a man to take any notice of such messages, as fighting was not his business, retired into his own territories, to defend them against the king of *Granada*; who, in execution of his treaty, had made a powerful diversion in favour of his ally. King *Ferdinand* ought to have acted in concert with him, and he actually had a fleet upon the coast of *Andalusia*; but his motions were so unsteady, and he was so little equal to the task he had undertaken, that his subjects, who, in several excursions had performed very gallant things, perceived and censured it publicly^y. He had sent several noblemen and prelates of the first quality into *Aragon*, in order to accomplish the negotiation which had been begun, and with them, as the *Portuguese* writers say, eighteen hundred weight of gold, to be coined into money, to defray the expences of the war. He likewise equipped a squadron of six beautiful galleys to attend that on board which his queen was to embark, and which is said to have been covered with gold to the water edge, and to have had sails of silk, which he sent to *Barcelona*^z. Notwithstanding all this, and that he had married Donna *Leonora* of *Aragon*, publicly by proxy, he, at the persuasion of Pope *Gregory* the eleventh, and, under the mediation of his nuncio, con-

^x LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^y FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE. ^z E. NUNEZ, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^z FARIA Y SOUSA, ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

cluded

cluded a treaty with *Henry of Castile*; by which he undertook to desert his old allies, to assist him against all powers whatever, and, in consideration of several good towns and a large sum of money, to espouse Donna *Leonora* his daughter. This was sufficient to disgust the king of *Arragon*, and the method he took to express it was by laying his hands on the *Portuguese* money ^a.

Marries
Donna Le-
onora de
Tellez,
which is
very dis-
tasteful to
his sub-
jects.

THIS stroke, which he might easily have foreseen, but did not, and which might have been as easily prevented, if he had foreseen it, since he had stipulated a fortune of one hundred thousand florins with the infanta Donna *Leonora* of *Arragon*, which he might have discounted to her father, upon his subsidy, in case he had performed the treaty between them, brought him immediately under such difficulties as none of his predecessors had ever felt; for the treasure, not only of the crown, but of the kingdom of *Portugal*, being wasted, he had recourse to that miserable shift of false politicians, raising the value of the little coin that was left; from whence a long train of mischiefs arose: of which becoming at length sensible, he reduced his coin again to its old value; but so improperly, that his subjects suffered full as much from the remedy as they had done from the disease. But as great an evil as this was, he found a way to diminish the sense of it, by bringing one much heavier upon his own shoulders and theirs. In the apartments of his sister, the infanta Donna *Beatrix*, he saw a very lovely woman, whose charms did not at all suffer by any endeavours to conceal them. This lady was Donna *Leonora Tellez*, daughter to *Martin Alonso Tellez*, brother to Don *Juan Alonso*, count de *Barcelos*, and the wife of *Juan Lorenzo da Cunha*, a nobleman of one of the most distinguished families of *Portugal*. The king at first sight became so excessively enamoured of her, that for the sake of this third *Leonora* he forgot both his wives of the same name, the infantas of *Arragon* and *Castile*. The first person to whom he communicated his thoughts was her maiden sister Donna *Maria Tellez*, a young lady not inferior to her in beauty, and in all other respects much more than her equal. Donna *Maria* answered him very prudently, that his majesty would do well to stifle a passion equally inconsistent with her sister's honour and his own; that he ought to reflect she was already married; and that it would be equally dangerous and disgraceful for him to take a woman out of the bed of her husband, to receive her into his: that he was himself contracted to a

^a RAINALD, ZURITA, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA,

princes

princess equal to him in birth, and in every other respect worthy of his crown; and that this alliance being the principal article of the late peace, he had just reason to apprehend plunging his people into a new war, by the breach of it in so scandalous a manner. A man deaf to reason and conscience is incapable of listening to any advice: this was the case of Don *Ferdinand*, who told Donna *Maria*, that her sister's marriage being within the degrees of consanguinity, and without a dispensation, was null and void; that he could very easily disengage himself from his promise to the infanta of *Castile*; and that he should not find it very difficult to bring the populace, at least, to espouse the cause of their prince. Donna *Maria* gave the like good advice, but with no better effect, to her sister. Donna *Leonora* was proud of her conquest, and in raptures at the thoughts of being a queen. A process was set on foot to dissolve her marriage with Don *Juan da Cunha*: that nobleman, foreseeing what would happen, made but a slight defence; so that the cause was soon at an end^b. The king, in the mean time, acquainted his neighbour of *Castile*, that he was desirous of observing the peace in all other points, but that having placed his affections elsewhere, he chose to decline the marriage with his daughter. Henry answered like a great king, that the infanta was to be sought, and not imposed; and that the peace being kept, the king of *Portugal* might marry where he pleased^c. Don *Ferdinand* was much elated with his success, flattered himself he had managed things like a great politician; and having privately married Donna *Leonora Tellez*, carried her with him to *Lisbon*. There the people, headed by *Ferdinand Velasquez*, a taylor, raised an insurrection in the night, invested the palace, and threatened the most outrageous mischief, till the king came out into a balcony, assured them he was not married to Donna *Leonora*, and promised for their satisfaction, to make a solemn declaration of the same kind the next day in the church of *St. Dominick*. Instead of doing this, he conveyed himself and his bride privately to *Santarem*, caused the taylor and some of his chiefs to be seized and put to death; which stopped the clamour indeed, but heightened and extended the resentment of his subjects^d.

A. D.
1371.

It was from this interval of compelled silence, that the king persuaded himself the nation was satisfied; and full of this

Contrives
to bring

^b DON PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, E. NUNEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^c Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

false

over the
English,
and breaks
the peace
lately made
with Cas-
tile.

false notion, he carried Donna *Leonora* into the province between the *Douro* and *Minho*, and there caused his marriage to be publickly celebrated, in the presence of the princes, prelates, and peers of *Portugal*; all of whom did homage to the new queen, except his brother the infant Don *Denis*, who, after earnestly declaring how much he disliked the marriage, flatly refused it^c. The new queen bent all her endeavours to extend her interest and influence; and the king understanding, that *John*, duke of *Lancaster*, son to *Edward* the third, king of *England*, had assumed the title of king of *Castile* upon his marriage with Donna *Constantia*, the eldest surviving daughter of Don *Pedro the Cruel*, resolved to enter into an alliance with him, notwithstanding the pretensions he had formed to this crown himself. He sent over for this purpose a minister into *England*; but laboured at the same time to keep his intentions secret from his subjects, who he knew would disapprove it^f. The *Castilians*, however, about his court, having penetrated his project, surprized the city of *Twy* in *Galicia*, and renewed their excursions into their own country on every side. King *Henry* soon assembled a formidable army for the defence of his territories; but having heard that some ships belonging to his subjects had been siezed at *Lisbon*, he sent an ambassador to reclaim them, and with him went Don *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, to bring him an account of the true state of affairs in *Portugal*, and how far the king was able to maintain this war, which he had entered into so precipitately, without receiving, or even pretending, any provocation on the side of *Castile*^g.

After a
short but
bloody
war,
makes
peace again
upon very
indifferent
terms.

ON the return of Don *Diego*, and the coming over of the infant Don *Denis*, whom, in a high fit of passion, the king, his brother, would have stabbed with his dagger, if some of the nobility had not prevented him, *Henry* of *Castile* received such clear informations as left him no room to doubt that by pushing the war with vigour, he might compel Don *Ferdinand* to make such a peace as he had made before, and obtain, perhaps, better securities for the performance of it^h. In the midst of winter therefore he detached his son Don *Alonso* with a good corps of troops into *Portugal* one way; while himself, with the rest of his army, entered it another.

^c LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^f E. NUNEZ, MAYERNE TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

^g Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

^h MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Secundo, ED. NUNEZ, FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

He

He reduced *Viseo*, and its territory, and from thence advanced to *Coimbra*, where, being joined by his forces from *Andalusia*, he might easily have taken the place. Indeed the *Portuguese* writers say he did take it; whereas the *Spanish* historians, who ought to be as well informed, assert, that the queen *Donna Leonora* being brought to bed there of the infant *Donna Beatrix*, the king sent her a very polite message, that he meant her no disturbance; and turning from thence, marched directly for *Lisbon*; where, either through treachery, or by surprize, he entered the lower city, and took up his quarters in the convent of *St. Francis*¹. The king *Don Ferdinand* was at *Samtaren*, from the walls of which he might discern the *Castilian* army marching to *Lisbon*: notwithstanding which, he made no proper dispositions for its relief, though whatever commendable qualities he might want, courage was not of the number. *Don Alonso*, son to the king of *Castile*, took *Cascaes*, on the *Tagus*; and the *Castilian* fleet became master of all the *Portuguese* fleet and gallies except four^k. The *Castilian* finding it, however, impossible to reduce the whole city, and that his army began to diminish, burnt the best part of the town, and retired^l. In *Galicia* the *Portuguese* were driven out of all the places they had taken; and the king himself became quite sick of a war where he had nothing to hope, and all things to fear; was extremely well pleased with the arrival of the Pope's nuncio, and very readily accepted his mediation, though he knew very well the king of *Castile* would not grant him peace upon very moderate terms. Indeed when the nuncio came to *Henry*, he did little less than dictate them; and though *Don Ferdinand* at first expressed some reluctance, yet in the end he consented to and ratified them. The principal points were, that the king should once more desert his allies, and stipulate to join a squadron to the *Spanish* fleet when employed for the *French* against the *English*: he farther promised, that this last nation should receive no stores from *Portugal*; and that he would oblige the *Castilian* exiles to quit his dominions. When these points were settled, the kings had an interview upon the water, at which the nuncio was present. *Don Sancho*, brother to the *Castilian* monarch, espoused the infant *Donna Beatrix*, sister to the king of *Portugal*; and more effectually to strengthen the friendship between their families, king *Ferdi-*

A. D.
1373.

¹ Don PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYÁLA, E. NUNEZ, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

^l Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, MARIANA, LE CLEDE.

and promised his natural daughter, Donna *Isabella*, to Don *Alonso*, king *Henry's* natural son, count of *Gijon*: and thus, says an honest *Portuguese* writer, the war ended, much to the satisfaction of both kings, but to the great desolation of both their kingdoms^m.

The wonderful influence and address of the queen Donna Leonora.

THE king of *Castile*, having the mortification to lose his brother Don *Sancho*, who was unfortunately killed in a tumult, leaving the infanta Donna *Beatrix* big with child, resolved to bind the king of *Portugal*, if possible, to his interest by a fresh alliance, and with this view proposed, that his natural son, Don *Frederick*, should espouse the infanta Donna *Beatrix*, then in her cradle. This marriage seemed in many respects very unequal, and yet the states of the kingdom, assembled at *Leyria*, approved it: in all probability determined to it because Don *Frederick* could not inherit the kingdom of *Castile*. It may be doubted whether the king meant any thing by it more than to keep things quiet on that side, having now framed a project of a war with *Aragon*, to be revenged of that king for the money he had seized; but, like all his other projects, this proved only expensive and abortiveⁿ. His passion for his queen, Donna *Leonora*, seemed to increase daily, and the general hate of the people against her rose in the same proportion. She managed the one with great address; she sustained the other with equal intrepidity. By her interest with the king, she procured all the great employments for her creatures, and when once she found herself secure, she thought it time to be beloved. It is inconceivable how soon and how effectually she changed the minds of the whole nation: she brought the king, who was naturally indolent, to be attentive; she granted audience to all that asked it; she procured favours in consequence of every audience; so that in a little time she was as much mistress of the court and of the people as of the king. But her tranquility, if she really enjoyed any, was of very short continuance^o.

The cruel and infamous behaviour of that prince towards her

THE infant Don *Juan*, the king's brother, and infinitely beloved by the people, fell desperately in love with her sister Donna *Maria*, now the widow of *Alvaro dias de Suza*, and finding her virtue impregnable, had secretly married her. This might have proved a firm support to the queen; but she saw the thing in quite another light. She remembered the sentiments expressed by her sister at the time the king became first

^m DON PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, E. NUNEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

ⁿ Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

^o FARIA Y SOUSA.

enamoured of herself; she reflected on his declining state of health, and on the probability there was that the people might set his brother upon the throne. This, with other conceits of the same kind, inflamed her resentment to such a degree, that having sent for the infant Don Juan, after bestowing on him the most flattering caresses, she told him he had ruined all her designs in his favour, since she had intended to have given him the infanta Donna Beatrix as soon as she was capable of matrimony; that he had not only lost this princess, who would have brought the crown with her as a portion, but had lost her also for a woman who dishonoured his bed. The infant, credulous, hasty, and ambitious, flew to Coimbra, where his wife was, and without enquiry or expostulation, dispatched, or caused her to be dispatched with two strokes of a dagger^p. As soon as he had committed this murder, he retired to the frontiers of Castile. The queen, tho' she affected to appear inconsolable for the loss of her sister, yet obtained his pardon from the king; and very soon after he returned to court, where being in a short space of time undeceived with regard to the queen's intention, as well as her information, and perceiving that the grand-master of Avis, and the brother of his deceased wife, only waited for a fit opportunity to kill him, he withdrew again into Castile, and took shelter there with his sister Donna Beatrix, the widow of Don Sancho^q. This horrid action revived the public hatred against the queen; and notwithstanding she practised her old arts of dissimulation, she was now unable to deceive any but the king, and him she held as fast in her toils as ever, though she misled him daily into new errors.

A. D;
1378.

UPON the death of Don Henry of Castile, and the accession of his son Don Juan, there followed a new negotiation with the court of Portugal; for that prince having an heir born to him, immediately conceived a design of marrying him to Donna Beatrix, notwithstanding the contract between her and his bastard brother^r. This proposition was eagerly embraced by Don Ferdinand; more especially on account of a singular circumstance which attended it: Don Juan consenting, that if either of the parties died without issue, the survivor should inherit both kingdoms; and desired, that with this clause the contract might be ratified in the most solemn manner by the states of Castile and Portugal; which was accordingly done^s.

Begins without any provocation to meditate a new war against Castile.

P ED. NUNEZ, MARIANA, FERRERAS.
SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, LE CLEDE.
Rey Don Juan el Primero, FERRERAS, LA NEUFVILLE.
NUNEZ, DON PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA.

q FARIA Y.
r Cronica del
s E.

A. D.
1380.

The queen suffered all this in compliance with the king's temper, who loved to embark in great schemes, though he was very unable to manage them. But the treaties were no sooner concluded and ratified than she contrived the means of breaking them. Don *Juan Hernandez de Andeyro*, one of those *Castilian* noblemen to whom the king had been so lavish of his favours, and who upon the conclusion of the last peace with *Henry* king of *Castile*, had been obliged to retire to *England*, came over secretly from thence to acquaint the king, that the duke of *Lancaster* was taking effectual means to vindicate his right to the crown of *Castile*, and was therefore desirous of his alliance. The queen Donna *Leonora* supported this proposition, partly out of distaste to the treaty lately made, in which she had little or no share; but more out of affection to its author *Andeyro*; for this woman, as a *Portuguese* historian well observes, having sacrificed her honour and her husband to a king, now sacrificed that king to her new gallant¹. This strange measure was no sooner taken, than preparations were made for putting it in execution. For this purpose a fleet was provided, the garrisons on the frontiers reinforced, and levies made throughout the kingdom. It was impossible that things of this nature should be concealed, and Don *Juan* of *Castile* did not trouble himself to enquire into the reason. On the contrary, he assembled an army on the frontiers, and equipped a fleet at *Seville*. The revolt of his brother, the count *de Gijon*, who had married the king of *Portugal's* daughter, hindered the war from breaking out so soon as it would have done². The king Don *Ferdinand* employed this respite in demolishing the *Roman* walls about the city of *Evora*, without reflecting that it would be impossible to put that place in any state of defence before it would be in danger; and that therefore it would have been much more prudent to have left it in the condition it was. But the sense of this mistake was quickly obliterated by greater: the fleet, when ready to sail, was put under the command of Don *Juan Alonso*, the queen's brother; and though it was superior in force to that of *Castile*, under *Ferdinand Sanchez*, yet, through the want of conduct in the count, it was beaten, and himself taken prisoner³. This misfortune was followed by another still greater, which was the defeat of the *Portuguese* army by land, the loss of the town of *Almeyda*, which was taken by Don *Juan* of *Castile*, who thereupon disposed every thing for the siege of *Lisbon*⁴. Some say, this was proposed by the

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA.
VILLE, FERRERAS.

² E. NÚÑEZ, MARIANA, LA NEUF-
³ Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Pri-
mero, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

infant Don Juan of Portugal, who was in hopes of carrying it by intelligence; but being disappointed withdrew, to which it is highly probable the advanced season of the year might not a little contribute.

THE *English* fleet and army, under the command of *Edmund*, earl of *Cambridge*, entering without any interruption into the port of *Lisbon*, gave a new turn to affairs. The king of *Castile* found himself obliged to act for some time on the defensive, and saw, with no small chagrin, that his troops were not forward to engage these strangers, on account of the claim of the duke of *Lancaster*, in right of his wife *Donna Constantia*. On the other hand, Don *Ferdinand* of Portugal, who was charmed at this seasonable mark of attention shewed to him, by a foreign power, grew extremely fond of them; and with that warmth, which was natural to him, proposed and concluded a marriage between *Edward Plantagenet*, the son of *Edmund*, earl of *Cambridge*, then a child and the infant. While the diversions attending this solemnity occupied the court, the count of *Ourem* breathed his last, and the queen procured his title to be bestowed upon her favourite *Andeyro*, which occasioned great murmurs amongst the nobility*. An accident happened soon after that raised them higher; the queen seeing *Andeyro*, through some exercise or other, in a great sweat, tore her veil and gave it him to wipe his face with it, Don *Juan*, grand-master of *Avis*, and the king's brother, together with *Gonçalo Vasquez de Azavedo*, took the liberty to expostulate with her upon the impropriety of the thing, at which she dissembled her resentment. But after a little reflection, concluding it safest to take them out of the way, she surreptitiously procured, or as others say, forged an order from the king, directed to *Vasco Martinez de Melo*, commanding him to seize and confine them, which he did in the castle of *Evora*, of which he was governor. Some time after a like order came to put them to death; but the governor, who was a man of parts and prudence, thought it expedient to shew this order to the king before he obeyed it. Don *Ferdinand* was very much amazed, and began to open his eyes a little on this proceeding. His fondness, however, for the queen was so great, that he ordered they should remain some days longer in confinement; and when they were set at liberty, the favour was attributed to the queen, whose hands they were obliged to kiss upon their coming to court. Some

Carries it on by the assistance of *Edmund*, earl of *Cambridge*, and the *English*.

* LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 255. MAYERNE, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.
 † ED. NÚÑEZ, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

writers say, that when she found herself discovered, she engaged the earl of Cambridge to ask their release; but which way soever the thing happened, it is certain that all parties were reconciled in shew, and continued to hate each other sincerely in their hearts. An event strange, but not unusual at courts.

Concludes another peace with Castile, at the expense of the allies.

WE have already given the history of this war in another place, and have shewn, that partly through the misunderstandings between the *English* and *Portuguese*, and partly thro' the natural mutability of Don *Ferdinand's* temper, a peace was suddenly concluded between the two crowns, in which it was stipulated that the *Portuguese* gallies should be restored, and that the *English* army should be sent home in *Spanish* bottoms. When this treaty came to be ratified, Don *Juan* demurred to these two points, supposing that the *Portuguese* were now so embarrassed with their allies, as to be obliged to accept whatever terms he prescribed; but Don *Ferdinand* cut the matter short, by sending him a challenge, which, when the king of *Castile* had read, he contented himself with saying, I did not think he had been so brave, and immediately subscribed the treaty. By this, as by all the rest, the infanta Donna *Beatrix* had a new husband given her, who was the infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, the king's second son, substituted instead of his elder brother, to prevent the union of the two kingdoms. The *Portuguese* in general were better pleased with this than with any of the former alliances; and the *English* being returned home, both nations began to breathe a little, and to taste with great satisfaction the sweets of peace. The court, however, was still disturbed with intrigues; the queen maintained her ascendancy; the grand-master studied to form a party amongst the nobility; and the king, though he grew daily more infirm, sighed for some new negotiation that might employ his thoughts, and it was not long before his wishes were gratified; but it was, however, for the last time.

Offers his only daughter and heiress to the king of Castile.

THE death of queen *Leonor* plunged the court of *Castile* into the deepest sorrow. The king was afflicted beyond measure; and the people were equally moved by the loss of the queen, and by that concern which he expressed for it. Don *Ferdinand* gave but a little time to grief; he regretted the queen, but remembered that the king of *Castile* was become a widower; he had already contracted his daughter, the infanta, to both his sons. he resolved now to offer her to the father. The queen was very well pleased with this motion; she perceived he could not live long, and she saw that

* LA NEUFVILLE, E. NUNEZ, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

in consequence of this marriage she might continue a queen, and even govern *Portugal* after his decease. Her favourite *Andeyro*, now stiled count of *Ourem*, was fixed upon to be the ambassador; and his equipage was so splendid, and his expence at the court of *Castile* so large, that the *Castilians* made some smart reflections, not much to the honour of the court from whence he came. He succeeded, however, in his negotiation, and the king *Don Juan*, struck with so advantageous an offer, accepted the terms upon which it was made, and sent an ambassador extraordinary to ratify them. In the history of his reign, we have shewn what these terms were; and therefore it would be improper to repeat them here, only it may not be amiss to observe, that the prudence shewn in the last treaty, did not at all appear in this, for in case the *Infanta* died without children, *Don Juan* was to enjoy the kingdom of *Portugal*; but indeed some of the *Portuguese* writers say, that to balance this, if the king and queen of *Castile* died without heirs, *Don Ferdinand* was to succeed, of which, however, there was no great risque, since he was in a manner dying, and scarce lived to see the marriage, which was the last effort of his extraordinary politics ^a.

As the king's infirmities rendered it impossible for him to assist at it in person, the queen, who delighted in such magnificent spectacles, took the care upon herself, and provided every thing requisite at a vast expence. When all was ready, she set out with her daughter, the *infanta*, who was scarce thirteen years of age, attended by the principal nobility of *Portugal*, for *Estremoz*, where she was received by the archbishop of *Campostella*, chancellor of *Castile*, and who in quality of ambassador had negotiated this marriage. He was attended by the prelates, lords, and deputies of towns, who swore to the punctual performance of the treaty in all its branches; after which the queen proceeded with the *infanta* to *Velves*, where the king met his bride, and solemnly espoused her: then taking leave of queen *Leonora*, he conducted her that very evening to *Badajoz*, where the next day he received the nuptial benediction in the cathedral church; at which ceremony also, the *Portuguese* plenipotentiaries were present ^b. This was in the beginning of *May*; and some writers assert, that while the queen was thus employed, and had the pleasure of being idolized by two great nations, the king *Don*

Becomes persuaded of his queen Leonora's infidelity, and resolves to kill her gallant.

^a E. NUNEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, FERRERAS, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^b LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, E. NUNEZ, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero; MAYERNE TURQUET.

Ferdinand projected a very unpleasant reception for her favourite at his return, signifying his commands to *Don Juan*, grand-master of *Avis*, his brother, to put *Don Ferdinand*, count of *Ourem*, to death the first fair opportunity he had, without injury to the public peace. Others say, he dictated this order to his secretary; who having read it, took the liberty of observing to his majesty, that the master of *Avis* had already too great power over the people; and that it imported him very much to consider whether it would be for the interest of himself and family to augment his popularity, by intrusting him with such an order: upon which the king, who affected the politician to the last, ordered the letter to be burnt. But the former account, for reasons which will occur to the reader in the course of this history, seems to approach nearest the truth. It appears, however, that this secret was so well kept, owing very probably to the general hatred born to the favourite, that not a tittle of it transpired upon their return to the frontiers either to the queen or to himself ^c.

Death of
Don Fer-
dinand of
Portugal,
and sorrow
of his sub-
jects.

THE king bore his long and painful sickness with which he had been afflicted for some years, with wonderful patience and resignation, even to the very last, and died with great marks of piety and composure of mind on the twenty-second of October, one thousand three hundred eighty-three, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and in the sixteenth of his reign. He directed by his will that his corps should be buried without any ceremony at *Santarem*; and directed also, that every one of his domestics should have a competent provision made for him during life, in consideration of the great tenderness and indefatigable pains expressed by them in their attendance upon him during his declining state of health ^d. He gave for his device a sword thrust through two hearts, with these words *Cur non utrumque*, the meaning of which is not easily understood. Some say he meant to signify, that he could penetrate other men's thoughts as well as his own. It may be it alluded to the violence of that passion which had united him to his queen (G).

His

^c Cronica del Rey Joam I. DE FERNANT LOPEZ, part i. LE-QUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(G) This unfortunate monarch had a very fine person; he was tall, graceful, and majestic; his countenance oval; his eyes dark, but very brisk; his complexion fair; and his hair of a light brown. He was very adroit in his exercise; and whether he spoke or was silent, had something in his manner that sufficiently distinguished him from his subjects, and taught even strangers to perceive he was the king. In his second war

His subjects had long expected his death; and the king of *Castile* waited for the news of it on the frontiers: yet when it happened it occasioned a general consternation, and the people expressed more affection in their mourning for this king than they had shewn in the time of his life^c.

THE first step taken towards settling the government was made by the grand-master of *Avis*: he applied himself to the king of *Castile*, advised him to come without delay into *Portugal*, and intimated the expediency of leaving the government, when settled, in his hands till the young queen *Donna Beatrix* had a son. This was rejected, perhaps with some degree of disdain: upon which the grand-master thought it high time to respect his own safety, though not thoroughly determined as to the properest means for him to take^f. By the treaty, and by the king's will, the queen was to be regent, and to have the government: to which the magistracy of *Lisbon* seemed to assent, for they went to compliment her at the palace; but at the same time insinuated to her, that she would do well to be more attentive to the public concerns than her

His daughter Donna Beatrix proclaimed in Lisbon, but not acknowledged.

^c LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, *Histoire generale de Portugal*, tom. i. p. 267, 268, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS. ^f Don PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, LOPEZ, MAYERNE TURQUET.

war with *Castile*, he introduced two new dignities into *Portugal*, by creating Don *Alvaro Pereira de Castro* constable, and Don *Ferdinand Counting* marshal of the kingdom. His profusion was in a manner incredible: he gave at once to *Juan Alonso de Moxica*, a *Castilian* gentleman, fifty horses, thirty mules, three suits of armour, thirty thousand marks in silver plate, four horse load of rich tapestry, besides villages and lands. His raising the value of the coin did a great deal of mischief; but, however, he had the satisfaction of setting that matter to rights before his death. His pulling down the old *Roman* walls of *Evora* produced a great clamour; but he afterwards put that city into a good state of defence. He likewise demolished, all the fortifications of

Lisbon, and rebuilt them within the space of two years; by which the city and kingdom was preserved after his decease. He made many good laws, more especially with regard to agriculture and commerce. He was very much shocked at the impudence of the people, who suggested, that the infanta was the daughter of *Andeyro*, though he did not return from *England* to *Portugal* till she was eight years old. He expressed great penitence on his death-bed, and begged pardon of his subjects for the miseries he had brought upon them. His character is succinctly and truly drawn by a certain historian in these words, He was a very indifferent king, with very great capacity; and a very weak man, with abundance of courage.

husband

husband had been, and she received them in such a manner that they returned satisfied^k. On the other hand, the king of *Castile* sent ambassadors with compliments of condolence; but with instructions to demand that his consort, *Donna Beatrix*, should be proclaimed at *Lisbon*, and throughout the kingdom; for which orders were accordingly given^h. *Don Henry Manuel*, count of *Cintra*, uncle by the mother's side to the late king, was appointed to display the standard in *Lisbon*, but in that, and indeed in most of the cities through the kingdom, this ceremony was interrupted by persons who cried out, "Long live our lawful king *Don Juan*, the son of *Don Pedro* and of *Donna Agnes de Castro*," then in *Castile*, and whom the king instantly sent to prison, as soon as he had intelligence of this event, and began to make the necessary provisions for assembling forces on the frontiersⁱ.

Grand-master of
Avis kills
Don Ferdinand de
Andeyro,
in the royal
palace.

Don Ruy de Pereyra, a man of great courage and quality, brought some troops into *Lisbon* for his defence: he was a determined enemy to the conjunction of *Castile* and *Portugal*, which he considered as a fair word for making the latter only a province to the former; and believing that this would be effected by the queen regent, by the advice of the count of *Ourem*, who was himself a *Castilian*, he first conceived the necessity of taking this man out of the way. He communicated this to *Alvaro Paez*, who had been chancellor during the reigns of *Don Pedro* and his son *Ferdinand*, who approved it. They then sent for the grand-master of *Avis*, and proposed it to him, who objected that it might be ill received by the people, and that the queen would still have her brother, the count *de Barcelos*, who was a person of great weight and wisdom, to assist her in her designs. The chancellor told him, he would undertake for both. The grand-master replied roundly, that then he would dispatch *Andeyro* with his own hand. In the mean time the queen, having consulted with her favourite, summoned the grand-master to council; where, after declaring that they had intelligence of the king of *Castile's* arming with intention to invade *Portugal*, they proposed intrusting the command of the army on the frontiers with the grand-master; who by this means they thought to have removed to some distance, and had prepared by great liberalities to gain the people in his absence. This was in the morning of the sixth of *December*: the grand-master accepted the proposition without hesitation, and offered to set out without delay. He did so; but he returned sud-

^k FARIA Y SOUSA. ^h AYALA.

CELLOS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

ⁱ ANT. VASCON-

denly,

denly, with the count *de Barcelos*, the chapcellor, and *Ruy Pereyra*, and came to the palace a little before dinner. He told the queen, that he thought it not expedient to advance to the frontiers without troops: and she so little apprehended any danger, that she invited him to her table. He accepted the invitation; and going into another room, made a sign to *Andeyro* that he wanted to speak with him. Their conversation was but short; for the grand-master drawing a dagger stabbed him. The count turned, and would have fled into the queen's apartment; but *Pereyra* prevented him by a thrust with his sword, which laid him dead at his feet. The queen was soon acquainted with the fact, which she bewailed bitterly, saying she had lost her best friend; that he was a martyr, and not a criminal; and that she would undergo the ordeal in support of his innocence. She next sent to the grand-master to know if she was to die too; but he answered, the queen had nothing to fear^k.

At the instant of the count's death, the grand-master ordered the palace-gates to be shut, having first sent out the chancellor, and one of his own pages: the boy cried out; that his master was fast in the palace, and his life in danger, which the grave old chancellor confirmed: upon this the whole city was immediately in arms; and Don *Martin*, bishop of *Lisbon*, retired for safety, with a friend or two, into the tower of his cathedral. The people seeing them there, called to them to ring the bell; and upon their refusing, broke open the doors, ran up, and threw them into the streets. This prelate was a man of an exemplary life, and his only crime was being a native of *Castile*. The grand-master having by this artifice discovered how thoroughly the people were in his interest, caused the gates of the palace to be opened, suffered them to rescue him from the danger he was never in, and went with the count *de Barcelos* to a friend's house to dine with Don *Ruy de Pereyra* and the chancellor, leaving the queen at full liberty to bewail the ambitious and unfortunate *Andeyro*^l.

The populace support the grand-master, and carry him away in triumph.

When the grand-master was more at leisure, he went to make his excuses to the queen; in which he partly justified what he had done, and partly cast the weight of it upon necessity. The queen heard him with great indifference, and answered him but coldly: however, she made one request, which was, that she might have leave to retire from *Lisbon*.

Match proposed between him and queen Leonora, but rejected by her with contempt.

^k AYALA, LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.
^l LOPEZ, AYALA, MARIANA.

to *Alenquer*; to which he consented, and went thither accordingly, attended by many of the first nobility; for in general the great families adhered to the queen. The grand-master, after her departure, affected even to his friends a very deep melancholy, suggested, that for the sake of the people, and to make some effort to preserve the liberties of his country, he had quitted an easy and a happy situation for a life so miserable that he could not one hour count upon the next, and therefore weary of perpetual fatigue, and distracted with so hopeless a prospect, he thought best to retire to *England*. The old chancellor, who was perhaps the only man that understood the grand-master's language, told him, that in a situation like his flight was always scandalous, and seldom safe; that he saw the people ready to do, or to suffer any thing for him; and that therefore he ought to embark their liberty and his safety on the same bottom. In the end, the grand-master suffered himself by a gentle violence to be drawn to this conclusion ^m. A proposition was then made to the queen *Donna Leonora*, that for the sake of peace, to recover her own power, and to extinguish the memory of all that was past, she should marry the grand-master, and with him hold the regency till her daughter should have a child of age to assume the government; but the queen rejected these terms with contempt, and repeated her applications to *Don Juan of Castile*, for assistance and protection ⁿ. The commons threatened those who held out the castle of *Lisbon* into a surrender, from the apprehension of seeing their wives and children murdered before their faces; and then proclaimed the grand-master protector of the *Portuguese* nation, and regent of the kingdom, promising never to forsake him, and conjuring him to neglect nothing that might contribute to their mutual defence ^o.

Don Juan of Castile assumes the title of king of Portugal, in his queen's right.

UPON the queen's repeated intreaties, and on her promise to meet him at *Santarem*, *Don Juan of Castile* began his march towards *Portugal*, with a considerable body of forces, following in that respect the advice of the younger part of his council; whereas graver heads had persuaded him to adhere strictly to the treaty, to send ambassadors before him into *Portugal*, with the strongest assurances on that head, and to propound only the restitution of the power of the queen-dowager, in conjunction with a council to be chosen by the states ^p. The reason he rejected this was that he looked upon the con-

^m FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DELA NEUFVILLE, *Histoire generale de Portugal*, tom. i. p. 273, 274, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ⁿ FARIA Y SOUSA.

^o LOPEZ, LE CLEDE.

^p *Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero*, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

quest of *Portugal* as a thing equally easy and certain, and therefore to be undertaken at once. On his approaching to *Guarda*, the gates were opened by the command of the bishop, who was chancellor to queen *Leonora*. He proceeded next to *Santarém*, where the queen met him, and where he insisted she should resign all title to the regency; which she did, but unwillingly. He then made a public entry with his queen, and caused himself and her to be proclaimed, adding *Portugal* and *Algarve* to his titles; and caused money to be coined with his own bust, and on the reverse the arms of both kingdoms. Excursions were now daily made into *Portugal* by the *Castilians*, and into *Castile* by the *Portuguese*: but Don *Juan*, not well satisfied with his mother's humour, shewed little regard to her advice, and less to her request; while her daughter, *Donna Beatrix*, treated her with great freedom and indifference. The *Portuguese* lords were not better satisfied: they were indeed well entertained; but the king was not so familiar with them as Don *Ferdinand* had been; neither did they meet with the golden showers they expected: on the whole, there was much dissatisfaction amongst them, and the king disdaining to take any cognizance of such little quarrels, applied himself to the assembling of an army that might be numerous enough to invest and besiege *Lisbon*, in conjunction with those of the nation who were still in his interests; and believed that it was very practicable, in spite of the aversion of the populace, to fix him upon the throne. He was the more confident of this himself, as most of the strong places, and the major part of the kingdom had declared for him; but he had not sufficiently considered that they might alter their opinions, and that he had not an army numerous enough to secure them by *Castilian* garrisons; and if this had been in his power, it was doubtful whether they would have given him admittance.

ON the other hand the regent, from the time he assumed that title and office, acted with all the prudence and sagacity imaginable. He was himself one of the ablest politicians ever embarked in a scene of this nature; yet he was content to be advised in every thing, and had penetration enough to make choice of a council who were really capable to advise him. The office of chancellor he bestowed upon *Ribas*, a man of great parts, and whose pathetic eloquence had a

The grand-master declared regent and protector of Portugal, by the people.

¹ LOPEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET. ² FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, LOPEZ, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MARIANA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

strong

strong influence upon the people. He did this at the motion of *Alvaro Paez*, who had held that office long, and now wanted strength to go through it. At present, said he to the regent, the business is not power but safety. However, he was the first man sworn of the regent's council, and how well he deserved it, appears from the maxim he recommended to him when he seemed diffident of the high professions that were made to him. To fix these people in your interest, said *Alvora*, you must give them what is none of your own, and reward them with what is not in your power; meaning, that he should promise them confiscations, and the governments of places, then in the hands of the queen*. He likewise advised the regent to send an ambassador to *England*, to demand the assistance of the duke of *Lancaster*. And no doubt it was by his instructions that this minister made no scruple of turning prophet, in giving the title of king of *Portugal* to his master long before he assumed it. The regent himself made no scruple of practising every art for his own advantage; and perceiving that numbers were inclined to the infant *Don Juan*, he caused him to be depicted in his standards, lying on a bed of straw, with irons on his legs, as if he had been so treated in *Castile*; by which he animated the populace against their enemies, and made the phrase of the king *Don Juan* familiar†. The war could not be carried on without treasure: the plunder of the queen's friends, and the plate of the churches, was a ready and convenient supply, yet he received it with reluctance; and declaring his sincere intention to replace it, he kept those who were stripped from engaging against him, and brought the priests to act vigorously on his side. In the whole course of his conduct, he never lost sight of old *Paez's* first admonition, haughty to your foes and humble to your friends. When he spoke of the liberty of *Portugal*, it was in the language of the old *Romans*; but in his applications to the people, he was so modest, and so resigned, that all things were forced upon him, and he seemed to be no more than an engine directed at their pleasure. The nobility saw through this, and thought to expose it, by calling his adherents the disciples of the Messiah; but as there is no reasoning, so there is no jesting with the multitude, for they

* FARIA Y SOUSA, TEXEIRA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

† ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanix, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS, Historia de España, part viii. § xiv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, MARIANA.

took

took this literally, and retorting it upon his opponents, called them infidels and *Jews*.^u

AFTER all the pains taken by the regent, and in spite of all his address, he might very probably have been crushed by the power of the king Don *Juan*, and of the party who remained firm to the interest of queen *Beatriz*, if their affairs had been conducted with equal spirit, or if the like unanimity had prevailed amongst them. The queen dowager, heated by her resentment, and forgetting against whom she acted, endeavoured to diffuse amongst her creatures an opinion that she was injured, and that to secure their own liberties, and obtain justice for her, the shortest way was to reconcile themselves to the regent; upon this many who doubted on which side to act took her advice. The king, her son-in-law, expostulated this matter warmly, more especially as he had been refused entrance into *Coimbra* by Don *Gonçalo Telles*, her brother. The queen gave so plausible an account of this matter, that the king knew not what to think, more especially when she proposed going herself with him to *Coimbra*, in order to oblige her brother to put that important place into his hands. He carried her thither accordingly, and in a conference with Don *Gonçalo* she reasoned, threatened, commanded, intreated, and cajoled him in such a manner, that Don *Juan* could not doubt of her intention, though all proved ineffectual, and her brother could be only brought to promise, that when a king of *Portugal* should demand them, he would deliver the keys^w. Queen *Leonora* laid hold of this expression to facilitate a most horrid design, which she had formed against the king's life. Don *Pedro*, count of *Trastemara*, and Don *Alonso*, his brother, near relations to the king, were in the camp, and the latter had an intrigue with one of the queen's ladies of honour, who proposed to him that count *Pedro* should kill the king, marry the queen regent her mistress, declare himself king of *Portugal*; and as he might be assured that *Coimbra* would be rendered to him by her brother, he might rest satisfied that other cities and towns would take the same step. Don *Pedro* was weak and wicked enough to enter into this wild scheme: in the management of which he was obliged to trust a *Jew*, who either through fear of punishment, or hopes of reward, discovered it to the king; upon which, immediate orders being given to double the guards, a

An attempt made on the king's life, by connivance of the queen dowager Donna Leonora.

^u LOPEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^w FARIA Y SOUSA, LOPEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, Historia de España, part viii. § xiv.

servant of Don Pedro's carried him the news; and, as guilt is easily alarmed, he made his escape. The king charged Donna Leonora with it before the queen her daughter; but without being disconcerted, she denied the whole, and when the Jew was produced, she treated him as an informer and impostor. This, however, made no impression on Don Juan, who, by the advice of his council, sent her prisoner into *Castile*².

Lisbon besieged by the king Don Juan; and by the plague, breaking out in the army, saved.

As the king's sole dependance was now in his arms, he sent orders to *Seville* to equip a fleet, which was intended to block up the river of *Lisbon*; and at the same time directed, that the principal nobility in his dominions should march to his assistance, with all the forces they could raise¹. In the mean time hearing every day of places revolting to the regent, he resolved to punish what he treated as a spirit of rebellion, and sent out detachments to burn and plunder; who did their business without the least mixture of pity or regret. The regent, who now saw all at stake, directed the small fleet that he had at *Lisbon* to repair to *Porto*, that they might not be blocked up; and directed his letters to all the maritime places in the kingdom, requiring them to send what naval force they could thither². To restrain the *Castilian* troops, he gave the command of the best part of his to *Nugno Alvarez Pereyra*, one of the bravest and best officers he had; and notwithstanding his elder brother, the prior of *Crato*, who was in the service of the king of *Castile*, laboured all that was in his power to draw him to that interest, he rejected all offers; and with great intrepidity, though with forces far inferior to the enemy, attacked the *Castilians*, and gained a glorious victory³. This answered the intended end of restraining incursions; but the king Don Juan's reinforcements arriving daily, he was quickly in a condition to undertake what was the main object of his desires, the siege of *Lisbon*; and as soon as he had the news that his fleet was arrived before it, he marched with a numerous and well disciplined army, with which he invested the place, not at all doubtful of the event, as the enemy had no succours to expect, and as his troops were abundantly supplied with provisions from the fruitful countries that lay behind them. The presence of the regent was the great strength of the place; for the number of troops he had was very small,

¹ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. MARIANA, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

² Cronica del

Rey Don Juan el Primero.

³ FARIA Y SOUSA, LOPEZ,

MAYERNE TURQUET.

⁴ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

and

and he had no army in the field in a condition to raise it. He defended himself, however, with great spirit and resolution; and having good intelligence, executed some bold sallies with success. His fleet at *Porto*, being gradually augmented, put to sea, and swept all the ships upon the coasts of *Castile*, by which they made a prodigious booty; and, after carrying their prizes to *Porto*, they entered the river of *Lisbon*, and blocked up the *Castilian* fleet, that had hitherto acted against the town^b. But it may be, the king of *Castile*'s superior force, which gained him in the course of the siege many advantages, would in the end have carried the place. But the irresistible arm of Providence interposed; an epidemic distemper, little differing from a plague, broke out in his army, and made such devastation that he at length thought it expedient to try what a negotiation might produce^c. The regent readily listened to this, as it raised the spirits of his own people, and as he knew the disease would continue to act while hostilities were suspended. The king proposed, that if he would proclaim himself and queen *Beatrix*, he would leave the regency of the kingdom to him, in conjunction with a *Castilian* nobleman. The regent having protracted the treaty for some time, answered, that this was against his principle, since he only fought to preserve the government of *Portugal* to the *Portuguese*^d. While the negotiation lasted, he wrote to the constable at *Evora* to assemble all the troops he possibly could, and to advance towards *Lisbon*, to countenance a sally he intended to make with his whole force; but Don *Juan* of *Castile* hindered his orders from taking effect, by raising the siege suddenly, and retiring with the wretched remains of his army, as fast as they were able to march, towards his own dominions^e. The *Portuguese* historians say, that, turning his eyes upon the city at his departure, he wished he might see it in ruins, and the ground ploughed up upon which it stood: a stroke of resentment as idle as that of queen *Leonora* when she went to *Alenquer*, who, turning to it, said, Base and ungrateful *Lisbon*, how much would it rejoice my eyes to behold thy palaces in flames. The bitterness of these curses fell infinitely short of the joy of its inhabitants at this happy deliverance, which they attributed entirely to the vigi-

^b Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, LOPEZ, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

^d FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

^e LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, TEXEIRA, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

lance, valour, and fortune of the regent, who for the first time repressed and reproved the people, exhorting them to repair to their churches, and pay their thanks where it was due, since it was God who had delivered them, and not a mean contemptible man like him. This had a good effect; the people took his advice, and for a whole day there was nothing seen but a decent and composed spirit of devotion, to which they were principally excited by the example of the regent himself^f.

The king and his Castilians lose entirely the affections of the Portuguese.

IT was not without reason that the regent, or protector, of Portugal affected so much religious and civil prudence in all his actions; for beyond question it was entirely due to this caution and circumspection that the city escaped ruin, and himself was preserved; as the outworks were lost, and Don Pedro de Castro had formed a conspiracy for delivering up a great part of the city. Famine had made as sharp attacks within, as the plague without: nor would the king of Castile after all have raised the siege, if the queen had not fallen sick^g. Don Juan therefore acted as wisely as worthily in attributing their common deliverance to the special interposition of Providence; which, upon reflection, filled the people with still higher sentiments of him than those they had at first expressed: insomuch, that they offered themselves, and all that they had to his will; which was so much the more extraordinary, as few nations have valued liberty more, or understood it better than the Portuguese. The friends of the regent advised him to lay hold of this transport of popular affection, and to prosecute his good fortune; which counsel he accepted from a nobler motive, that of providing for the health and happiness of the people. He drew some thousands of the younger sort into the field, that the citizens might be more at their ease; and as fast as he could amass them he sent great quantities of provisions to Lisbon. His expedition was attended with all the success he could desire: many fortified places opened their gates, several persons of great distinction came over to his party; some out of respect to his person and his merit; some through their zeal for liberty; but the greater part out of hatred and malice to the Castilians, who, as they were never beloved by the Portuguese, had now, by their own ill conduct, heightened prejudice into aversion, and swelled natural dislike into irreconcilable detestation^h. The picture is not pleasing, but it is drawn from the life.

^f LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^g MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA. ^h LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

THE king Don *Juan of Castile*, notwithstanding this severe check, still kept up his pretensions, appointed such as would accept commissions from him governors of the towns they held, and began to raise in his own dominions such an army as if he had employed at first would infallibly have conquered *Portugal*¹. Yet in the midst of these preparations he had recourse to a sinister method; which not only failed him, but was in other respects also highly detrimental to his interests. He wrote to the count *de Trastemara*, whom queen *Leonora* had embarked in a design against his own life, that he might recover his favour, and prevent the confiscation of his vast estate, if he could by any means compass the death of the regent. The count who, notwithstanding his alliance to the royal family, was very fit for such an enterprize, very readily embraced the proposal, and drew in Don *Pedro de Castro*, to whom the regent had given his life when detected in a former conspiracy, to join with him. *John Duque*, governor of *Torres Vedras*, *Juan Alonso de Baeza*, and *Garcia Gonzales de Valdez*, were also embarked in this black design; into which they also drew *Figueroa*, who had been governor of the castle of *Goya*, and leaving it in the hands of his wife, she had so tormented the country round about, that the nobility in the neighbourhood rose, and took it from her; and this, though he knew nothing of the matter, he was to revenge upon the regent. It was also communicated to the count *Don Gonzales de Tellez*, brother to queen *Leonora*; but these two last, after a little reflection, repented, and gave the regent notice of his danger at the very instant it was to have been executed. The count and Don *Pedro de Castro* made their escape, so did *Alonso de Baeza*; but *Garcia Gonzales de Valdez* was taken, and by the regent's order burnt alive². *John Duque* was so provoked at this that he cut off the hands and the noses of six *Portuguese* gentlemen who were his prisoners, and sent them to the regent; who immediately commanded six *Castilian* gentlemen to be treated in the same manner; but before the officer to whom he spoke quitted the room, he said, "I have given enough to resentment in issuing such an order; but it would be infamous to carry it into execution. See that the *Castilians* suffer no hurt." This, most authors agree, was the greatest action of his life³. The *Castilians* themselves were so sensible of it, that they began to act with

He gives encouragement to the count de Trastemara to conspire against the regent.

¹ Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ² E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, FARIA Y SOUSA, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, JOSEPH TEIXERA. ³ GARIBAY, E. NUNEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

less rigour in regard to such of his party as fell into their hands.

The states of Portugal assembled at Coimbra, to judge of affairs of the kingdom.

THE people of *Portugal* in general saw clearly, that without restoring the ancient form of government they must be undone; and if they wanted a king long, their country would cease to be a kingdom. An assembly of the states was called at *Coimbra*, to meet at *Easter*; which if not by the regent's authority, was at least by his consent: and he went thither to share in, and attend the event of their consultations. It is said, that at some distance from the city, he was met by a great number of boys upon hobby-horses, or riding upon their sticks, who no sooner saw him than they cried out, "Long live Don *Juan*! Don *Juan* king of *Portugal* comes in a happy time! Don *Juan* shall be our king!" Whether this was owing to art or accident, it had a great effect: The archbishop of *Braga* presided in this assembly; in which were present the bishops of *Lisbon*, *Lamego*, *Porto*, *Coimbra*, and *Guarda*, with many of the nobility, and most of the deputies of cities. The chancellor *Regras* made a long and laboured speech, in which he endeavoured to shew, that the throne was really vacant; and therefore as it was their duty to fill it, he recommended the regent to their choice, as the person who for many reasons best deserved it^m. This, tho' acceptable to many, was not so to all: Don *Vasco de Cunha*, a man of great quality, and greater probity, rose up, and declared, that he was far from being persuaded by what he had heard: that hitherto none had pretended to doubt the reality of Don *Pedro's* marriage with Donna *Agnes de Castro*; and that if this marriage was valid, Don *Juan*, though an exile, though a prisoner, was king of *Portugal*. He closed his speech, however, with saying, that if the states were of another opinion, and should think themselves at liberty to chuse a king, he should look upon himself as bound to obey. The constable Don *Nugno Alvarez de Pereira*, when he saw that this speech, which was supported also by Don *Vasco's* two brothers made a great impression upon the assembly, was for putting an end to the opposition, by making away with him on the spot. But the regent interposing, prevented any violence: the constable had then recourse to words. He told the states, that *Portugal* would be undone without a king: that let the right of Don *Juan* be what it would, the nation had no hand either in his exile, or in his captivity, and therefore ought not to suffer by it: that some people thought the title in Donna

^m LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, E. NUNEZ, MARIANA.

Beatriz: that the king of *Castile* had thought proper to assume it; and by that act had cancelled all claim to it; that others were for *Don Juan*, the son of *Donna Agnes*; that he thought where three sovereigns claimed there was no allegiance due; that the states of *Portugal* were the sole judges of so embarrassed a question; that the people could be no longer without a head; and that without losing time in debates, the states ought to name him. This brought things round again, and the assembly seemed in general inclined to come to a resolution, when the regent desired to be heard, and a deep silence ensued ⁿ.

He began with setting forth the misery of their present condition; the just apprehensions they were under of having those miseries for ever entailed upon their posterity, by falling under the dominion of a foreign power. He expatiated on the troubles, dangers, and hardships to which by his office of regent, or protector, he was exposed. He said; he pretended no right to the crown, nor did he desire it. That the king of *Castile* had plainly forfeited his, and the queen's likewise, by entering *Portugal* with an army, in breach of the treaty, from which alone her right could arise. That with respect to the infant *Don Juan*, if the states would declare him their king, he was content to take the same pains that he had hitherto done; that he was ready to swear to him as his lawful sovereign; to expel the *Castilians* out of his dominions; and to defend them for him till Providence, by restoring him to his liberty, should restore to *Portugal* her lawful king. That from what he knew of the weight and duties of that high office, he was sensible he wanted talents to discharge it; but that to expel strangers, to preserve the liberties of the people, and to keep the crown for its lawful owner, he was ready to expose himself to any labour or hazard ^o. The assembly understood this perhaps as it was intended; as a modest refusal, that might render the placing the crown upon his head more grateful to the people of *Portugal*. Accordingly, the question being put, the regent was unanimously declared king, and *Don Vasco da Cunha* was one of the first who complimented him upon his election ^p, and made him a tender of his services.

THUS ended that long interregnum which had been so fatal to *Portugal*, which had destroyed the face of government

ⁿ ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^o JOSEPH TEIXERA, E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, GARIBAY, LEQUËN DE LA NEUFVILLE. P E. NUNEZ, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

king,
which puts
an end to
the inter-
regnum.

throughout the best part of the kingdom, and rent the whole nation into factions, and introduced a foreign army into the heart of the country; which had put a full stop to industry, and by taking away security, had rendered a great part even of the most fertile provinces desert. The sad effects of the interregnum did not, however, end with it; but on the contrary, were augmented in number, and heightened in their nature, for the *Portuguese* were rebels now on which ever side they acted, and maltreated on both sides if they declared for neither. Yet a ray of hope was let in by this election; and by degrees his own vigilance, and his people's valour, secured to Don *Juan* the crown, which in every country, purging all defects, made him in the eyes of his subjects at least, and in the end, in the eyes of his neighbours also, a legal king.

SECTION IV.

Comprehending the Reigns of John I. Edward, Alonzo V. and John II.

Additional
restrictions
upon Don
Juan,
when de-
clared and
acknow-
ledged.

DON *Juan*, grand-master of the order of *Avis*, was declared king by the states of *Portugal*, at *Coimbra*, on the sixth of *April*, and we shall therefore stile him for the future *John* the first, as it will enable us to distinguish him the better from his competitor, Don *Juan* king of *Castile* (A). Those who made him a king thought fit to prescribe some additional

(A) Don *Juan* was the natural son of Don *Pedro* the *Lover of justice*, by Donna *Theresa Lorenza*, a *Galician* lady, and born, as the best writers say, at *Lisbon*, on the 22d of *April* 1357, which was one great reason why the people of that city were so early, and continued so steadily, attached to him. He was first put under the care of *Lorenzo de Leyria*, a citizen of *Lisbon*, who delivered him as soon as he was capable of instruction to Don *Nugno Freyras de Andrada*, grand-master of the order of *Christ*, who educated him with infinite care and affection, and when

he was seven years old, produced him at court, which is said to be the first time the king his father ever saw him. His tutor observed how much he was pleased with the aspect and behaviour of the boy; and laying hold of this favourable opportunity, demanded for him the mastership of *Avis*, which was just become vacant by the death of Don *Martin de Avilar*: the king readily yielded to his request, knighted him upon the spot, and sent him to be bred up at *Tomar*, which was the residence of the grand-master of *Avis* (1). There he received an

(1) *Faria y Sousa, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, le Cede.*

admirable

additional articles to the old laws of *Lamego*; such as that he should exclude from his council, and the magistracy of towns, all the creatures of queen *Leonora*; that he should be very careful in bestowing the great offices of the kingdom, and of his household; that in all cases of any moment he should take the advice of his council, and be for that pur-

admirable education, which, joined to his own great parts, produced him early in the reign of his brother Don *Ferdinand* upon the public theatre, as one of the best officers, and one of the ablest men in *Portugal*. He gave his brother good advice, and frequently hazarded his life in his service. He was civil to the queen, but never of her faction. He publicly reprov'd the lightness of her behaviour, which she revenged by procuring his imprisonment; and, as we have shewn in the text, was very near taking away his life, which it is probable he never forgot. The king his brother charged him to kill the queen's favourite, and he executed that order after the king's death (2). He was a deep politician; for he covered all his designs with an appearance of openness and candour. He gained the friendship of the ablest men in the kingdom, whether soldiers, ecclesiastics, or lawyers; but above all, he studied the people, and understood their humours perfectly. He wrote upon those humours by concealed and unsuspected means, and seemed to be the instrument only of his own contrivances, and to receive from others, those orders which he had secretly dic-

tated. His prudence gained him the confidence of the wise; his steadiness and gratitude the friendship of the brave; and his liberality the bulk of the nation. He was in the twenty-seventh year of his age when he was declared protector, and in the twenty-eighth when he was proclaimed king (3). He was one of those few persons upon whom prosperity and adversity had no manner of effect. He was not elated by the one, or depressed by the other; but if occasion required it, could counterfeit both. By pretending fear, and threatening to leave the kingdom, he was elected regent; by promising titles, governments, estates, as if he had been really master of the whole kingdom, when he had very little of it, in the end he became so (4). In one thing he was very singular; though he was so great a master of art he never employed it but when it was necessary; and though he had it fully in his power to punish many who had been his enemies, he spared them all, and some of them even after they had broke their faith to him. It was his saying, that clemency was the cement of a new government, and his actions were suitable to his maxims (5).

(2) *Vasconcellos, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet*

(1) *Cronica del Rey*

Don Joan por Fernam Lopez, Vasconcellos, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

(3) *Fern. de Menezes vida e açoes del Rey Don Joan I. Fern. Lopez, Vasconcel-*

los. (5) *Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mariana.*

pose attended by a committee wherever he went; that he should not conclude peace, or declare war, but with the assent of the states; and that he should not interpose his authority in making or dissolving marriages, which ought to be entirely free, and not subject to any controul; nevertheless the new king should be obliged to ask the assent of the states before he entered into wedlock. The king readily ratified all but the last. He said, that marriage was the prerogative of every man; that he would promise them never to invade it, and for this reason he was unwilling to lose it. The states acquiesced, the king swore to the rest, and was then proclaimed: as to the solemnity of a coronation, he referred it till they were more at leisure. He declared the constable *Nugno Alvarez*, major-domo; his brother *Alvaro Pereira*, marshal of the kingdom; *Vasco da Cunha*, standard-bearer. *Regras* was continued in his office of chancellor, and all were sworn of his council, with some other lords of equal character and reputation^a. The king and the constable both took the field, and reduced several places by force, and recovered others by composition, particularly the city of *Braga*. The king gave very honourable terms to the *Castilian* officers who defended places against him, but refused them to the *Portuguese*, whom he now affected to treat as rebels^b.

The king
of Castile
invades
Portugal
with the
whole force
of his do-
minions.

At length, Don *Juan* of *Castile*, at the head of the whole force of his dominions, and with the flower of the *Castilian* nobility, entered the province of *Alentejo*; and, as the *Portuguese* historians say, besieged *Elvas* without effect^c; so that being obliged to retire from before it, he returned to *Ciudad Rodrigo*, in his own dominions, full of resentment and chagrin. There he held a council of war; in which, yielding to the opinions of the young and hot headed nobility, he resolved to invade *Portugal* again; to ruin all the country before him; to drive the master of *Avis*, as they styled him, once more into *Lisbon*; and not to depart from before that city till she owned her lawful king. This scheme was pursued, several places taken and sacked, *Trancofo* particularly, where a body of *Castilian* troops had been beat, and the church burnt^d. In the mean time, *John* king of *Portugal* lay at *Abrantes*, with a small army, as if he despaired of ex-

^a MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Juan I. e dos Ruys de Portugal o decimo; composta por FERNAM LOPEZ. fol. FERNANDO DE MENEZES, vida e acçoes del Rey Don Joan I. 4º. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

^b Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

^c FERNAM LOPEZ, AYALA. ^d FERNANDO DE MENEZES, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

pulling

PELLING the enemy, and was at a loss what measures to take. But in reality he waited for the *English* succours; and his prudence and courage were so well known, that notwithstanding appearances were so much against him, there were none who censured his conduct. The constable Don *Nugno Alvarez* alone pressed the king to fight: he said the ardour of his troops would supply the want of numbers; and that it was dishonourable to see the kingdom burnt and spoiled, without attempting its relief. The king heard him patiently, and gave him good words; but did not shew his usual alacrity in marching to find out the enemy. At length an officer he had sent to view the *Castilian* army, returned, and published through the camp, that though the report was true as to their numbers; yet that they were extremely harrassed, were in great want of provision, and so dispersed that they might be easily surprized. This he did by the king's express orders; for there was not a single word of it true, the army of *Castile* being in the plains of *Aljubarota*, very strongly posted, and very well supplied.

THE *Portuguese* soldiers cried out to be led to the battle; the constable expostulated again with the king; and he, as if over-persuaded, at last gave orders to march. The *Castilians* had great advantages if they had preserved them: their army consisted, according to the best accounts, of thirty thousand men^c. Some *Portuguese* historians make theirs but six thousand six hundred; but the *Castilians* say they were ten thousand. The constable led the van, *Men Rodriguez* commanded one wing, *Antonio Vasquez* the other, and the king was in the center. The *Castilians* came precipitately to the action, and were not only the aggressors, but charged with such fury that the constable with his troops gave way. The king of *Portugal* perceived it, and ordered the main body of his forces to open and give them way. The enemy, disordered in the pursuit, he attacked on their flanks, and in half an hour their rout became unavoidable. A multitude of their best officers were killed upon the spot; the king of *Castile* fled that night upon a mule to *Santaren*, upwards of thirty miles. This victory, which was decisive, was gained on the fourteenth of *August*, by four in the afternoon. The *Castilians* lost ten thousand men, all the places in the neighbourhood surrendered; and the constable immediately after made an irruption

Is entirely defeated by the king of Portugal, in the plains of Aljubarota.

A. D.
1385.

^c ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, JOSEPH TEIXERA DE PORTUGALLÆORTUS, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

into

into the dominions of *Castile*, where he had the good fortune to defeat the grand-master of the order of St. *James*, who was killed upon the spot, and returned, covered with glory, into *Portugal*^f. This campaign fixed the fate of *Portugal*, and rendered the authority of king *John* permanent and stable.

King John
espouses the
lady Phi-
lipa,
daughter
to John
duke of
Lancaster.

THE king created the constable upon his return count of *Ourem*, and rewarded the rest of his officers with great magnificence^g. At the opening of the next year he reduced *Chaves*, after a long siege. He next made an irruption into *Castile* in person, and besieged *Coria*; but without effect. Upon his being obliged to raise it, his usual discretion deserted him, and he happened to say, though in a jesting manner, "That he had taken the place if, like king *Arthur*, he had had good knights at his round table." *Men Rodriguez de Vasconcellos* answered immediately, "That possibly the knights of the round table had more reason to complain they were not blessed with an *Arthur*, to distinguish their valour, and make a right use of it." The king saw his mistake, and held his tongue^h. The duke of *Lancaster* arriving at *Corunna*, the king went to meet him, and finding with him his consort *Donna Constantia*, who took the title of queen of *Castile*, and his daughters, he quickly concluded a marriage with the eldest *Donna Philippa*; and as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from the Pope, the marriage was celebrated at *Lisbon*ⁱ. We have already given the history of this war; and shall not therefore dwell any longer than is absolutely necessary upon it here. The king, in conjunction with his father-in-law, made an irruption into *Castile*, without gaining any great advantage; for *Don Juan* being informed how ill the sultry heats of *Galicia* agreed with the *English*, put good garrisons into his frontiers, and withdrew all provisions: so that the *English* and *Portuguese* were glad to retreat without fighting. At his return to *Lisbon* king *John* fell dangerously ill, and his queen miscarried; which, with the miserable circumstances the kingdom was in, caused a great consternation: from which, however, they were in some measure relieved by the king and queen's recovery^k.

^f Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, FERNANDO DE MENEZEZ, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^g MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

^h FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

ⁱ THO. WALSHINGHAM, RAINALD, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^k FERNANDO DE MENEZEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERNAM LOPEZ, MAYERNE TURQUET.

By

By king *John's* advice, and with his full consent, the duke of *Lancaster*, with his family and forces, embarked, under the escort of a *Portuguese* squadron, for the dominions of the crown of *England* in *France*, with full assurance that he would return the next year with a more numerous army. But after he was at *Bayonne*, it appeared that he had made a treaty with the king of *Castile*, by which the prince *Don Henry*, his eldest son, was to espouse *Donna Catalina*, the duke's second daughter: in consequence of which their pretensions were adjusted¹. The *Spanish* historians say, that this gave great uneasiness in *Portugal*; but the *Portuguese* affirm, that the king, all things considered, was not so much offended as he appeared to be, as foreseeing that this would bring about a peace, of which he was in great need^m. He reduced some of the few places that still held out, and then made an irruption into *Castile*; but soon after returned to *Bragà*, in order to hold an assembly of the states: where, by recommending it strongly to them to spare the people in their taxes, he carried his point, and obtained as great a subsidy as he could desire; which, in spite of their poverty the people very cheerfully paidⁿ. The king afterwards made an irruption into *Galicia*, where he was so fortunate as to reduce the city of *Tuy*, and the town of *Salvaterra*. Upon this the *Castilian* offered if they were restored to conclude a truce for a certain term, and to deliver up some places which he still held. To which king *John* very readily assented. His interest with Pope *Boniface* the ninth was so good, that he obtained from him the erection of *Lisbon* into an archiepiscopal see^o. The peace with *Castile* had not perhaps been of any long duration, if the king *Don Juan* had lived; for the *Castilian* nobility were extremely piqued at what they took to be a diminution of their honour; but the king being killed by a fall from his horse, and leaving no issue by his queen *Donna Beatrix*, all colour of making war upon *Portugal* ceased^p. In the minority of the young king the truce was prolonged for fifteen years, with great advantage to *Portugal*: but the historians of that country say, that these terms were but ill observed by the *Castilians*; for which they assert, their king would have procured satisfaction by force of arms, if some domestic troubles had not prevented them; but as to the rise and nature

Compels the Castilians to own and conclude a truce with him for three years.

A. D.
1388.

A. D.
1323.

¹ Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^m FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

ⁿ FERNANDO DE MENEZES, FERRERAS. ^o RAINALD, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

^p Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan.

of these troubles, authors are not very well agreed, and we can only endeavour to reach the truth by comparing them¹.

The constable differs with the king, but at length comes into his measures.

THE chancellor *Regras*, who was a great politician and a very plausible speaker, undertook to rectify his master's judgment with regard to his liberalities, objecting particularly to the large grants he had made the constable Don *Nugno Alvarez de Pereyra*. He further observed, that the constable had not turned these to his own advantage; but had exercised the same royal generosity towards the gentlemen who had served under him: by which he was in a manner master of the provinces of *Alentejo* and *Algarve*. He concluded, that the king had already several children, and was likely to have more, and that a competency was at least due to them, as well as power and magnificence to the constable. Moved by these persuasions, the king published an edict for resuming upon certain terms the grants he had made in the time of his necessity¹. The constable, who found himself exceedingly embarrassed and aggrieved by this edict, came to court, and expostulated the matter with the king, who, on account of their ancient friendship, heard him patiently; but told him it was impossible for him to retract his edict. The constable upon this went down to his government, and putting his affairs into the best order he was able, signified an intention of leaving the kingdom². At this the king was equally alarmed and displeased: he sent therefore several ecclesiasticks to dissuade him from that resolution; but without effect: for the constable's high spirit could not brook what he understood to be an act of injustice. The king thereupon sent him orders to come to court; and when he came, took him alone into his closet, where he explained to him the true motives of his conduct. The constable came out from this conference perfectly satisfied; and the edict was executed without any farther disputes³. It seems the king intending his natural son Don *Alonso*, who was his great favourite, for the constable's only daughter, he was unwilling that his establishment should appear more considerable than that of his lawful children; and as soon as the constable perceived that what he did was not at all the effect of any coldness or disregard, but was in itself highly reasonable, he came at once into his master's measures; so that this may be reckoned among the few in-

A. D.
1395.

¹ FERNAN LOPEZ, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ² FERNAN LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ³ FARIA Y SOUSA. ⁴ FERNANDO DE MENEZES, LE CLEDE, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

stances

stances of expostulations between a monarch and a subject, without prejudice to either. But the reader will remember they were both men of consummate abilities.

ALL this time the jealousies and heart-burnings between the *Castilians* and *Portuguese* still remained, and the fire of war lay smothered under its embers. The king of *Portugal*, under pretence that the articles of the last convention between them had not been well observed, surprized the town of *Badajoz*, and made an attempt upon that of *Albuquerque*, a place of strength and importance. Don *Henry* of *Castile* resented this, upon which the war flamed out afresh, and the constable of *Portugal* made an irruption into *Castile*^u. But while king *John* meditated something of greater consequence, he was not a little surprized at the news that *Vasco de Cunha*, *Ferdinand Pacheco*, and *Juan Alonso Pimentel* were retired into *Castile*, and had prevailed on several considerable places in his dominions to revolt. At this time his troops were employed in *Galicia*, where they had once more taken the city of *Tuy*, and the constable was there in order to fortify and put it into a proper state of defence^w. In some small space the meaning of this defection appeared; for Don *Denis* of *Portugal*, assisted by a considerable body of *Castilian* troops, advanced to *Bragança*, and having joined the malcontents, assumed the title of king^x. But the constable marching with all his forces on one side, and the king assembling an army at *Porto* on the other, Don *Denis* was advised by his friends to lay aside the royal title, and to withdraw with as much privacy as possible into *Castile*^y. This did not put an end to the war, which was very injurious to the subjects of both crowns by land and sea, without turning in any degree to the benefit of either. This made both princes willing to listen to a negotiation; plenipotentiaries were appointed on both sides, and though they separated without coming to any conclusion, yet they met again soon after, and agreed upon a truce for ten years, on very equal terms^z. The king of *Castile* dying not long after, Donna *Catalina*, the *English* queen, having the tuition

Don Denis makes an irruption into Portugal, and assumes the title of king.

A. D.
1400.

^u ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERNAM LOPEZ. ^w FERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN las generaciones semblancas o abrar de los excellenter Reyes de Espana, Don Enrique el tercero y Don Juan el Segundo, y de los venerables Prelados y notables Cavaleros, que en los tiempos destos Reyes fueron fol. ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, FERNAM LOPEZ, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^x FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^y FERNANDO DE MENEZES, FERNAM LOPEZ, LE CLEDE. ^z FARIA Y SOUSA, FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

of

of her son Don *Juan* the second, caused the truce to be converted into a peace; and soon after demanded assistance of the king of *Portugal* against the *Moors*, which he not only granted, but offered, as her son was under age, to command the army of *Castile* in person, which the queen's council, however, advised her to decline^a, on a narrow principle of jealousy.

*By what
maxims
king John
governed
his domi-
nions in
time of
peace.*

By the late treaty with, and by this obliging behaviour towards the crown of *Castile*, a great check was given to those animosities that had so long disturbed both nations, and the king was left at leisure to prosecute his political views for the good of his subjects. As he had been once a private man, and never had any degree of pride, he preserved, which was very wonderful, the same familiarity with all persons of condition that he had been accustomed to in his youth. His nobility dined at his table; he frequently made visits; and when he granted an audience, commonly attended the person with whom he had been speaking to the door of his apartment. His maxim was, that a prince without coin must pay in civility. But he did not say or do this from a principle of avarice; on the contrary, his generosity made him poor. But with all this condescension he was very much a king, strict upon proper occasions, and inflexible when he found this strictness necessary. He observed that many of the nobility had bravos about their persons, men recommended by the wicked actions they had done, encouraged and subsisted to do more. He made an edict against this, and he took care that it should be executed so punctually, that these sort of people were rooted out. He suffered no office to be sold of any kind, nor would prefer from any other motive than merit. He moderated the imposts as soon as it was in his power; was a true friend to industry, and encouraged his subjects to pursue it from his own example. His old friends were always welcome to him; and before he did any thing of importance he was wont to say, we must know the constable's mind upon this. When his revenues increased, he indemnified those from whom he had taken grants; and his inclination to justice was so well known, that those who suffered imputed it to his necessity and not to his will. He did not affect amusements or spectacles, but was wont to say, that conversation was of all diversions the cheapest, and improved

^a Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por FERNAN PEREZ DE GUZMAN, FERNAN LOPEZ, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

the most ^b. He introduced, by his own example, the love of letters, and a true taste amongst his courtiers.

THE king had more than once shewn an inclination to confer the honour of knighthood upon his sons; but the young princes made a scruple of accepting that honour in a time of full peace; and the king, with much more reason, made a scruple of entering into a war, merely to make knights. At length, however, he ordered military preparations by land and sea, which alarmed all his neighbours. He confided his secret to none but the prince against whom these preparations were pretended to be made, and this was the count of *Flanders*, who he gave out had injured his subjects in their trade, and on whose dominions he proposed to make a descent. The count being previously informed that his real intention was against the *Moors* in *Africa*, took the proper measures on his side to keep up the farce. At length, every thing being ready for the intended expedition, in which the king proposed to command in person, he appointed the grand-master of the order of Christ, viceroy in his absence; and then communicated the whole scheme and intention of his voyage to the queen, to whom before he would never reveal the secret ^c. She pressed him earnestly to lay aside the thoughts of going himself, and would certainly have prevailed if the princes had not as earnestly laboured to keep him to his first resolution. The apprehension of his absence, however, affected the queen so much that she fell suddenly ill, and her malady proved so violent, that in a few days she died, to the extreme regret of the king, and of the whole court ^d.

Death of queen Philippa, and great regret of her subjects for their loss.

A. D.
1414.

THE fleet assembled for this enterprize consisted of fifty-nine galleys, thirty-three tall ships of war, and one hundred and twenty transports, carrying in the whole fifty thousand soldiers and seamen. The rendezvous was appointed in *Lagos* bay, where the bull of *Croisade* was published, and from thence the king passed through the streight, steering directly for the port of *Ceuta*. On the fourteenth of *August* they discovered the place, and on the twenty-first they began to debark the troops, with the infants *Don Henry* and *Don Pedro* at their head ^e. The *Moorish* governor, *Sala Bensala*, had made very great preparations for the siege, which he had long feared, and had brought a considerable number of auxiliaries

Don John's glorious expedition into Barbary, and reduction of the fortress of Ceuta.

^b FERNANDO DE MENEZES, FERNAM LOPEZ, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^c FERNAM LOPEZ. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^e LOUIS DEL MARMOL dans son Afrique, FERNANDO DE MENEZES.

into

into the place; but as there happened a great storm while the Christian fleet was at sea, those auxiliaries would stay no longer. The attack was presently made, and with great fury, in which the infants *Edward*, *Henry*, and *Pedro* had an equal share of danger and of honour; and at length, with some effusion of blood, the town was taken, and the enemy retired into the castle ^f. The king caused that fortress also to be attacked, and *Sala* perceiving that he had no relief to expect, after having stood one assault, retired in the night and left the *Portuguese* masters of the place ^g. The king having caused the fortifications to be repaired, and the mosque to be purified, left a good garrison under the command of *Don Pedro de Meneses*, count of *Alcontin*; and having re embarked the rest of his troops on the second of *September*, returned safely into *Portugal*; and having reviewed his army at *Tavira*, and rewarded the several persons who had distinguished themselves in his service, he declared the infant *Don Henry*, duke of *Viseo*, and gave the title of duke of *Coimbra* to the infant *Don Pedro* ^h. This year he abolished the æra of *Augustus* ⁱ, which had been before abolished in *Arragon* in 1350, and in *Castile* in 1383. The princes of *Barbary* immediately formed a league for the recovery of *Ceuta*, which obliged the king of *Portugal* to send back the infants *Don Henry* and *Don Pedro* with a considerable force, who found greater difficulty in relieving than they had done in acquiring the place, which at length, however, they accomplished, after defeating the infidels both by land and sea; which success of theirs proved fatal to *Abu-jade*, king of *Fez*, upon whom the *Moors* had laid the blame of this loss; in resentment of which, his subjects conspired against and murdered him; upon which so great troubles ensued, that they had no king for eight years ^k. But by what right, unless there subsisted a continual war with the *Moors* in *Barbary*, this conquest was made, does not at all appear.

Some of his
council are,
however,
desirous
that he

AFTER all the reputation resulting from the success of the king's arms in *Africa*, some of his ministers, for he allowed every man to speak his mind freely, made it a question in his council, whether it was for the king's advantage to keep this new conquest, or whether all the benefits proposed from

^f FARIA Y SOUSA, FERNAM LOPEZ, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^g LOUIS DEL MARMOL, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE.

^h LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERNAM LOPEZ.

ⁱ DIONYS. PETAVIUS de doctrina temporum, lib. x. cap. lviii, Spondanus ad an. 1415, MARIANA Hist. Hispan. lib. xvii. cap. x. lib. xviii. cap. vi. lib. xx. cap. vii.

^k LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 374.

it might not be obtained by demolishing the city and fortress, *should* and the great expence saved which a garrison constantly kept *slight and* there would necessarily require; besides the much larger dis- *demolish it.* bursements that would from time to time become necessary for the embarkation of armies as often as the *Moors* were disposed and found themselves strong enough to besiege it. On the other hand, it was urged that the keeping of *Ceuta* was of common benefit to all *Spain*, as it divided the *Moors* from the *Moors*, and facilitated the reduction of the kingdom of *Granada*. It was alledged, that the *Moors*, as infidels and aggressors in the conquest of *Spain*, were to be considered as hereditary and perpetual enemies, against whose descents and incursions, as well as pyracies by sea, it was absolutely necessary to take the best precautions possible, than which there was none comparable to the keeping the castle, town, and port of *Ceuta*. It was added in reference to the great charge it entailed upon the kingdom, that it might be lessened by various means; that the Pope would undoubtedly oblige the clergy to contribute to it; that the garrison might serve as a kind of school for the military orders, and in consequence of that subsist in some measure at their expence; and that very probably if the king enlarged his conquest on that side, he might find means to draw a considerable part of their subsistence from the inhabitants of the conquered country. King *John*, having thoroughly weighed the arguments offered on both sides, determined to keep *Ceuta*; and thereupon gave orders for enlarging and augmenting the fortifications, as well as for forming an intrenched camp under them. He augmented his forces there to six thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; which he judged sufficient to deprive the *Moors* of all hopes of recovering it, or at least capable of repelling their attempts, if, contrary to his expectation, they should endeavour it. He likewise addressed himself to the Pope for the assistance proposed, and procured from him all that he demanded¹. By this means he struck a great terror into the infidels, which lasted all his reign.

A. D.
1419

It often happens in other countries, and it more than *The king* once happened in this, that princes grown to men's estate *victorious* become impatient in obeying, and from a too high estimation *in war,* of their own abilities, through false ambition, or excited by *happy in* pernicious counsels from others, disturbed the government *his family,* they were bound by nature, as well as duty and interest to *and well ob-* support. In all other things fortunate, king *John* was most *eyed by his* fortunate in this. He had many sons, whom he saw men, *clergy.*

¹ FERNAM LOPEZ, FERNANDO DE MENEZES, LE CLEDE.

men of parts and men of action ; but men who had no emulation, save that of shewing their affection to his person, which they manifested by employing all their abilities in the support of his administration. This was in a great measure due to the care he had taken in their education, and the pains with which he himself had instructed them in solid and useful knowledge. Henry, duke of *Viseu*, had the direction of affairs in *Africa*, and his father procured him the best appointments in his power ; these he employed as if they were only intrusted with him for the public advantage. He it was, as we have shewn in another place, that set on foot those discoveries which proved so beneficial afterwards, not to *Portugal* only, but to all *Europe*. The first fruits of them was the settling and possessing the island of *Madeira*, which very soon yielded a considerable revenue. He it was, who taking notice of a small, but secure post in the kingdom of *Algarve*, about a league and a half distant from *Cape Vincent*, caused a town to be erected there, which is allowed to be the best laid out and fortified of any in *Portugal*. This is called *Sagres* ; and some think we may trace therein somewhat of the ancient name of the *Cape*, which was called in *Latin Promontorium Sacrum*. It was here that he erected his magazines, built and laid up his ships that were continually employed in useful enterprizes^m. But this spirit of improvement in the king and his sons, though it laid the foundation of future emoluments, produced for the present a great want of money. In this case the king had again recourse to the clergy, and desired their consent to coin the church-plate. These men, who had disturbed almost every other reign, had the good sense in his to be as tractable as any of his subjects. They owned there was nothing more reasonable than that a prince who had exhausted his own coffers in a war against the infidels, should be supported out of the treasures of the church. They gave a farther instance of their good temper : the Pope had been informed, that the king, like some of his predecessors, had brought ecclesiasticks before lay tribunals, and had in other respects invaded what was stiled the immunities of the church. Upon this he directed some prelates to enquire into the king's conduct in this respect ; insinuating, that he would proceed very rigorously if he saw cause. But those prelates reported that there was none. They knew the king's intentions were good : they saw that justice was strictly and impartially administered amongst all ranks of people ; and they were afraid of

^m MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

seeing

seeing a scandalous clergy in a well-ordered kingdom, which induced them to act as they did; for which the king made them very grateful returnsⁿ. In this respect king *John* had visibly the advantage of all his predecessors, who found it much easier to deal with the *Moors* than with their clergy.

As during his long reign there happened many turns, and great distractions in *Castile*, as we have shewn in their proper place, he might, if he had been an unjust and ambitious prince, have fomented their disturbances, and have drawn their malcontents to depend upon him. But he meddled no farther in these matters than was necessary to preserve the quiet of his own dominions; and if he gave shelter at any time to the discontented nobility, he gave them at the same time honest advice, and interposed his good offices to prevent things from coming to extremities. He interposed to prevent a war between the crown of *Castile* on one side and those of *Arragon* and *Navarre* on the other. The latter offered to leave all disputes to his arbitration, and afterwards clapped up a peace without his knowledge, which he resented. The king of *Castile* thereupon sent an embassy to him to complain of his supporting the Infants, who were inclined to disturb the peace of his kingdom. King *John* answered, it was true that he had given shelter to those princes, because they were princes: but he immediately published a proclamation forbidding any of his subjects taking any share in their quarrels; by which the king of *Castile* was thoroughly satisfied of the rectitude of his intentions, and expressed that satisfaction in the clearest terms and in the most public manner; which was one of the last remarkable transactions in his reign, and which at the same time did him no small honour^o.

He takes no advantages of the factions or disturbances in the kingdom of Castile.

THE king's last cares were about the settlement of his family: he married prince *Edward*, the heir apparent of his dominions, to the infanta *Leonora*, the daughter of Don *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, with whom he received two hundred thousand florins of gold, which in those days was an immense sum^p. This marriage was negotiated by Don *Pedro de No-*

Death of king John, which is entirely regretted by all ranks of his subjects.

ⁿ FERNAM LOPEZ, LE CLEDE, RAINALD. ^o FERNAM-
DO DE MENEZES, FERNAM LOPEZ, Elio: ios d'os Reis de Portu-
gal, com os verda deros retratos ordenados, por FR. BERN. de
Brito da Ordem de S. Bernardo, 4º. Cronica del Rey Don Juan
el Segundo, por ALVAR GARCIA DE SANTA MARIA, JUAN DE
MENA, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MARIANA, MAYERNE TUR-
QUET, FERRERAS. ^p ZURITA Annal. Arragon, LEQUIEN
DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE
TURQUET.

A. D. 1428. *rogna*, archbishop of *Lisbon*, and was highly acceptable to his subjects. The next year he gave his daughter *Donna Isabella* to *Philip* the second, duke of *Burgundy*, surnamed *the Good*; and it was at the solemnity of this marriage that prince instituted the famous order of the Golden Fleece¹. The infant *Don Pedro* had before married *Donna Isabella* of *Arragon*, daughter of the count of *Urgel*. His younger brother, the infant *Don Juan*, espoused *Donna Isabella*, of *Portugal*, the daughter of his natural brother *Don Alonso*, by the heiress of the constable². The death of that great man *Nugno Alvarez de Pereyra*, after he had led a life of retirement and devotion for nine years, proved a great affliction to the king, and a prologue to his own³. He was very sensible of his declining state, though he took care to hide it as much as possible, that he might not alarm either his subjects or his family. When he was seized with his last illness, he sent for the prince and admonished him to be careful of religion, justice, and the morals of his people. He then sent for the rest of his children, and exhorted them to unanimity, testified great piety and resignation in his last moments, and submitted to fate on the eleventh of *August*, 1433, in the seventy-sixth year of his age⁴, and in the forty-eighth of his reign, extremely regretted by his subjects and by his children; but they were not able to give immediately such marks of this, as they would otherwise have done in his funeral, because the plague raged at *Lisbon*; and it seems probable that himself and his queen *Philippa* both died of that distemper.

Some remarks on the conduct of this monarch, and the advantages arising from his administration.

HE gave for his device, a rock in the midst of the sea, and a hand from the clouds thrusting a sword into it, with these words, *Acuit ut penetret*, i. e. "Sharpened that it may pierce⁵." By which he intended to intimate, the being in continual action was the only way to be ready to seize an opportunity, or to avert a danger. His conduct was a good commentary upon it; for no prince applied himself more assiduously than he through his whole reign, none struggled

¹ JOA. JAC CHIFLET Infig. Equit. Ord. Velleris aurei. Jacques Marchant, liv. 3. Hist. de Flan. LE MIRE orig. Ord. Equest. lib. i. cap. i. FAVIN EN SON Theatre d'honneur & de Chevalerie, Spondanus ad annum. 1430, MEZERAY Histoire de France, tom. ii. FARIA Y SOUSA, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, lib. xxxv. cap. vii.

² FERNAM PEREZ DE GUZMAN, ZURITA Andal. Arragon, FERNAM LOPEZ, FERRERAS. ³ FARIA Y SOUSA, FERNANDO DE MENEZES, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

⁴ FERNANDO DE MENEZES, FERNAM LOPEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal. ⁵ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 382.

through

through greater difficulties with more honour, and none knew better how to accommodate himself to all situations, how to chuse the properest methods for accomplishing his ends, or how by a dextrous management of circumstances to divert mischiefs (B). He was unquestionably one of the most fortunate princes that ever reigned in *Portugal*, or perhaps in any

(B) This great prince, whom the *Portuguese* historians consider as the founder of a new family, had a very pleasing aspect, and was very handsome in his person, of which, however, we have no particular description. His helmet and his battle-axe are still preserved, which shew that he was of a very large size, and of a prodigious strength (6). In dress and in diet he was very plain, loved mirth and freedom at his meals, and was naturally of a lively chearful disposition, yet not given to any kind of excess. Besides the famous monastery of *Batalha*, he built the convents of *Penalunga* and *Carmota*, and the churches of St. Francis at *Leyria*, and of our lady of *Oliveira* at *Guimaraes*, which were all very magnificent structures. He likewise built the palaces at *Lisbon*, *Santarem*, *Sintra*, and *Almerin*, which were spacious and magnificent (7). He reduced the ten bezants in each of the five escutcheons of the arms of *Portugal* to five, and annexed the crois of the order of *Avis* to the bottom, to shew that he had been once grand-master of it (8). He had great connections with *England* during his whole reign : hence it was

that he gave the name of *Edward* to his son, in honour of *Edward* the third. The *Portuguese* historians say, that he was one of the knights companions of the order of the garter ; and though this does not appear in any of our lists, yet it is very likely to be true, because those lists, more especially in the reign of *Richard* the second, are very imperfect (9), and because the *Portuguese* writers mention some very clear and positive proofs of it. Such as his giving for his crest the dragon's head, and his introducing amongst his troops the *English* cry of war, St. George, St. George (1). In his last illness he was, by the advice of his physicians, removed to *Alcouchete*, for the sake of the air ; but finding this had no effect he would be carried back to *Lisbon*, that he might die in the city where he was born (2) ; careful it seems to the very last of turning every event to some purpose, and of letting no opportunity slip of obliging and captivating the minds of his people. A science in which he certainly excelled, and gained as much by it as any man ever did.

(6) *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Vasconcellos, le Clede.*

(7) *Vasconcellos, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, Lequien de la Neufville.*

(8) *Faria e Sousa, Mayenne Turquet, le Clede.*

(9) *Austis's Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, vol. ii. 54.*

(1) *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, le Clede.*

(2) *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, le Clede.*

other country : he established himself firmly upon the throne, though he had but a very dubious title : he outlived all his competitors, and by that means secured the possession of it to his posterity : he allied his family so wisely by marriage, that he rendered it the interest of almost every crowned head in *Europe* to assist and protect them. His virtues were scarce of greater utility than what seemed to be weaknesses in him ; for his liberality, which some thought to be profusion, by dispersing the crown lands into a great number of families, attached four-fifths of the nation to his succession, since, by supporting that, they secured the titles of their own estates. He is indeed said to have devised, on his death-bed, a method of eluding those grants ; but that seems rather to have been the work of his chancellor *Regras*, which was more worthy of a lawyer than a king.

Edward
succeeds his
father, and
is pro-
claimed
king of
Portugal
at Lisbon.

DON *Edward*, the eldest son of the deceased king, was immediately proclaimed his successor, and complimented as such by the princes of the blood, and the nobility then at court^w. It is reported, that a *Jew* physician very earnestly dissuaded the king from accepting the homage of his subjects that day, because he knew, as he said, from his skill in astrology, that the stars were not favourable. *Edward*, who was near forty-two years of age, a prince of great good sense, and exemplary piety, despised this prohibition as became him ; to which the populace then, and some historians^x since, have foolishly enough ascribed his misfortunes, as if it was consistent with the wisdom of our great Creator to punish a prince for trusting in his mercy and goodness, rather than in the vain conjectures of a positive and assuming man. He went afterwards to *Cintra*, to spend some time there in rural diversions, in order to amuse his melancholy, or as others say, he only gave this out, being obliged to fly thither from the plague^y. About the time of the anniversary of his father's death, he resolved to cause his body to be removed to a monastery of his own erecting, where it was to be interred. There was never any ceremony of this kind executed with greater pomp in *Portugal*. The journey was divided into five stages, and at each of them the corps was received by one of the infants, attended by a large body of the nobility and gentry, and there was scarce a person of distinction in *Portugal* absent when the body was interred. Such was the duty of his children, and such the affection of his subjects to king *John*^z.

A. D.
1434.

^w MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS. ^x MAYERNE
TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^y LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF-
VILLE. ^z FARIA Y SOUA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE
Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 386.

As soon as these last honours were paid to the memory of that great prince, king *Edward* went to *Leyria*, and from thence to *Santaren*, where he held an assembly of the states, in which he produced a code of laws, collected and digested under proper heads by his own order, that there might be but one rule of right through the whole kingdom; whereas, under pretence of their ancient customs, the law had almost been different in every one of the provinces. He also proposed another law, for suppressing luxury in dress and in diet, which it seems was become highly necessary; and the king promised that himself and the nobility should have a strict eye to its execution, by which, as he explained it, he meant no more than that they would pay an exact obedience to it; for it was his maxim, that whatever was amiss in the morals of the people, either proceeded from the example of the great, or might be easily corrected by it^a. His brother, the infant Don *Henry*, being taken prisoner with the king of *Arragon* in *Italy*, by the duke of *Milan*, occasioned a general consternation; but it did not last long, as they were very soon informed that he had recovered his liberty^b. The king, being desirous of signalizing his reign, by extending his conquests in *Africa*, cast his eyes upon *Tangier*, or rather had it pointed out to him. His council agreed that it was a place of consequence, the reduction of which would add lustre to his arms, though they could not agree about the properest manner of reducing it. The infant Don *Juan*, grand-master of the order of St. *James*, gave it as his opinion, that if the king made an expedition on that side, it should be with a numerous fleet, and a strong army, since otherwise his own, and the reputation of the crown might receive a check not easy to be recovered. But the infant Don *Ferdinand*, grand-master of *Avis*, treated the affair in another manner, magnified the military skill and courage of the *Portuguese*; and put the king in mind of the ease with which his father had made himself master of *Ceuta*. The king, whose coffers were not very full, listened to this advice, notwithstanding all that Don *Juan* could say; so that the army was fixed at fourteen thousand men, with a proportionable fleet: and this resolution taken, the conquest of *Tangier* was looked upon as a thing in a manner accomplished^c; but this was only amongst the young nobility at court.

Is drawn into a project for reducing Tangier, and extending his conquests in Barbary.

A. D.
1436.

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^b FERNAN PEREZ DE GUZMAN, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, HERRERA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

^c ANT. VASCONCELLOS, GARIWAY, FERRERAS.

The unfortunate issue of that famous expedition, tho' conducted by the infants.

THE army for this expedition being assembled, and the fleet for their embarkation being prepared, the infants *Henry* and *Ferdinand* embarked on the twenty-second of *August*, and arrived after a favourable navigation at *Ceuta*. When they came to review their forces they discovered to their great astonishment, that instead of fourteen thousand, they had scarce seven thousand men; which was chiefly owing to the precise orders for embarking, and the distaste that many took to this expedition, upon hearing that *Don Juan's* reasons were rejected^d. Some of the principal officers gave it as their opinion, that the fleet ought to be sent back for a supply of troops before they undertook any thing: but the infants, esteeming it equally hazardous to allow the enemy so much time to repair, or to undertake any thing with so small a force, resolved at last to proceed; and accordingly the infant *Don Henry* marched with the best part of the forces by land, and *Don Ferdinand* with the rest proceeded by sea for *Tangier*, the siege of which they began on the fifteenth of *September*. The *Moors* were extremely alarmed at this attempt, and immediately set on foot a general confederacy for the preservation of the place; but that they should be able to bring into the field, as some writers mention, an army of six hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, the reader will certainly think with us, is altogether incredible. It is, however, certain, that the king of *Fez*, at the head of a numerous army, marched to the relief of *Tangier*, and before the siege was far advanced, attacked the besiegers in their trenches. It is true they made a gallant defence, and the *Moors* were repulsed; but notwithstanding this, they made a proper use of their superiority by investing the besiegers, who finding themselves shut up between the fortress and the army, were constrained to send some of the principal persons amongst them to capitulate with the king of *Fez*; and to offer him the restitution of *Ceuta*, if he would permit the remains of the army to embark for *Portugal*. The king readily listened to this proposition, and offered to give them hostages for the due performance of the articles; but he demanded in return, that one of the infants should remain as a hostage for the restoring of *Ceuta*: upon which *Don Ferdinand* readily offered himself, which was accepted; and *Don Henry*, and as many of the *Portuguese* as were left, embarked on board the fleet, and returned to *Ceuta*^e. There he fell sick, but sent the

A. D.
1437:

^d MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA *Africa Portuguesa*. ^e LE-QUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, ANT. VAS-CONCELLOS, *Historia de Espanna*, part ix. § xv.

fleet

fleet back to *Portugal*; which meeting with a great storm in its passage, several vessels were wrecked on the coasts of *Andalusia*, where the people were received and relieved by the subjects of the king of *Castile*, not only with great kindness and humanity, but with such chearful generosity, as is very honourably recorded, and very highly commended by the *Portuguese* historians ^f.

It seems that after the departure of the fleet the king either suspected, or was informed, that the force sent to *Barbary* was inferior to what had been proposed; he therefore equipped with all imaginable diligence a strong Squadron, with a considerable body of fresh troops on board, commanded by his brother the infant Don *Juan*; which arrived safely in the harbour of *Ceuta*. The sight of this Squadron and these troops contributed not a little to the recovery of the infant Don *Henry*; who having changed the garrison, augmented the fortifications, and filled the magazines of the place, directed his brother to return with the invalids, and such as had been able to recover the garrison since their misfortune at *Tangier*, which he did; but the king was still dissatisfied, and therefore sent a positive order to the infant Don *Henry* to return likewise; but it was because he could not avoid it. However, he would not go to *Lisbon*; but retired to his own town of *Sagres*, in *Algarve*, being so much ashamed of his defeat, that he declared he was unwilling to look the king in the face. But it may be, indeed it is highly probable, there were other reasons. It was given out, that the infidels had broke their capitulation by attacking the infant on his march to the ships; by which it was pretended they had forfeited their right to *Ceuta*; and it is not at all unlikely the infant Don *Henry* did not care to declare any thing to this purpose himself ^h. In all other respects his conduct was irreproachable.

THE king held a great council to decide this delicate question, Whether they should part with the noblest monument of their father's glory, or sacrifice the infant Don *Ferdinand*, the son and brother of their kings? One would have imagined that even a meaner victim would not have been offered, since in reality a hostage is rather the witness of a contract than an equivalent for the execution of it; since if it was otherwise, no man would become, no nation would accept an hostage. The council of *Portugal* determined otherwise, after having had the ad-

Pains taken by the infant Don Henry to save the remains of the Christian forces.

Don Ferdinand of Portugal left as a hostage, and abandoned to the mercy of the Moors.

^f FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias de Portuguesas.

^g LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

^h ANT. VAS-

CONCELLOS, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

vice, as it is said, of the Pope ; but it was agreed, the intercession of many princes should be used, and large sums of money offered for the ransom of Don *Ferdinand* ; and in case the infidels continued to with-hold him, then the Pope was to publish a crusade for his deliverance. In short, his liberty was to be procured in any way except by the restitution of *Ceuta*. The kings of *Castile* and *Granada* interposed warmly and sincerely ; but without effect. The *Moors* would never part with the prince, whom they had received as a pledge of the faith of Christians, and whom they retained as a proof how well it had been kept¹. He supported his captivity with the most heroic courage, which gained him the esteem and admiration of the *Moors*, amongst whom he remained to his death. He is considered for this reason as a saint and a martyr in *Portugal* ; and his example is commemorated on the fifth of *June*^k. How much soever he may deserve on the score of his patience and sufferings for other people's faults, there is surely very little excuse to be made for those who advised, or rather compelled the king to abandon him, and to break faith, and give up a brother, rather than part with a fortress to the infidels, which had been taken from them by the valour of the *Portuguese*, and by their valour no doubt might have been recovered again at a more proper time.

The method taken by advice of the chancellor Regras, to resume crown-lands.

As the misfortunes attending this unlucky expedition increased the miseries of the kingdom, which were already but too great, and as the royal revenue had never recovered, notwithstanding the edict of the late king, the repeated blows, given it by his liberality, *Edward* found himself under a necessity of taking some strong step or other to restore his finances. Under this dilemma he applied himself to the chancellor *Regras*, his father's counsellor, and who was deservedly famous for his inexhaustible fund of expedients. He did not deceive his confidence upon this occasion ; but suggested to him a method which answered very effectually in *Portugal*, though it may be very justly doubted whether it would have done so any where else. He engaged the king to declare, that in a conversation he had with his father upon his death-bed, that monarch informed him his real intention in all his grants was, that lands should descend from father to son as a reward for past, and an encouragement to future services ; but that the crown-lands should by no means descend to females. By this scheme a plain way was opened for all the royal domain that

¹ FERNAN PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE ÇLEDE, ANT VASCONCELLOS.

had

had been alienated to revert to the crown : a thing just and reasonable in itself, and to which the people submitted without murmuring ; though besides the many inconveniencies that attended it, and the heavy losses sustained by individuals, there was a precedent introduced big with consequences beyond the power of the human understanding to conceive. It is remarkable that the chancellor *Regras* himself, whose estate was derived from the bounty of his master, had only daughters, but the king granted him a dispensation, which, though very honourable in him, yet whether it was so in the chancellor we leave it to the reader to determine. To accelerate as much as possible the filling of his treasury the king reduced his expences within a very narrow compass ; and the people, moved by his example, and being persuaded of the uprightness of his intentions, submitted patiently to a resumption which nothing but necessity could justify¹. Their moderation was attended with good effects.

IN the mean time vast preparations were making by land and sea for carrying on the war against the *Moors*, in consequence of the Pope's bulls, and of the spirit the whole nation expressed to leave no means untried for obtaining the liberty of the infant *Don Ferdinand*. But when things were very far advanced, and when the proper measures had been taken for assembling a numerous fleet and a potent army, Providence interposed, and over-turned the whole, by a blow so much the more afflicting as it was altogether unexpected. The plague still continued at *Lisbon* and in the country adjacent. The king, to avoid the infection, retired into *Estramadura*, and fixed his residence for a short time at *Tomar* ; where, upon opening a letter, he was suddenly seized with a distemper, and expired the ninth of *September*, one thousand four hundred thirty-eight, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and when he had reigned five years and almost a month (C). He

Unexpected and deplorable death of king Edward, of the plague.

A. D.
1438.

¹ FARIA & SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

(C) The person of king *Edward* was altogether graceful and majestic ; he was of a middle size, well shaped, round faced, his hair black, his eyes dull, and his beard thin. He was remarkably strong and active ; the very best horseman of his time, could take a nut from the ground on full speed, and parry a javelin or a spear without shield or weapon by the adroit motion of his body (1). We have mentioned his contempt of the *Jew* astrologer's prediction at the entrance of his reign, which is highly commended by *Mariana*, as a noble

(1) *Historia general de España*, lib. xxi. *Epítome de las Historias Portuguesas*.

instance

is allowed by the *Portuguese* writers to have been a religious, prudent, and learned prince. He spoke the *Latin* tongue fluently, and wrote it elegantly. He wrote several books, and particularly two, one entitled, *The Good Counsellor*, which

instance of religious fortitude; and he farther observes, that the event justified the king's prudence, as the whole course of his reign was prosperous (2). The *French* translator takes from hence occasion to exclaim against judicial astrology as a vain and foolish art (3). The *Portuguese* historians are, some of them at least, of another opinion; they say, the *Jew* declared the king's reign would be but short in point of time, but that it would appear long from the miseries attending it, and intimate that it did so (4). We see from hence, that an appeal to facts is not always decisive; and as to the *Jew's* prediction, it was no more than a guess, in which he had an even chance, whether he should be right or wrong; and indeed something more, since no two historians have agreed in their sentiments of this reign. After all, guessing is not science, and if the principles of an art are not capable of demonstration, as those of astrology are not, it has no pretence to that title; and the king's conduct was truly commendable, whatever the character of his reign may be (5). The death of *John* king of *Portugal* was commemorated in *England*, as a knight of the garter, and his son *Edward* elected in his stead;

and an order was made on the eighth of *May*, 1435, for garter king at arms to carry him the ensigns of that order, which was not executed, however, till the year following (6). This was in the minority of *Henry* the sixth, who was one degree farther distant than king *Edward* from their common ancestor *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*. However authors differ as to the representation of king *Edward's* reign, they all agree in speaking of him as one of the wisest and worthiest monarchs of that age. He loved splendor and magnificence, but he confined this to proper occasions. He was sincerely pious, without bigotry, and the most eloquent man in his dominions. If he had reigned longer he would have done more; but in the few years he did reign, he was the author of great good to *Portugal*, for he reduced the laws within compass, and brought them into order. He made a thorough regulation of the coin by fixing both the standard and the species. He did the like with regard to the revenue, so that the ordinary income exceeded considerably the expence; and he drew, by his favour and liberalities, some of the most eminent persons in *Europe* for knowledge to *Lisbon* (7). The

(2) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. xxi. tom. iv. p. 287.

(4) *Vasconcellos, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*. *historique et critique de l'Opinion*, par M. le Gendre, liv. vii. chap. i.

ssis's Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, vol. i. p. 185.

concellos, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, Faria y Sousa.

(7) *L'Histoire de Espagne*,

(5) *Traité*

(6) *An-*

Portuguese

which he dedicated to his queen, and which consisted of moral and political reflections; the other on the art of breaking and managing horses, which he is said to have understood beyond any man of his time^m. By his will he appointed the queen Donna *Leonora* regent during the minority of the prince, his son; and directed by his will that the money he had saved might be applied to the ransom of his brother; and that if his liberty could not that way be obtained, then *Ceuta* should be restored to the *Moors*, which he affirmed to have been always his own desire and intentionⁿ. He gave for his device a spear invested with a serpent, with these words *Loco et tempore*, i. e. In fit place and time^o; by which he seems to have meant that war was not to be undertaken at random, but after mature deliberation; in which all circumstances ought to be well considered. His death was deeply and justly regretted by his subjects, as it happened at a very critical conjuncture, dissipated all thoughts of prosecuting the war, and left a child upon the throne, under the tuition of a mother, who quickly found that the title of a queen could not exempt her from the cares and misfortunes incident to human life, and more especially to those who move in its higher spheres.

As much as the queen appeared to have been the darling of the people during the life-time of her husband, yet he was scarce interred before they conceived and published a disgust, to which they were encouraged by the infant Don *Juan*. All they had to alledge was what the queen knew too well, and what it was not in her power to help, that she was a stranger and a woman. They added also, that she was a *Castilian*: which was in one sense true, for she was a princess of that royal family. In this situation it was requisite for her

Accession of Don Alonso V. under the tuition of his mother, who is soon deprived of the regency.

^m ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, DUARD *Genealogie des Reis de Portugal*, MARIANA *Hist. Hispan.* lib. xx. cap. xvi, and lib. xxi. cap. xiii. ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁿ FARIA Y SOUSA. ^o LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE *Histoire generale de Portugal*, tom. i. p. 404.

Portuguese historians fix his death to the ninth of *September*; but then they say, that it was thought to be predicted by an eclipse (8). At this time of day we are abundantly satisfied that notion was groundless; but *Mariana* has well observed, this circumstance plainly proves he did not die on the ninth, but on the nineteenth of *September*, and this is clearly confirmed by the records of the order of the garter, which fix it to that day (9).

(8) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. xxi. noble order of the Garter, vol. i. p. 126.

(9) *Anstis's Register of the most*

to look round for support; and there appeared none from whom she could so naturally demand it as the infant Don *Pedro*, duke of *Coimbra*, a prince of great abilities, and unblemished reputation (D). To bind him the closer to her interest

(D) This Don *Pedro* of *Portugal* was the fourth child, and second surviving son of king *John*, and was born *March* the fourth, 1394 (1). His father gave him an excellent education, which, joined to strong natural abilities and much application, rendered him one of the most accomplished princes of his time. He was not only very learned himself, but a great lover of learning, and a great pattern of learned men. It was chiefly with a view to improve his knowledge that he spent four years in travelling through different countries in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, with a train suitable to his quality; of which travels there is a relation still extant, but so loaded with fabulous circumstances, that it wounds the reputation it was designed to raise (2). At his return he espoused *Isabella*, daughter to the count of *Urgel*, and granddaughter to Don *Pedro* the fourth, king of *Portugal*, which was esteemed a very great advancement of his fortune (3). He was elected into the most noble order of the garter *April* the twenty-second, 1417, in the fifth year of the reign of his cousin *Henry* the fifth, grandson of *John* of *Gaunt*, by the father's side, as our duke of *Coimbra* was by the mother. He

was installed the year following; and when the ensigns of the order were sent to his brother king *Edward*, a rich surcoat was likewise sent to him (4). In the assembly of the states, held soon after the unfortunate defeat at *Tangier*, the infants Don *Pedro* and Don *Juan* declared clearly and loudly, that *Ceuta* ought to be given up rather than their brother Don *Ferdinand* made a victim, with which the commons were so moved that they concurred with him; and if the archbishop of *Braga* had not made it a point of religion to preserve a fortress rather than the life of any single man, it had been carried (5). It is affirmed by some writers, that Don *Pedro* was very ambitious, which, however, the best authorities deny; and indeed the actions of the better part of his life seem to contradict it. He took but one officious step after his brother's death, and that was in swearing himself, and obliging the nobility to swear homage to the infant Don *Ferdinand*, in case his brother Don *Alonso* should die without issue. At the time it was done, this was thought to be a very disinterested action; the queen herself thought so, and obliged him against his will to subscribe the summons for the first assembly

(1) *Hernand. Lopez, Ferreras.* (2) *Faria y Sousa Epitome Historias de las Portuguesas.* (3) *Lopez y Azurara, Cronica del Rey Don Juan, &c.* (4) *Privat. Sigil. in Offic. Pcl.* 22, May 5, H. vi. *Askeole's Order of the Garter*, p. 710. (5) *Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historia Portuguesas.*

erest she told him, that the late king, his brother, had left a note in the hands of his confessor, by which he directed that his son and successor, Don *Alonso* the fifth, should espouse the daughter of that prince. Don *Pedro* expressed in the strongest terms his respect for his brother's memory, and his attachment to her service ^p. Her affairs rendering it absolutely necessary, an assembly of the states was called at *Torres Novas*, where, contrary to the queen's expectations, they intrusted her only with the education of the king, her son, appointed Don *Pedro* to have the direction of all military concerns, the marquis *de Villa-viciosa* president of justice, and the count *de Atouguia* governor to the king ^q. The queen was extremely offended with this, and entered into cabals through the archbishop of *Lisbon*, who was her minister, with Don *Alonso* count of *Barcelos*, natural son to king *John*, and the infant Don *Juan*, that king's lawful son, who had married the count's daughter, the first who disturbed her administration, and who now sought to be reconciled to her, in hopes of marrying the king to his daughter. The states, desirous of cutting these factions up by the roots, declared Don *Pedro* regent, and made other necessary regulations ^r. The queen, however, took no notice of these; but bestowed places, and directed all things as if she had been sovereign in her own right; in which Don *Pedro* gave her no disturbance, and only desired she would give him the paper she had mentioned, and the queen did so: with which when her new allies were acquainted, they insisted she should take it from him. Upon this the count *de Ourem*, son to the count *de Barcelos*, went to Don *Pedro*, and desired to see it. The infant very calmly took it out of his cabinet, tore it, and put the pieces into his hands ^s.

A. D.
1440.

^p ANT. VASCONCELLOS, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^q FARIA Y SOUSA, GARIBAY, FERRERAS. ^r LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^s ANT. VASCONCELLOS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA.

of the states (6). His brethren, *Henry* and *John*, prevailed upon him to become regent, from which time we treat of his actions in the history. His real character is to be taken from thence, and from the *Spanish* and *French* historians, who, as strangers, are like to be most im-

partial (7). One thing was very remarkable in his conduct from the beginning; he was ever diffident of his security, and was kept in his post of regent in a manner by force, which, tho' for a time considered as a strain of policy, yet was at length regarded in a very different light.

(6) *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*, *Vasconcellos*, *Faria y Sousa*, *Mariana*, *Ferreras*.
(7) *Mariana*, *Garibay*, *Mayerne Turquet*, *de la Neufville*, *Ferreras*, *le Clede*, *Zeurta*, *Rainald*.

As

As they believed themselves now entirely safe from him, they put so many slights upon him daily, that he retired from court. The people obliged him to return; and though the king of Arragon sent an ambassador to support the queen, she was obliged to deliver up her children to the regent, of whom she took leave by saying, that she was now completely a widow, without husband, and without children. After saying this, she retired to *Alenquer*, full of resentment, and of projects for executing revenge.

Don Pedro governs the kingdom with the title of regent, and with great reputation.

THE administration of Don *Pedro* was so mild and so just, that the magistrates and people of *Lisbon* concurred in demanding his leave to erect a statue to him. The regent thanked them, said he should be unwilling to see a work of theirs demolished; and that he was sufficiently rewarded by this public testimony of their affections. The queen having desired that her daughter might come to her at *Alenquer*, retired from thence into the estates of the prior of *Crato*, and by his assistance raised an insurrection. The regent marched immediately to suppress it: upon which the queen retired into *Castile*, and the prior submitted^u. The count *de Barcelos* seized *Guimaraez*, and fortified it: upon which the regent marched against him, having his son the count *de Ourem* in the army. When he arrived before the place, the count *de Barcelos* sent him a message, that he would do well not to expose the king's troops, for that he was determined to live and die the queen's faithful servant, and had those with him who would behave gallantly in so good a cause. The count of *Ourem* desired the regent's leave to go and speak to his father. "If he is your father, said the regent, he is also my brother, go and behave like a nephew and a son." The two counts understood one another very well: the matter was soon settled between them, and the count of *Barcelos* submitted^w. About this time the infant Don *Ferdinand* died in his captivity; and ^x his chaplain who was the companion, wrote also the history of his imprisonment.

Deplorable death of Donna Leonora, queen dowager of Portugal, in Castile.

THE regent having obtained the Pope's dispensation called an assembly of the states, and with their consent contracted the king to his daughter^y. The queen *Donna Leonora* had engaged the king of *Castile* to send two ambassies to demand she should be restored to the regency. Don *Pedro* answered,

^t ZURITA Annal. Arragon, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, RAINALD, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS, MARIANA. ^u FARIA Y SOUSA. ^w LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, L^e CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^x FERRERAS Historia de España, part ix. § xv. ^y ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, ANT. VASCONCELLOS.

that

that it was not in his power, but that he had all the respect and veneration for the queen imaginable; that he even doubted whether her return into *Portugal* would be at all for her interest, but that he would take care to pay her regularly her dowry². This poor princess, breathing nothing but vengeance, laboured to persuade the king of *Castile* to declare war against *Portugal*, assuring him it would throw that kingdom into the utmost confusion; and in order to prevent expence from being any bar to this project, she and those who retired with her gave him all the money, jewels, and effects they had brought with them, which he very readily received, without making the return that she expected^a. In this dismal and distressed condition, without means of supporting herself in the manner she had hitherto done, she at length took a short turn, and wrote to the regent, giving him a plain and sincere account of the measures she had pursued, and of the circumstances to which she was reduced, beseeching him to let her come and live in *Portugal*, in any manner he judged expedient, and bitterly bewailing that she had been the dupe of those who envied the just credit of so great and good a man. But before the regent had time to express what his compassion would have naturally dictated, death, assisted as is supposed by Don *Alvaro de Luna*, put a period to the poor queen's troubles; for that ambitious minister perceiving that Donna *Maria*, queen of *Castile*, and this princess, had great influence over the king, and were by no means disposed to be his creatures, judged it proper to remove them out of the way, that he might have no competitors in his master's favour^b. The regent having obtained a bull from the Pope, which confirmed the separation of the orders of St. *James* and *Avis* from the order of *Calatrava* in *Castile*, published it to the great satisfaction of the *Portuguese* nation^c.

A. D.
1445.

THE steadiness of the regent's administration; the attachment of the best part of the nobility to him; and his enjoying, in so absolute a degree, the confidence of the people, not only secured the interior tranquility of the state, but raised the credit likewise of the crown of *Portugal* to a very great height in the sentiments of its neighbours. This appeared by the king of *Castile*'s demanding succours, which were sent un-

The constable of Portugal sent with a body of troops into Castile.

² FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. ^a FERNAM PEREZ DE GUZMAN, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS. ^b LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS Historia de España, part ix. § xv. ^c FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

der the command of the constable of *Portugal*, Don *Pedro*, son to the regent, whom his father had raised to that employment ^d; upon the death of his brother the infant Don *John*. These succours, though they did not arrive till the war was over in which they were to have been employed, were received with all possible testimonies of kindness and respect; more especially by the all-powerful favourite Don *Alvaro de Luna*, who concluded with Don *Pedro*, in his master's name, a marriage between him and Donna *Isabella*, daughter to the infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*, with whom he had always a private correspondence ^e. He did this, however, not only without the consent, but without so much as consulting his master, whose inclinations carried him another way, and who, tho' he had not spirit enough to refuse this wife from his minister's hands, resolved notwithstanding to take his life for this act of presumption: what is more extraordinary, this queen concurred in the measure; and not only excited the king to execute, but also contrived the manner of carrying it into execution ^f. Upon the report of this marriage by the constable to his father on his return, it was confirmed, though not celebrated till after the king came to age; as it was on all hands allowed, that this alliance might be very beneficial to *Portugal*, and prove an effectual means of burying in oblivion the old sources of disputes and discontents that had subsisted between the two nations, and produced a radicated aversion between them, which was equally fatal to both: but experience shewed that, though specious, this reasoning was far enough from being conclusive.

*Methods
taken by
the duke of
Coimbra
for the be-
nefit of the
kingdom,
and to ap-
pease his
enemies.*

IN the course of his regency the duke of *Coimbra* had made it his continual study to pursue the public good; to ease the people in general, and the inhabitants of *Lisbon* in particular, of several grievous impositions; to maintain the laws in their full vigour; to give the king an excellent education; and, if that had been at all practicable, to diffuse a perfect unanimity through the court, by assuaging the malice and envy of his enemies. Upon his first reconciliation with his brother Don *Alonso*, count of *Barcelos*, he consented, that the archbishop of *Lisbon* should have leave to return into the kingdom, who had fled to *Rome*, on account of the share he had

^d MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS.

^e Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla, y de Leon, y Maestre de la Orden, y Cavalleria de Santiago, La cronica de Espana, por DIEGO DE VALERA, FERRERAS.

^f Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

in the first disturbances, and who had been pursued thither by the clamours of the people against his morals, which it seems were not very edifying^s. On the death of Don *Gonçales*, lord of *Bragança*, he procured it, with the title of duke, for his brother Don *Alonso*, as a mark of the sincerity of their reconciliation on his side^h. But the new duke considered it rather as a mark of his absolute authority, and hated him heartily, not for the sake of the gift, for that was very acceptable, but for having the power to give; which, with the advice of the archbishop, and of his own son the count *de Ourem*, who, under the specious pretence of the warmest friend, was the most determined foe the regent had, he resolved to wrest out of his hand, as soon as a favourable opportunity offered; and for this purpose began to cabal with some of the young lords, who were about the king's person, and were the companions of his exercises and diversions, to whom he represented the regent as a man of very severe morals, and who would never permit them to receive those rewards for their services, which otherwise they might easily have obtained through the king's favour. In this situation the court stood when the king drew nigh the age of fourteen; at which time he was to become major, according to the law, or at least custom of *Portugal*.

ALONSO the fifth, afterwards, for his heroic exploits, justly surnamed *the African*, was at this time the finest youth of his age in *Portugal*. The regent knew the value of a good education, and the method in which he had received it; he was therefore assiduous from the very beginning in procuring this advantage for his nephew. He shewed him that pride was a very indifferent shield to cover ignorance; and that, to merit the respect and deference due to a king, he must acquire those qualities that ought to adorn a throne; and that modesty and affability would set a lustre upon these, which ostentation and ceremony could never bestowⁱ. In the cortes, or parliament assembled for that purpose, the regent laid down his office, and rendered an account of the manner in which he had executed it, desiring the king and people's pardon for any errors of which he might be guilty. Don *Alonso* behaved upon this occasion in a manner so composed, so gentle, and yet so manly, that it charmed all his subjects. He granted Don *Pedro* all he asked: the cortes entirely approved

On his assuming the government into his own hands, the king marries the regent's daughter.

A. D.
1446.

^s FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

CONCELLOS, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA.

^h LEQUIEN DE LA

ANT. VAS-

his administration, and gave their consent to the king's marriage with Donna *Isabella*, the regent's daughter, which was now celebrated, and to the request which the king made his father-in-law, that he would continue to assist him with his advice. This was certainly highly reasonable; and the duke of *Coimbra* governed for about two years in the same manner, and with very near the same degree of power as while the administration remained in his hands with the title of regent^k.

Such as
bait Don
Pedro com-
bine in ri-
diculing,
calumniat-
ing, and
betraying
him.

His enemies, however, at the head of whom was his own brother, the duke of *Bragança*, with the archbishop of *Lisbon*, continued their insidious practices with indefatigable assiduity. They turned the gravity and serious discourses of Don *Pedro* into ridicule: they grounded malicious suspicions on the high respect paid him by the magistrates of *Lisbon*, and other great cities; and they brought most of the king's favourites to speak the same language. When they found that the king had no longer that awe and respect which he had formerly expressed for his uncle, they went a little farther, and flattering the king's parts, insinuated it was high time he should govern his own dominions, and let his subjects see that there was somebody in them greater than the duke of *Coimbra*. At length they boldly asserted, that he had been guilty of flagrant mal-administration during his regency; that his ambition was exorbitant; and that the king could enjoy only the empty title of sovereignty while he was about his person. The king listened to these stories, and in proportion as he gave credit to them, withdrew his favour and countenance from the duke of *Coimbra*. But it has been doubted whether he could have been prevailed upon to remove him, if the duke, disgusted with such treatment, had not resolved to withdraw of himself, and with great humility desired the king's leave. This Don *Alonso* readily gave him, and his back was no sooner turned than his enemies very boldly brought out their whole charge, affirming, that he had poisoned his brother king *Edward*, queen *Leonora*, and the infant Don *Juan*^l. This amazed all, but persuaded very few. The infant Don *Henry*, duke of *Viseu*, came from his own town of *Sagrez*, to justify his brother; but his mouth was soon stopped, by turning the same charge upon him^m. The principal nobility adhered steadily to Don *Pedro*; and Don *Ferdinand*, governor of *Ceuta*, the second son of the duke of *Bragança*, came over from thence to defend his uncle against his father; but the most extraordinary cir-

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^l LA NEUFVILLE.

^m FARIA Y SOUSA.

cumstance

cumstance attending this prosecution was the behaviour of Don *Alvaro de Almada*, count of *Abranches*, esteemed the bravest knight of his time. He came into the king's council compleatly armed, with his robe thrown over him, and after making a short speech in defence of the regency, he stood up, and said, "If any man shall presume to affirm that Don *Pedro*, duke of *Coimbra*, is not a loyal servant to his prince, and a friend to his country, I am ready at the sword's point to prove that man a liar and a traitor." The courtiers said, this was insulting the king; but the king himself said, that Don *Alvaro* had behaved like a true knight and a man of honour^a.

It was the great point of the court, though certainly not of the king, from this period to drive the duke of *Coimbra* into a rebellion. The first step taken was to forbid all the king's subjects by an edict to have any correspondence with him; which produced no other effect than inducing the count *de Abranches*, and some other friends of his to go and join him. A message was then sent to require all their arms: to which the duke answered, they were necessary to him and his friends for their defence against their enemies, and could be of no use to the king, who had none^o. The queen interposed as far as she could in favour of her father; and at length prevailed upon him to promise, that if the duke of *Coimbra* would write him a letter, and acknowledge his faults, he was willing to pardon them. The duke being informed of this, wrote one letter to the king, and another to the queen. In that he told her he had out of complaisance to her wrote such a letter as she desired, which she was so imprudent as to shew the king, who tore the letter addressed to himself without reading it; adding, that since he wrote it only in complaisance to her, he retracted his promise^p. He was then commanded to come to court upon his allegiance. By the advice of the count *de Abranches* he took with him an escort of a thousand horse and five hundred foot. In his passage he was proclaimed a rebel, and soon after surrounded by the king's troops. The duke seized an advantageous post, and fortified it as well as it was possible. The king then published a proclamation requiring all men to desert him, on pain of being punished as traitors; but not a man quitted him: on the contrary, many of the king's troops withdrew, and some went to die with the duke of *Coimbra*. The next day he was attacked in his in-

Compelled to take up arms in his own defence, and soon after slain in battle.

A. D.
1449-

^a ANT. VASCONCELLOS, LE CLEDE, ESTEVAN DE GARIHAY.
^o LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, ^p FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

trenchments, and in the heat of the action killed with an arrow⁹. The count *de Abranches* continued the fight, and refusing quarter, was likewise killed, with several other persons of distinction¹. The king carried his resentment so high, that he forbid their bodies to be buried; in consequence of which they lay three days on the field of battle, and then the peasants carried away the duke privately, and buried him in an obscure village². His virtue, hated in courts, was adored by the uncorrupt part of his countrymen.

Don Alonso does justice to his memory, and causes his body to be interred at the monastery of Batalha.

THE king *Don Alonso* returned in triumph to *Lisbon*, where the implacable enemies of the duke of *Coimbra* vented their resentment, not only upon all that had been in arms with, but on those also who had shewn any affection for him. His son *Don Diego*, and many more, were kept in prison; his eldest son *Don Pedro* retired into *Castile*; several were put to the torture, and interrogated as to the duke's treason, but to no purpose; all his papers likewise fell into the king's hands, and these gave great lights, not into any conspiracy, but into a multitude of designs he had formed for the service of the king and of the nation^m. A manifesto, drawn up by his enemies, was sent in the king's name to Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, who treated it without ceremony as a heap of falsehoods, and threatened to excommunicate those who had denied him burialⁿ. The duke of *Burgundy*, who was the king's uncle, demanded *Don Pedro's* body; and that his children might have leave to retire into his dominions. These applications put the king much out of humour^o. He ordered his uncle's corps to be taken up, and carried to the castle of *Abrantes*; stopt all prosecutions; and soon after, upon mature deliberation, declared all the noblemen and gentlemen, who had adhered to the late duke of *Coimbra*, his loyal subjects. On the death of the infant *Don Juan*, who had been acknowledged his heir apparent, he ordered the body of the duke of *Coimbra* to be transported, with great pomp from the castle of *Abrantes*, to the monastery of *Batalha*^p, where it was interred in the tomb, which, as we have observed in the notes, he had caused to be erected for himself, though some writers say, this was not done till some years after.

A. D.
1450.

The princess Donna

SOME alteration was made in the situation of things at the court of *Portugal*, by the marriage of the infanta *Donna*

⁹ ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, LE CLEDE.

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA.

⁵ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

^m VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.

ⁿ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUA.

^o Epitome de las Historias y Por-

tuguesas, LE CLEDE.

^p FARIA Y SOUSA.

Leonora

Leonora to the emperor *Frederic* the third. She passed the sea to *Italy*, accompanied by some persons of the first quality, and the ceremony of her marriage was performed by the Pope himself¹. *Don Alonso* was very desirous of undertaking some expedition of importance against the *Moors* of *Barbary*; and till things were ripe for this purpose, supported the measures of his uncle the infant *Don Henry*, for discovering the coast of *Guinea*, from whence they already began to import gold in considerable quantities. This induced the *Castilians* to grow jealous; and thereupon *Don Juan* sent an embassy to *Lisbon*, alledging that he had some right to these discoveries, and threatening to support that right by force, in case the *Portuguese* fleet proceeded. *Don Alonso* answered with great moderation, that as he never heard of those rights before, it was not at all strange that he had not respected them; but that he was very willing to enter into the discussion of them whenever the king of *Castile* pleased². But *Don Juan* dying, this affair was attended with no great consequences. His successor, *Don Henry* the fourth, in the very first year of his reign, sent an agent of his privately into *Portugal*, to negotiate a marriage with the infanta *Donna Joanna*³, the king *Don Alonso's* sister, which was speedily and secretly concluded, notwithstanding the king and his sister were both well acquainted with the usage the princess *Blanch* of *Navarre*, his first wife, had received, and the strong suspicions there were of his impotence. Some months after the infanta, attended and accompanied in a manner suitable to her birth, took her journey into *Castile*, which proved equally unfortunate to herself, and to the inhabitants of *Castile* and *Portugal*⁴. On the third of *May*, the queen *Donna Isabella* was delivered of a son, who was baptized in the cathedral church of *Lisbon* by the name of *John*⁵. The joy which this occasioned was equally sincere in the king and his subjects.

Joanna married to Don Henry IV. king of Castile and Leon.

A. D.
1453.

THE infant *Don Ferdinand*, brother to the king, is by the *Portuguese* historians said to have stolen over to *Ceuta*, with an intention to have distinguished himself in some expedition against the *Moors*; but his brother suspecting that there was in this a tincture of discontent, as hitherto no provision had

Death of queen Isabella of Portugal, not with-

¹ ZURITA Annal. Arragon, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, RAINALD, FERRERAS.

² Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

³ Cronica del Rey Don Henrique, quarto, DE ALONSO DE PALENCIA.

⁴ FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part xi. § xv. MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

⁵ ED. NUNEZ, RUY DE PINA, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE.

out strong
suspicious
of poison.

been made for him, sent him orders to return, which he obeyed with such alacrity, that the king gave him a noble appenage. But we are elsewhere told, that the king appointed him to command a fleet and army; but that the latter being infected with the plague at *Ceuta*, occasioned his hasty return, without performing any thing of importance^v.

A. D.
1455.

On the second of *December* died the queen of *Portugal*^x at *Evora*, of a short illness, not without very strong suspicions of poison; for the enemies of her father, perceiving the ascendancy she had gained over the king, and fearing that after procuring the restitution of his honour, she might incline to revenge his ill usage on the authors of his misfortunes, thought this the shortest method to rid themselves of their fears. The whole nation expressed their affection for her by a general mourning, and by as general execrations against those they took to be the authors of her death; and the king gave the clearest proof of the sincerity of his passion, by his never having afterwards any commerce with the sex. He caused her body to be interred, with all possible solemnity, near that of her father; and at the same time caused the corpse of his mother *Donno Leonora* to be removed out of *Castile*, and to be interred likewise in the church of the royal abbey of *Batalba*^y. Such were the melancholy events of this year.

The king
carries on
the war
with suc-
cess against
the Moors
in Bar-
bary.

A. D.
1456.

As the state of affairs in *Castile* was very unsettled, queen *Joanna* earnestly pressed the king *Don Henry*, her husband, to an interview with her brother, to which *Don Alonso* of *Portugal* very willingly consented, as a means of dissipating the concern he was under for the loss of the queen^z. In the spring of the year the two kings, with their respective courts, met on the frontiers, from whence they proceeded to *Badajoz*, where they feasted three days, at the expence of the king of *Castile*; and then repaired to *Yelves*, where they were feasted for the like space of time by the king of *Portugal*^a. The queen of *Castile* at this juncture introduced *Don Pedro* of *Portugal*, eldest son to the duke of *Coimbra*, to her brother, who received him with great testimonies of affection and esteem, restored him to his honours, employments, and estates, and carried him back with him to *Lisbon*^b. Pope *Calixtus* the second having published a crusade against the *Turks*, *Don Alonso* very readily consented to the equipment of a very large squadron,

^v FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

^x ED.

NUNEZ, RUY DE PINA, FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

^y FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^z ALONSO

DE PALENCIA.

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.

^b ALONSO DE PALENCIA, LE CLEDE.

with

with a numerous corps of troops on board, which he actually sent to the assistance of the Christians ; but the civil wars in *Italy* first, and next the death of the Pope, rendered that military scheme abortive. It is said, that the coin still current in *Portugal* under the denomination of cruzadoes, were originally struck upon this occasion, and were made of the gold they received from *Guinea*. The king having been at a great expence in making these preparations, and being of a very warm and active disposition, resolved to turn his arms against the *Moors* in *Barbary* : to which he was encouraged by his uncle the infant Don *Henry*, grand-master of the order of Christ, who promised to attend him with a good squadron of his own, and he was likewise accompanied by his brother, and most of the young nobility in his kingdom. This fleet and army consisted of about two hundred sail, and twenty thousand men ; and the best part of the latter being safely debarked on the coast of *Africa*, Don *Alonso* besieged *Alcaçer*^a, and took it without any difficulty, into which he put a strong garrison under the command of Don *Edward de Meneses* ; who, within a short time after the return of the Christian army, found himself besieged by the king of *Fez* ; but he defended himself with such resolution, that the *Moors* were at length obliged to raise the siege. This did not hinder their attempting it a second and a third time, in which last siege they were very near prevailing, if a strong reinforcement from *Portugal* had not happily arrived, and got safely into the place. With this reinforcement came the king's order to Don *Edward de Meneses*, to return to *Portugal*, where he was received with all possible marks of honour, and the king, as a reward of his services, created him count of *Viana*^e.

A. D.
1459.

A. D.
1460.

THIS success in *Africa* excited an extraordinary joy in the *Portuguese* nation, which, however, was quickly allayed by the death of several princes of the blood. Of these the first was Don *Alonso* count of *Ourem*, a man of great art, but withal of great abilities, and who had been long esteemed the greatest statesman in that country. He was quickly followed by his uncle and the king's, Don *Henry* duke of *Viseu*^f (E). In a short

The deaths of the count de Ourem, the infant Don Henry, and the duke of Bragança.

^c RAINALD, ALONSO DE PALENCIA.

^d ED. NUNEZ,

VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.

^e LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF-

VILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.

^f ED. NUNEZ, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(E) This noble prince was the fourth son of Don *Juan* the first, king of *Portugal*, and we have had occasion to speak of him frequently in the course of the history. There are some difficulties

short space after died the father of the count of *Ourem*, Don *Alonso* duke of *Bragança*, one of the greatest men in *Portugal*; and

§ LE CLEDE, VASCONCELLOS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

difficulties about the time of his birth; and the manner of writing his title has created great confusion. The proper name of the city is *Viseu* or *Viseo*, in Latin *Visontium*, situated in the middle of the province of *Beira*; but by the similarity of letters, more especially in old hands, we find it commonly written in our records *Visen*. It is not easy to know at what time he was elected knight of the garter; but it is most likely to have been in the twenty-first of *Henry* the sixth; for at that time there was an order made for carrying the ensigns to *Lynfranc de Henryche*, uncle to the king of *Portugal* (8). Now this it seems signifies the infant Don *Henry*, who was brother to king *Edward*, and uncle to *Alonso* the fifth, who was at that time king. By the same strange way of writing, we find *Queneburgh* or *Quimbre*, for *Conimbrá* or *Coimbra*, which shews how much better it would be to have records of this kind kept in Latin (9). There is no doubt that *Mr. Anstis*, who wrote the life of this prince, has corrected a great many mistakes in his predecessors; but it is likewise true that he has made some of his own: for instance, he says that for some time he fixed his residence at *Cape St. Vincent*, and

that he afterwards removed to the cape of *Sagra*, in *Algarve* (1). But the truth is, that he never removed at all. He founded the town of *Sagrex*, as we have shewn in the history, which stands a very few miles from *Cape St. Vincent*, in the kingdom of *Algarve*, and made it one of the finest ports and best fortified places in the kingdom, the navigation of those times considered (2). He was certainly not only one of the greatest men of his time in *Portugal*, but one of the greatest men that any country or any age ever produced, which, tho' it may seem to rise very high, is so far from exceeding, that it really falls short of his merit; for whatever difference there may be between the state of *Europe* now, and the time in which he flourished, whatever advantages have resulted from the discovery of the best part of *Africa*, of the *East-Indies*, and of the *West*; nay, whatever shall result from them, to the very end of time, is strictly due to the genius and labours of this prince, unless we are inclined to refer part to his father, king *John*, who observing that his inclinations were entirely turned to mathematical studies, encouraged and gave him proper masters in his youth; and as he grew up be-

(8) *Anstis's Order of the Garter*, vol. i. p. 120. *Anstis*, and in general all who have treated this subject, of the Duke of *Viseu*, in his History of the thirteenth Stall, on the Prince's Side.

(2) *Refend. Colmenar*, *Ap Rbys's Tour through Portugal*.

(9) *Heylin, Astmole*, (1) See his Life

flowed

and who would have been still much greater if in the beginning his greatness had not been founded in the favour of the regent Don *Pedro*, his brother, and when he could oblige him no longer carried to a greater height by his fall (F). A circumstance

flowed upon him such appointments as enabled him to carry his speculations into practice. We have shewn elsewhere what the particular searches, discoveries, and conquests were that this prince made at his own expence (3). We have likewise shewn in the history what his conduct was with respect to the public transactions in *Portugal* (4); and shall therefore only add here, that he was not only a practical discoverer, by the expeditions defrayed out of his purse, but that he was really the author of that spirit of discovery, by which so much has been done since. He had very just notions of the structure of the globe: he suggested the great use of longitude and latitude in sailing, and how these were to be ascertained by astronomical observations: he was a great master in the art of ship-building: he had very clear ideas of the beneficial consequences that would attend the increase of navigation, establishment of colonies, and extending foreign commerce; and he propagated these so effectually among his disciples, that tho' ignorance and superstition made many efforts to stifle this spirit, yet it was without effect, and his own country was the first that reaped the profit of his in-

estimable talents. The time of his death is far from being certain. We place it here in compliance to great authorities (5); but it is proper to acquaint the reader we are not satisfied with those authorities. If he was sixty-seven years of age, he did not die either this year or the next (6); for then he must have been older than his brother Don *Pedro*, which he certainly was not. Mr. *Anstis* blames Dr. *Heylin* for placing his death in 1465 (7), and he gives a very good reason for it, because the lord *Duras* was placed in his stall of the garter before that time (8); but here again we are pretty much in the dark, since we know not exactly when that lord was chosen. An author of great credit places his death in 1463, and if he was sixty-seven at the time of his death, that is most likely to be the true date (9).

(F) It is of the utmost consequence to this history, to have a clear idea of the entire descent of the family of *Bragança*, now upon the throne of *Portugal*, which sprang from the person of whom we are now to speak. He was the only natural son of *John* the first, mentioned in history, and was certainly older than any of his legal issue, tho'

(3) See what is delivered concerning the Progress of the Portuguese in Asia and the East-Indies.

(4) *Faria y Sousa, Mariana, de la Neufville.*

(5) *Vas-*

concellos, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

(6) *Ferreras, le Ciede.*

(7) *Cosmography.*

(8) *Order of the Garter, vol. i.*

(9) *J.*

de Barry.

cumstance that afterwards came home to his family when least expected.

A new expedition into Africa, attended THE king finding all things quiet in his own dominions, and being well informed of the state of *Tangier*, which, for having once baffled the *Portuguese* arms, and proved fatal to the liberty and life of his uncle, had been ever the object of his resentment

we cannot tell exactly the time of his birth (1). This son of his, *Don Alonso*, he created count of *Barcelos*, and procured for him *Donna Beatrix*, the heiress of the first constable of *Portugal*, *Don Nugno Alvarez Pereyra*, count of *Arayolos* and *Ourem*, which honours, upon his demise, came to *Alonso*, who was by this means thrice an earl. His brother *Don Pedro*, duke of *Coimbra*, and regent of the kingdom, against whom he had taken up arms, and to whom he was only in shew reconciled, at least on his side, procured from their nephew *Don Alonso*, the lordship of *Bragança*, upon the death of its then possessor; and to render the obligation the greater, caused it to be erected into a dutchy (2). This *Don Alonso* had two wives, *Donna Beatrix* before-mentioned, and *Donna Constantia de Norogna*, daughter to *Alonso*, count of *Gijon*, and *Isabella* of *Portugal*, whom we have mentioned before. He had children only by his first marriage, and these were two sons and a daughter; the eldest of these, *Don Alonso*, who died but a little before his father, was stiled count of *Ourem*; and, as we have observed in the text, was considered in point of abilities as one of the greatest men of that age. He had no lawful

issue; but by *Beatrix de Sousa*, his mistress, he left *Alonso* of *Portugal*, who was archbishop of *Evora*; and who, notwithstanding, had also two natural children; from the eldest of whom, *Don Francisco*, sprung the counts of *Vimioso* (3). *Don Ferdinand*, the second son, bore the titles of marquis of *Villa Viciosa*, and count of *Arayolos*; but on account of his services in *Africa*, was created by his cousin, *Don Alonso* the fifth, duke of *Guimaraez*. The daughter's name was *Donna Isabella*, and she espoused *Don Juan* of *Portugal*, her father's brother, by whom she had a son, *Don Diego*, who died without issue; a daughter, *Donna Isabella*, who married the monarch of whom we are speaking; *Donna Beatrix*, who married his uncle *Don Ferdinand*; and *Donna Philippa*, who died unmarried (4). We must now return to *Don Ferdinand*, the first of that name, who, by the death of his father and brother, became the second duke of *Bragança*. He espoused *Donna Joanno de Castro*, daughter to the lord of *Cadaval*, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. *Ferdinand*, who will be the subject of another note; *John*, marquis of *Montemayor*, constable of *Portugal*, who died an exile in *Castile*, without is-

(1) *Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, de la Neuville.*

torias Portuguezas, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, le Clede.

de la Neuville, Memoirs de Portugal.

(2) *Epitome de las His-*

(3) Faria y Sousa,

(4) Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Me-

moirs de Portugal.

sentment and ambition, made another expedition to *Africa*, with some attended by his brother Don *Ferdinand*, whom he had created duke of *Viseo*, the constable Don *Pedro* duke of *Coimbra*, the count of *Viana*, and several other persons equally distinguished by their quality and their talents, and more especially by their valour and success in arms^b. The first attempt was not very fortunate; for the infant Don *Ferdinand* attempting to surprize *Tangier*, with a small corps of troops, was soundly beaten, and escaped with great difficulty. The king, ravaging the country in resentment of this disgrace, was very near meeting with a greater, since he was on the very point of being taken prisoner, if he had not been rescued by the count of *Viana*, who fell himself into their hands, and was barbarously cut to pieces¹. The count *de Marialva*, and Don *Gomez Freyras*, were likewise taken prisoners, and ransomed at a great expence; so that this expedition was none of the most fortunate. The constable Don *Pedro*, at his return, was invited to *Barcelona*, where, as we have shewn in its proper place, he was by the *Catalans* honoured with the title of the king of *Arragon*; and after running through a long series of dangers and fatigues, was so unfortunate as to die either of chagrin, or of poison^k. The troubles continued all this time in *Castile*, and the king had several interviews with his brother and sister; in which a proposition was first made for Don *Alonso* to marry the infanta Donna *Isabella*, the king's sister, and afterwards that Don *Juan*, prince of *Portugal*, should espouse Donna *Joanna*, the king's reputed daughter; both of which proved ineffectual, and served only to furnish fuel to that flame which burnt but too fiercely before, and which was afterwards increased to such a height as consumed in a great measure the strength of both nations^l.

A. D.
1462.A. D.
1467.

AN establishment in *Africa* was what the king of *Portugal* had so much at heart, that as soon as his finances had recovered,

The king's
brother,

^b VASCONCELLOS, LE CLEDE.
VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.
LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.
FERRERAS.

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA,
^k ZURITA Annal. Arragon,
^l ALONSO DE PALENCIA,

was; *Alvaro*, count of *Olivencia*; *Alonso*, count of *Faro* and *Odemira*, from whom that branch sprang; Donna *Catilina*, contracted to the marquis of *Arialva*, but who died before marriage; Donna *Beatriz*, who es-

poused the marquis *de Villa Real*; and Donna *Guyomara*, who married the count *de Loulle*. The reader will perceive from the history, the absolute necessity of this long note (5).

(5) *Vasconcellos, Garibay, de la Neufville, le Clede, Memoirs de Portugal.*

vered

Don Ferdinand, duke of Visco, goes over with a new army into Barbary.

vered a little from the expences of one war, he was ever ready to enter on another. The chief motive to this seems to have been the establishing a maritime frontier upon that coast, the better to defend the trade his subjects had begun to establish with the coast of *Guinea*, and from which a considerable degree of profit was already collected. Besides this, it greatly intimidated the *Moorish* princes; cut off their communication with their countrymen in *Granada*, and gave this monarch an opportunity of raising vast sums upon those large, rich, and trading towns which lay upon the coast, and which as yet he had not been able to reduce. The king, full of these thoughts, assembled a strong fleet, and a competent number of forces, which he embarked under the command of his brother *Ferdinand*, duke of *Visco*, whom he had made constable, upon the death of *Don Pedro*, duke of *Coimbra*, and who was also master of the orders of *Christ* and *St. James*. In this he acted with greater prudence, and therefore very probably met with better success; for he made himself master of the town of *Anafe*^m, situated in the kingdom of *Fez*, on the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean, and likewise obtained so good an account of some other places of consequence, and of the state of affairs among the infidels, that upon the report of the officers and engineers employed by him, the king *Don Alonso* determined to proceed to *Africa* in person the next year with a royal army, entertaining strong hopes that at length he should be able to accomplish what he had so much desired, and what had been already more than once attempted without effect.

Don Alonso goes in person with his son Don Juan into Africa, and sustains some loss.

By the precautions which the king had taken while his brother was employed in this expedition, he was enabled to execute his own enterprize in a manner suitable to his wish. He was accompanied by his only son *Don Juan*, prince of *Portugal*, *Ferdinand* duke of *Guimaraez*, *Don Juan de Coutinho* count of *Marialva*, *Alvaro de Castro* count of *Monsanto*, *Henry de Meneses* count of *Valenza*, and others of the nobility. His fleet consisted of upwards of three hundred sail, and his army of twenty-four thousand men, exclusive of the mariners, who were upwards of six thousand. He left the regency of his dominions to his daughter *Donna Joanna*, and appointed *Ferdinand* duke of *Bracança* to assist herⁿ. He sailed on the fifteenth of *August*, and when he arrived in sight of the coast of *Barbary*, his fleet was dispersed by a storm, in which some ships perished. However, when

A. D.
1470.

^m RUY DE PINA, FERRERAS.

ⁿ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA.

it

it was over, the fleet drew together again, and proceeded to *Arzila*, a strong place on the *Atlantic* ocean, at the distance of about fifty miles from the streights of *Gibraltar*, which was the first object of this enterprize. He caused it to be attacked with great vigour; but the *Moors* made an obstinate defence. At length, however, it was carried by storm, as many of the enemy who survived, retiring into the castle, and into a mosque, where they had laid up their most valuable effects. Don *Alonso* caused both these places to be attacked; and it was there that he lost the count of *Monfanto*, and the count of *Mariaiva*°. The king, when he saw the corps of the last-mentioned lord, the blood still streaming from his wounds, turned to the prince, and said, "God grant you, my son, the virtues of that great man". The *Portuguese* of those times might be killed, but not vanquished, and the army, though much afflicted, were more exasperated at this loss.

THEY renewed the assault the next day, and carried both the mosque and the castle sword in hand. The booty was immense, more especially when joined to the ransom of five thousand prisoners that were taken: amongst these were two of the wives and two sons of *Muley Sheik*, to whom the place belonged. The king gave upon the spot great marks of piety, gratitude, and generosity. He caused the mosque to be purified, in which he returned solemn thanks to God for his victory: after which he conferred on his son Don *Juan* the order of knighthood: he bestowed the honour of count *de Monfanto*, on the brother of the deceased lord: he bestowed all the employments of which the count *de Mariaiva* was possessed, in virtue of his long and faithful services, on his son, though a very young man; and added the government of *Arzila* to that of *Alcacer*, which was already possessed by the count of *Valenza*. By the release of the two wives and one of the sons of the *Moorish* prince, he procured the body of his uncle the infant Don *Ferdinand*, for whom the infidels had erected a tomb on a high tower, as a monument of their victory; caused it to be transported to *Lisbon*, and from thence conveyed with great pomp to the royal monastery of *Batalha*¹. The other son of the *Sheik* he would not ransom upon any terms; but at his return brought him with him into *Portugal*, gave him a liberal and princely education, and

Gains several conquests, and redeems the body of his uncle Don Ferdinand.

° ALONSO DE PALENCIA, MARMOL, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. FERRERAS. P LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

¹ VASCONCELLOS, BERNALDEZ, FERRERAS, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

then

then sent him home to his father without any ransom. He lived many years in *Barbary*, and was called by the *Moors* *Mohammed the Portuguese* ¹.

Returns
with great
glory into
his own
dominions,
and is stiled
the Afri-
can.

A panic seized the *Moors* upon the loss of *Arzila*, and the destruction of the people who defended it; insomuch that the inhabitants of *Tangier*, though hitherto it had been reputed impregnable, abandoned it; and the *Portuguese* monarch, having intelligence of this, sent a detachment to seize the place, into which he made his public entry soon after ². This great and unexpected conquest satisfied the king's ambition; and having provided in the best manner possible for the security of his new acquisitions, returned into *Europe*, covered with glory, and having acquired the lofty title of the *African*. He likewise added to those which were descended to him from his ancestors, that of lord of the coasts on both seas ³; and, to perpetuate the memory of his exploits, caused them to be expressed in the greatest elegance in tapestry; in which his example has been followed by some of the greatest princes and ablest generals in succeeding times.

A. D.
1471.

While the king was in *Africa*, there happened an event which might have produced a rupture with *England*. The bastard *Falconberg* took twelve *Portuguese* ships, richly laden, at which Don *Alonso* was extremely incensed; but when he understood that it happened during that revolution, in which his ally *Edward* the fourth, was obliged to retire into the territories of the duke of *Burgundy*, and *Henry* the sixth for a small space of time placed on the throne, he was easily pacified, and the affair was soon after compromised by negotiation, which restored the perfect harmony that had long reigned between the two nations ⁴.

Comes to a
resolution
of vindica-
ting the ti-
tle of the
infanta
Donna Jo-
anna, to
the crown
of Castile.

THE reputation of Don *Alonso* was now at the greatest height; and the remainder of his reign might have been happy and easy, as well as glorious, if he had not embarked in the very intricate and troublesome business of the succession to the crown of *Castile*. This had been long the object of his attention, and while it remained in any degree at a distance, his conduct was wise and like that of a great politician; for he gave general and doubtful answers, by which he left hopes to those who were in the interest of his niece, without entering into any absolute engagement; but upon the death of king *Henry* the fourth, who by his testimony de-

¹ MARMOL, LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS Historia de España, part x. § xv. ² LEQUIEN DE

LA NEUFVILLE, MARMOL.

³ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

⁴ FARIA Y SOUSA.

clared

clared this princess his heiress, he found himself reduced to a point, and under a necessity of taking one side or other^w. He consulted his council, where his son the prince, and most of the nobility, dazzled with the lustre of the crown of *Castile*, and withal perceiving which way the king's inclinations leaned, advised him to accept the proposals made him, and to marry the heiress as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from the Pope. The duke of *Bragança* opposed this vehemently. He observed, that the *Castilian* lords, who now espoused the claim of the infanta Donna *Joanna*, were the very same persons who had proclaimed Don *Alonso* of *Castile* king; had as far as in them lay deposed their lawful sovereign; and had openly affirmed that he was incapable of begetting a child. He from thence inferred, that they had nothing but their own interest in view; and that therefore it was very unsafe for the king to trust them. But the king considering that the duke was uncle to queen *Isabella*, now seated on the throne of *Castile*, rejected his advice, though approved and adopted by the archbishop of *Lisbon*. He was content, however, at the motion of this prelate to send an agent into *Castile*, who reported at his return, that many of the first nobility, and the best part of the commons, were disposed to maintain the infanta's title; and upon this it was resolved to enter into a war, to maintain the title of that unhappy princess, and to hazard the whole strength of *Portugal*, in hopes of conquering *Castile*^x.

WE have written the history of this war in another place; *Unfortunate issue of that long and labour'd dispute in the cabinet and field.* and therefore, to avoid repetition, will say as little as possible of it here. But it may not be amiss to observe, that Don *Alonso*, in espousing the cause of the infanta Donna *Joanna* against *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, acted very near the same part that Don *Juan* II. of *Castile* had done in supporting the claim of the infanta Donna *Beatrix*, to the crown of *Portugal*, against the grandfather of this prince, *John* the first; the legitimacy of both princesses being suspected, and there being a strong party in each nation in favour of that title, which in the end proved unsuccessful. In both cases the kings had very difficult parts to act, and were in a great measure deceived by the notions they formed of their subjects affections; for at first the *Castilians*, who were very desirous of making a province of *Portugal*, grew

^w LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, RUY DE PINA, FERRERAS.

^x HERNANDO DE PULGAR, Cronica de los Reyes Don Fernando y Donna Isabel, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, RUY DE PINA, ED. NUNEZ, ZURITA, DAMIAN DE GÖES, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

A. D.
1475.

quickly weary of the war, and yet afterwards blamed their monarch for the peace he made. Though at the beginning the *Portuguese* were very earnest for this war; but the military operations not answering their wishes, grew uneasy and dissatisfied, which was the principal cause of their king's desisting from his pretensions, which they likewise blamed, and imputed the miseries that afterwards befel the kingdom to that timidity, which in reality was more owing to their conduct than to the inclination of their king. In cases, therefore, of this nature, it is infinitely better to be slow in resolving, than to enter hastily into a difficult enterprize, and after a great expence of blood and treasure, be content at last with worse terms than might have been obtained at first. In this instance the loss of the battle of *Toro*, in which the *Portuguese* say that king *Ferdinand* shewed very little courage, and in which the *Spanish* historians affirm that there was something very blameable in *Don Alonso's* conduct, gave a turn to the war, and put it absolutely out of the power of the king of *Portugal* to maintain the claim he had set up to the dominions of *Castile*, and which threw his affairs into such confusion, as induced him to make a journey into *France*, in hopes of receiving assistance from a prince who was equally incapable of taking a generous resolution, or of declaring plainly he would not take it ^y.

Don Alonso makes a voyage to France, to demand assistance from Lewis XI.

THIS expedition of intrigue is by much the most perplexed passage in the history of the reign of *Don Alonso*; and we shall therefore bestow an extraordinary care to set it in a true light. This king was thoroughly convinced that the conquest of *Castile* was not to be obtained without assistance; and while he meditated in his own mind how this assistance was to be obtained, *Don Alvaro de Atayda* returned from the court of *Lewis* the eleventh, who being engaged in a war with *Arragon*, and having no reason to believe *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* well inclined to him, gave this minister such fair language, and talked in so high a strain of the king of *Portugal's* courage and generosity, that *Don Alvaro* made no scruple of assuring that prince there was nothing he might not expect from the friendship of *Lewis*. *Don Alonso* therefore returning into *Portugal*, sent his niece *Donna Joanna* to *Guarda*, and went from thence to *Porto*, where he resolved to embark for *France*, having there a fleet of twenty-one sail of large ships, a train of five hundred gentlemen, and an escorte of near two thousand two hundred men at arms^z. Some of his

^y FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

^z FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, HERNANDO DE PULGAR, RUY DE PIAN, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FERRERAS.

ministers

ministers laboured to dissuade him from this voyage; but Don *Alonso* was a prince of so much candour and sincerity, that he looked upon their suspicions and cautions as errors flowing from narrow minds, and unworthy the belief of a king. He dispatched therefore Don *Francisco de Almeyda* by land, to desire that *Lewis* would appoint a place for their meeting; and having done this, as soon as the wind was favourable, he put to sea. He touched first at *Ceuta*, thence he proceeded to *Marfeilles*, and afterwards landed at *Colivore*. He took his route through *Perpignan*, where in honour of so great a guest the prison gates were set open. At *Bourges* he was met by king *Lewis*, who, as a *French* historian says, did him the highest honours, being resolved in his own mind to do for him nothing else*. He told him, however, that he would have assisted him with the whole forces of his kingdom, if he had not been under the necessity of watching the motions of the duke of *Burgundy*; advised him to procure a dispensation from the Pope for the marriage with his niece, which would give him an indisputable title to the crown of *Castile*, and promised when this should be obtained, to appoint commissioners to regulate the succours he should give him in money and in men^b. He also communicated various projects for bribing the governors of provinces and great towns.

Don *Alonso*, pleased with the success of this negotiation, undertook to conclude a lasting peace between *Lewis* and the duke of *Burgundy*; in order to which he made a journey to the duke's camp before *Nancy*, where the duke laboured to open his eyes, and to shew him that *Lewis* had not the least intention to perform the assurances he had given him. The duke being soon after killed^c, Don *Alonso* returned into *France*, and by the desire of king *Lewis* went to *Paris*, where he was treated in the most obliging manner. In the mean time the dispensation was obtained at *Rome*: upon which Don *Alonso* followed *Lewis* to *Arras*, to press the immediate performance of his promises; where finding nothing but artifice and delay, he perceived plainly that he was duped^d. He returned from thence to *Rouen* to wait for his fleet, and receiving there certain intelligence that *Lewis* was treating a peace

Becomes the dupe of that monarch, and is so ashamed that he would retire to Jerusalem.

* P. DANIEL *Histoire de France*, PIERRE MATHIEU, DU-
PLEIX, FERRERAS.

^b VASCONCELLOS, RUI DE PINA,
P. DANIEL, PIERRE MATHIEU, *Histoire du Louis XI.* par M.
DU CLOS.

^c ED. NUNEZ, DAMIAN DE GOES, ALONSO
DE PALENCIA, FARIA Y SOUSA, DU CLOS.

^d HERNAN-
DO DE PULGAR, RUI DE PINA, PIERRE MATHIEU, DU CLOS,
VASCONCELLOS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

and an alliance with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, at *Bayonne*, he was so much affected with the usage he had received, that he determined to go and visit the holy places at *Jerusalem*, and hide himself from the world forever. In pursuance of this resolution he left *Rouen*, accompanied only by two pages, two other servants, and *Stephen Martinez* his chaplain. One of these servants he directed to carry four letters to *Antonio de Faria*, who was lately come from the prince his son. One was directed to the king of *France*, giving him an account of his design, and desiring his protection for the servants he had left behind. Another was directed to the prince his son, commanding him to cause himself to be proclaimed king, and never expect to see him more. The third was directed to the nobility and people, requiring them to acknowledge the prince for their sovereign. And the fourth to his domestics, directing them to obey the count *de Faro*, till they had an opportunity of returning home^c. These letters being delivered, the *French* king ordered strict search to be made after him, and he was quickly found by *Robinet le Beuf*, a gentleman of *Normandy*; and the noblemen who attended him from *Portugal* being come about him, they persuaded him to return home; and *Lewis*, who by this time had concluded a treaty with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, furnished him readily with ships and a proper escorte^f.

The conduct of the prince Don Juan, in quality of regent, during Don Alonso's absence.

IN the king's absence, which was about a year, *Portugal* was governed by the prince Don *Juan*, with great ability. He applied himself with much diligence to repair all the disasters that had happened, and to prevent *Portugal*, as far at least as was in his power, from feeling the effects of an unsuccessful war. His diligence, and his success in this respect, merited the thanks of the states, whom he assembled at *Monte-Major*, and from whom he received as large supplies as he thought fit to desire, and when the assembly rose he went to *Evora* to give the necessary orders for covering the frontier. He was scarce arrived, before Don *Alonso de Cardenas*, a very enterprising *Castilian* officer, advanced towards the city, with two thousand lances. The prince had no troops to oppose him, and the people were equally terrified for his danger and their own. Where force is wanting fraud is lawful in war. The prince sent him a

^c ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, ED. NUNEZ, DAMIAN GOES, FERRERAS. ^f HERNANDO DE PULGAR, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, DU CLOS, P. DANIEL, PIERRE MATHIEU, DUPLEIX, MEZERAY, FARIA Y SOUSA.

message,

message, that if he would have a little patience he would meet him in the field. Don *Alonso* answered, that he did not know that the prince was so near; but since he was, he would come and pay his respects to him. The prince perceiving this artifice had failed, ordered Don *Garcia de Meneses* to sally with three hundred horse, which was all he had in the place, in the night, to advance some miles towards the enemy, and to traverse all the great road till morning, and then to return. When Don *Alonso de Cardenas* came with his infantry near the city, and perceived the track of so many horses, he concluded that the prince had received a great reinforcement of cavalry, and thereupon retired. The prince having put all things into the best order possible, returned to *Lisbon*, and from thence went to *Santaren*, where he received his father's letters; and by the advice of the prelates, and principal nobility of the kingdom, caused himself to be proclaimed king, on the tenth of *November*. On the fifteenth of the same month, the king Don *Alonso* arrived in the river of *Lisbon*. It is said, that Don *Juan* was walking by the side of the *Tagus*, with the duke of *Bragança* and the archbishop of *Lisbon*, when he received this news. He asked those lords hastily how he should receive him. As your father and your king, sir, said the duke of *Bragança*¹. Don *Juan* kept a profound silence for some minutes, and then taking up a flat stone skimmed it with all his force into the river. That stone, said the archbishop softly to the duke of *Bragança*, shall never break my head, and from that moment meditated his retreat to *Rome*^k. When he had recovered himself a little, Don *Juan* went to meet his father, and received him not only with all the marks of respect, but with all the testimonies of joy and satisfaction imaginable. Don *Alonso* was sensible of his mistake, and desired to retain only the title of king of *Algarve*; but Don *Juan* answered, there could not be two kings in *Portugal*, and his majesty being there, there could be none but him^l. His succeeding conduct fully justified the sincerity of these warm expressions.

As soon as Don *Alonso* resumed the government, he laboured to renew the war with *Castile*, and endeavoured by all means possible to draw new friends to his party in that kingdom, instead of those who had deserted him. In this manner

A. D.
1477.

War re-
newed
with Cas-
tile, which

⁸ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^h ALONSO DE PALENCIA, RUY DE PINA, DAMIAN GOES, FERRERAS.
ⁱ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^k VASCONCELLOS, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^l RUY DE PINA, GOES, VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.

however is the war was kept up for two years, during which space the terminated Pope annulled his own dispensation, and declared the marriage between Don *Alonso* and his niece void, which, however, by a peace. was never concluded. At length the state of affairs so requiring, and the prince Don *Juan* shewing a visible dislike to the war, and the measures necessary to continue it, the king, by the interposition of Donna *Beatrix*, dutchess of *Viseu*, entered into a negotiation, which, after it had hung a little time, at length ended in a peace, on terms which have been already specified in the history of *Castile*, and which therefore it is unnecessary to repeat. It may not, however, be amiss to observe that the *Portuguese* writers expressly affirm, that Donna *Joanna* of *Castile* so much resented the terms made for her in that treaty, by which she was to wait for a husband till the son of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* was of age to marry, who might even then refuse her upon paying a certain sum of money, that she chose to take the veil at once, and went of her own accord into the monastery of St. *Clara* at *Coimbra*^m. Before the peace was ratified, in which the king and queen of *Castile* abandoned their pretensions to *Guinea*, their subjects sent a fleet thither of thirty sail, which in its return was intercepted by the *Portuguese*, and every ship taken, their cargoes being of immense value, which with some other cross accidents, procured the conclusion and ratification of the peace which had been so long deferredⁿ.

A. D.
1479.

Don *Alonso* is assiduous in his endeavours to leave his dominions in peace.

ABOUT the time that the unfortunate Donna *Joanna* took the veil, the king Don *Alonso* fell extremely ill, and upon his recovery, seeing the plague break out in his dominions, by which multitudes of people were destroyed, he fell into a profound melancholy. In this condition he meditated a second resignation, and at the same time told his son that he had two great ends in view, when he consented to resume the crown; the first was, putting a period to the war with *Castile*; and the latter, reconciling him to the house of *Bragança*, which he looked upon as a point of no less importance^o. It is not very clear how this enmity between the prince and duke arose. Some say, that the duke could never digest the death of Don *Pedro*, duke of *Coimbra*; and that he kept by him the bloody shirt in which that prince was killed, which was given him by his aunt: but surely if this had been the case, his pique would have been against the father rather than the son. Others assert, that the prince resented the duke's chiding

^m FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.
DE PULGAR, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.
LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

ⁿ HERNANDO
^o FARIA Y SOUSA,

him

him for making his addressees to Donna *Agnes de Mendoza*, who was maid of honour to the infanta Donna *Joanna*. It is, however more than probable that the true, or at least the principal cause, was the supposed attachment of the duke to the family of *Castile*, to which he was nearly allied ^p. The king took great pains to persuade his son that these suspicions were injurious, at the same time assuring him that his regard for the duke of *Bragança* arose from his finding him always faithful and always sincere. It seems this did not make any great impression upon Don *Juan*, who though perhaps not displeased with his father's disposition to resign, yet strongly opposed his intention to retire to a convent, being desirous of receiving his advice, and of having him always near. Some say ^q, that Don *Alonso* called an assembly of the states, in which with great solemnity he devolved the government upon his son: but others with more probability assert, that having acquainted his son with his sentiments, he privately retired with an intention to go to the monastery of St. *Antonio de Varatojo*, which he had chosen for his retreat; but arriving at *Cintra* he was seized with the plague, and died there on the twenty-eighth of *August*, 1481, in the forty-ninth year of his age ^r, and in the forty-third of his reign (G). As he was exceedingly

^p HERNANDO DE PULGAR, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE. ^q ZURITA ANNAL. ARRAGON.

^r HERNANDO DE PULGAR, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, DAMIAN DE GOES, ED. NUNEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(G) This monarch was very graceful in his person, though somewhat bulky; wore his beard thick and long; his hair was of a dark brown, and his complexion ruddy; very courteous in his manners, and became gradually dearer to his people the longer he reigned. He was very bountiful: some writers say, he carried this a little too far; remarkably temperate in eating and sleeping; still more so in regard to women, since we find no imputation upon his chastity, though he became a

widower in the very flower of his age (6). He was himself a man of letters, and a great pattern of learning. He invited one *Justus*, a learned Italian, into *Portugal*, and bestowed upon him a bishoprick, that he might encourage him to write a complete history of *Portugal*; but he died before he made any progress in this undertaking; and which was worse, the collection from records of the most authentic memoirs, which were put into his hands, are said to have been dissipated and lost (7).

(6) *Vasconcellos*, *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, de la Neufville, le Clede.

(7) *Refend. Antiq. Lusit. Vasconcellos*, de la Neufville.

ingly beloved, he was deeply and universally regretted by his subjects, who saw with some concern the entrance of a new reign, which they apprehended would be of another complexion; for as benignity and affability were the characteristics of Don *Alonso's* disposition, so strictness and rigid punctuality were very manifest in the humour of his successor, who expected from all that profound deference and subinission, and that prompt and ready obedience, which he had upon all occasions shewn to his father.

The accession of Don Juan II. and the spirit shewn by him upon his accession.

DON *Juan* the second, surnamed by some *the Great*, but by most of the *Portuguese* historians *the Perfect*, ascended the throne in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He began his reign with celebrating the funeral of his father with great pomp; and he executed his will in all respects with the utmost exactness. He went still farther: he enquired after those servants who, through mistake, want of memory, or ill offices done them, were omitted in the will, and rewarded them as if he had received his father's verbal instructions, as indeed he made a long journey in a short space of time, that he might attend and serve his father in his last moments". He

[†] FARIA Y SOUSA.

[†] Vida y hechos del principe perfecto D. Juan II. Rey de Portugal, por CARISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO, 4º Madrid, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 487. ^u FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

This king Don *Alonso* is said to have been singularly happy, in being equally beloved by the nobility and the commons. As to the misfortunes which befel him in the latter part of his life and reign, the superstitious, which, generally speaking, make the bulk of the nation in every country, attributed them to his injustice to his niece Donna *Johanna* of *Castile*, whom he never married, though the contrary is affirmed (8) by some. Yet these interpreters might have considered that he was prosperous in all his undertakings, till he embraced her cause; that in support of it he wasted the treasures and the troops of *Portugal*; and that he did not desert it till,

through despair, he first deserted his crown; so that the grounds of their interpretation are none of the clearest; and though that princess was certainly as proper an object of compassion, yet why this should not be also extended to Don *Alonso*, under as hard circumstances, is not easy to understand; and for this very reason we ought, in points like this, to form no conclusion. Modern writers, indeed, are less to blame in this particular than those who wrote in the preceding centuries, who very often warped their relations of what passed in this world, that they might the better reconcile them to their own constructions of the divine justice.

(8) *Faria y Sousa, Mayenne Turquet, le Clede.*

caused

caused the stone and wood-work of a large and commodious fort to be prepared at *Lisbon*, and sent a small squadron, with five hundred soldiers and a hundred masons on board, who, before the negroes well knew what they were about, constructed the fortress of *St. George del Mina*, and thereby secured that coast^w. He did other things that were not considered by all people in the same light. A person who had been very dear to him in his youth brought him a promise he had given him under his hand to make him a count. He looked upon it gravely, tore it, and said to the man, "I shall forget there was such a paper." He added a minute after, "Such as corrupt the minds of young princes, and by becoming the instruments of their pleasures extract from them promises that ought not to be performed, should consider it as a favour that they are not punished^x." He called an assembly of the states in the month of *November*, in which the duke of *Bragança* for the nobility, the deputies of *Lisbon* for the cities, and those of *Santaren* for the towns in *Portugal*, did him homage. He proposed and caused to be enacted many good laws; and he appointed commissaries to go into all parts of the kingdom to see that they were executed. He rewarded liberally: he punished severely; but he first reprimanded sharply. He said to an indolent and corrupt judge, but a man of parts, "Take care, friend, I hear you keep your hands open and your doors shut." He took the king's caution, and became an excellent judge. He ordered the nobility to exhibit their charters and grants, that it might be known upon what foundation their privileges stood, and particularly their exorbitant jurisdictions. He directed criminals to be seized wherever they could be found. The great lords said, this was a breach of their immunities: the king answered, that an immunity against justice was an absurdity, and that the king who made such a grant never intended it^y.

THE whole nobility of the kingdom were disturbed by these proceedings, and began to consider how they might stop the progress of them. The duke of *Bragança* was at the head of this design, which he carried so far as to demand the protection, and conclude a treaty with Don *Ferdinand* king of *Castile* and *Arragon*. A person employed in transcribing his writings found the copies of the duke's letters, and this treaty in the duke's archives, and carried them to the king, who

Duke of Bragança condemned and executed for holding correspondence in Castile.

^w FERRERAS *Historia de Espana*, part xi. § xv.
NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.
SOUSA.

^x LA
FARIA Y

ordered

ordered him to transcribe and then replace them^a. Some time after, when he had the duke in his power, he expostulated this matter with him, and told him that he meant to observe the laws himself, and therefore he saw no reason to exempt others from obedience; that this was for the good of the people in general, and would strengthen the power of the nobility by augmenting the number of their vassals, and increasing their revenues. He told him what papers he had seen; but, duke, said he, "I can forgive, let me see that you can forget." Some time after, he found him involved in practices of a like nature: he caused him to be arrested at *Evora*, brought him to a public trial, and in consequence of that, to a public execution^a. The duchess of *Bragança*, though the queen's sister, retired immediately into *Castile*, with her three sons. The marquis de *Monte-Mayor*, and the count de *Faro*, brothers to the deceased duke, were also declared traitors, and their estates confiscated^b; but it is remarkable that Don *Ferdinand* king of *Castile* did not interfere; and some say the king of *Portugal* wrote him a letter, in which he told him he would find it more for his interest to have his friendship than that of his nobility. But after the death of the duke he did interpose, though ineffectually, on behalf of the duchess and her children.

*Situation
of affairs,
and the
sense of the
people of
Portugal
at this
juncture.*

WE must acknowledge that this was one of those great strokes in government, of which it is not very easy to say whether it deserves condemnation or praise. The nobility thought themselves injured, and believed they had a right of self-defence. The duke of *Bragança*, who was at the head of them, and who in point of estate was little inferior to the king, felt this diminution the most, and was therefore the most piqued. Whatever his intrigues were with the court of *Castile*, he never looked upon himself as a rebel, because he meant to take nothing from the king, but barely to defend the privileges of the nobles. On the other hand, the king looked upon those privileges as visibly injurious to the public welfare, and as usurpations upon his prerogative. Yet he was no admirer of prerogative; for in the assembly at *Evora* he declared, that the welfare of the nation was the point to be respected, and that the palace was no sanctuary for criminals.

^a FERRERAS, part xi. § xv. ^a ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARCÍAS DE RESENDO de vida del Rey D. Juan ho Segundo de Portugal, fol. CHRISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^b LEQUIEN DE LA FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS Historia de España, part xi. § xv.

He gave other instances of this : his judges confiscated estates to his use : he would say to them very graciously, I hope you have done right ; but when they decided in favour of the subject, he would say, with apparent marks of joy, I know you have done well, and sometimes made them presents. After all, it was a struggle between the regal and aristocratical parts of the constitution, which the king managed with great sagacity and firmness, but which was not followed by the effects which he expected. Soon after the duke's death, he made a tour with the queen into the northern parts of his dominions, in order to see that the regulations, made in the assembly of the states, were carried into execution ; and after this was done, he returned to *Santaren*, that he might have an eye to the commerce of *Africa*, which, through his care and attention, became every day more considerable^c. The court of *Rome* having some dispute with this prince, he gave the Pope to understand, that he never intended to invade the privileges of the clergy ; but that he was fully resolved they should not extend them. Upon sifting this matter to the bottom, the fault was found to lie in cardinal *da Cunha*, whom the king reprimanded so roundly that there it ended^d.

It was not long after his coming back from *Santaren*, *Conspiracy* that he was informed by the brother of a young woman, *of the* with whom the bishop of *Evora* had an intrigue, that the *young duke* young duke of *Viseo*, brother to the queen, had embarked in a *of Viseo* design against his life. This business was so perplexed and em- *discovered,* barrased, that the king found himself more than once in the *and himself* hands of the conspirators, from whom he escaped only by his *killed by* address, and by the assistance of *Vasco Coutigno*, to whom the *the king.* conspiracy had been discovered by his brother. At length, under pretence of amusement, having drawn the duke of *Viseo* to the court, then at *Setybal*, he took him aside, and charged him with the wicked design in which he was embarked. What passed between them is not very clear ; but it is certain the king stabbed him dead at his feet. Some say, that he addressed him with these words, " (Brother, what " would you do with a man that had conspired against your " life ? " The duke answering, " I would kill him first if I " could," the king replied, " Die then by your own sen- " tence," and so struck him to the heart with his dagger. When he was down the king said, " Go your ways to the

* Vida y acciones del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por Don AUGUSTIN, MANUEL Y VASCONCELLOS, GARCIA DE RESENDE, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CIEDE. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA, CHRISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO.

" duke

A. D.
1484.

"duke of Bragança, tell him the issue of his contrivances, "and the fate of his fellow traitors." This occasioned a prodigious tumult; but it was quickly calmed by the king's presence, who avowed what he had done, and told the people that the rest of the conspirators were apprehended^e. These were left to the severity of the law, and were condemned upon full proofs. The bishop of *Evora* was thrown into a foul cistern, in the fortress of *Palma*, and there, as some say, eaten by vermin^f. His brother, Don *Ferdinand de Meneses*, and *Pedro de Albuquerque*, were beheaded. *Gutiero Coutigno* was imprisoned in the castle of *Avis*. *Lopez de Albuquerque* made his escape to one of his castles, and his wife, who was the sister of cardinal *da Cunha*, began to raise troops. The king sent her word, that though her husband had fought his, he did not thirst for his blood; and that their whole family might go into *Castile* if they pleased, which offer they very thankfully embraced^g. The king then sent for Don *Emanuel*, the brother of the duke of *Viseo*, to court. *Diego de Silva*, his governor, brought him with fear and trembling. The king received him very kindly, and after embracing him, told him the whole story of his brother's conspiracy; then added, "By his treason the estates of your family are escheated to the crown. The towns of *Mouro* and *Serpa* stand on the frontiers of *Castile*, and are well fortified. I doubt these circumstances might contribute to suggest ill thoughts to your brother. Except these, for which I will give you more than an equivalent, I restore you his whole succession. I make you grand-master of the order of Christ, and constable of *Portugal*. All I desire of you is, forget that you had a brother, and remember that you are my son^h." At this time the king meditated an expedition into *Barbary*, upon this principle, that he thought his possessions there insecure unless they were extended. As some preparations were made for this expedition in his ports, the *Moors*, who inhabited the town and district of *Azemor*, revolted and offered to submit to the king of *Portugal*, if he would suffer them to live according to their own laws, and in the practice of their own religion; to which he assented;

^e De rebus gestis Joannis II. Lusitanorum Regis: autore Emanoële Tellefio Sylvio Marchione Alegretenfio. VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS Historia de España, part xi. § xv. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA. ^g VASCONCELLOS, LE CLEDE, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, EMMANUEL TELLEZ.. ^h GARCIAS DE RESENDE, VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.

and

and received from their deputies the keys of the city upon those terms¹.

THE next year the king thought fit to send an embassy to their Catholic majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, in which he acted with great policy; for he communicated to them all the proceedings against the duke of *Bragança*, and the late conspirators, as to his principal friends and allies, which exceedingly disconcerted the malcontents at home, who had placed all their hopes in the protection of that court. Don *Ferdinand* himself, though the greatest politician of that age, was surprised, as expecting rather an expostulation. His affairs, however, requiring the friendship of *Portugal*, and his army in the war of *Granada* being distressed for ammunition, he resolved to try how far it might be depended upon by demanding a supply from king *John*, who sent more than was asked, and with such speed, that their majesties sent a solemn embassy to give him thanks^k. Some *French* corsairs having taken four *Venetian* gallies, and set their crews ashore naked at the mouth of the river of *Lisbon*, the king ordered them to be cloathed and fed, and sent them withal such a sum of money, by way of alms, that they ransomed their gallies, and returned home, which brought an embassy from the republic, to return him thanks, and to desire his alliance^l. He began now to add to his titles that of lord of *Guinea*, from whence he drew vast riches, as well as from the resort of vessels of different nations, unto the haven of *Portugal*, where, under colour of royal generosity, and a seeming ignorance of its consequence, he established a kind of a free-port, exceedingly beneficial to his subjects; and indeed, if we may credit what some writers report, there have been very few kings who had so much knowledge in respect to commerce as he; and who, notwithstanding, disclosed it so little; for it seems he considered it as the most lucrative branch of policy, and was rather more tender of secrets in trade than secrets of state. The reader will probably expect some proofs of this, and they shall be furnished (H). In cases of this nature they ought not to be

The great wisdom of the king's conduct in regard to Ferdinand of Castile.

A. D.
1486.

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.
GAR, LA NEUFVILLE.

^k HERNANDO DE PUL-

^l CHRISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO, RESENDE, LE CLEDE.

(H) If we should enter only into the detail of this prince's policy, in regard to commerce, it would require more space than we have assigned to his whole reign. We shall, therefore, on-

ly give a few great instances for the reader's information and satisfaction. He allowed only women to wear silk, silver, and precious stones. Some of his council objected to this, as a restriction

be omitted, because, in the first place, they banish incertainty, and next, they are of much use.

restriction prejudicial to trade; to which he answered, "You are mistaken. If one half of my subjects are luxurious they will find work enough for the other." He coined a great deal of money, and was very correct in the weight and fineness. In order to encrease his revenue, he took away one half of the duties at the port of *Lisbon*, which effectually answered his purpose, and drew thither the trade from *Galicia* and *Andaluzia*. He magnified the dangers of voyages to *Guinea*: according to his accounts, every quarter of the moon produced a tempest; the shores were all covered by the rocks; the countries barren, and inhabited by man-eaters; a particular kind of vessel, built only in *Portugal*, was absolutely necessary to navigate those seas; and of these, if three out of five returned, it was a great mercy. By these stories other nations were deterred from this navigation till the *Portuguese* were settled upon the coast. A seaman, who had been more than once at *Guinea*, and having reported that any ship might sail thither as well as a caravel, the king sent for him and reprimanded him publicly as an impudent ignorant fellow, who talked of things he did not understand. Some months after he appeared at court, and said, that being obstinate in his own opinion, he had made a trial, and found it indeed impracticable. The king smiled, sent for him privately, gave him a sum of money, bid him stick to his story, and find plausible reasons for it. Three seamen attempt-

ing to go into *Castile*, with proposals upon this subject, he caused them to be pursued by people, who killed two upon the spot, and brought the third back to *Evora*, where he was broke upon the wheel. He was told the sailors murmured at this: "So much the better, said the king, let every man stick to his element, I do not like travelling seamen." When *Camo*, who discovered the kingdom of *Conngo*, told him the country was rich in gold, but they would not shew him the mines, "Never look for them, said the king, treat the people with tenderness, deal with them justly, and carry them what they like; you will then get what those mines produce, without digging in them." When the *French* restored the caravel they had taken, there was nothing missing but a parrokete: he refused, however, to release the *French* ships till the bird was brought to *Lisbon*. At which, when some expressed astonishment, "I would have it understood, said the king, that the flag of *Portugal* shall protect even a parrokete." He was more exact than any man in his dominions in obeying the laws; and when in some instances his courtiers thought this trivial, he said, "You do me wrong, the thing may be trivial, but my example is ever of importance." He was very affable and courteous to such as approached him; yet would sometimes alter his behaviour, and treat them coldly; but he qualified this by saying, "It is fit I should do this sometimes that the people may not hate you for being favourites."

It

It was this king's humour, like that of many of his predecessors, not to have any settled place of residence, but to pass his time as the seasons invited, or as his occasions required; now in one place and then in another: but wherever he came he took care that his having been there should never be forgot. *Setubal*, or as we commonly call it, *St. Ubes*, is finely seated, has a most noble fishery, rich salt mines, and a pleasant bay before it, as well as a good port; yet it made no great figure, because the water about it was none of the best. The king advised them to bring water from some distance, by an aqueduct; but the inhabitants excused themselves by saying they were not rich, and intimated they were heavily taxed. King *John* took off half of the taxes, and made them a present of the other half, for a fund to raise the aqueduct. After some progress, they told the king it was impossible for them to go on: to which he very calmly answered, then I must. He finished the aqueduct; and the great trade of the place soon justified the measures taken by the king to remove this obstacle^m. The principal reason that brought the king thither was to fit out a fleet against the *Moors*, under the command of *Don Diego de Almeida*. It consisted of about thirty sail, with fifteen hundred soldiers on board, and was intended for a secret expedition, which, through various accidents, he found himself unable to execute, and therefore landed his men in the port of *Anafe*; and falling upon an army of the *Moors*, who were in the neighbourhood, unexpectedly killed nine hundred, and made four hundred prisoners. The king being informed that these *Moors* were in rebellion against *Muley Beljaue*, king of *Fex*, he sent an ambassador to him to let him know that this armament was made for his service, which he received with great respect, and promised to give his brother of *Portugal* any marks that were in his power of his gratitude, for a favour, which in effect he never receivedⁿ. He also obtained from Pope *Innocent* the eighth, a bull for levying the duties known by the name of the crusade, to defray the expences of his war with the infidels; but perhaps he paid more for it than it was worth, since, at the request of the pontiff, he abolished the custom of revising and confirming the Pope's bulls, by the parliament, before they could be executed in *Portugal*^o. About this time he sent *Don Pedro Covillan*, and *Don Alonso Payva*, to penetrate into the eastern countries by land; to

His policy and vigilance in other respects, and what great effects they produced.

A. D.
1487.

^m EMANUEL TELLEZ, RESENDE, VASCONCELLOS, FERREIRAS.

ⁿ RESENDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUVVILLE.

^o FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

send him an account of their discoveries; and to learn as distinctly as possible the principal commodities of those countries, and from whence they came. It was by this well-judged expedient, and by the diligence shewn by these two gentlemen in the execution of it, that the king stood indebted for the finding a new passage to the *East-Indies* by sea. But withal his circumspection and great abilities, he refused the supplies necessary for executing his project to *Christopher Columbus*, who thereupon applied himself to queen *Isabella*, at the siege of *Granada*, which procured to their Catholic majesties their empire over the new world.

By what means he prevailed upon Ferdinand and Isabella to comply with their treaty, and to marry the infanta Isabella to the prince of Portugal.

As the house of *Bragança* were now exiles in *Castile*, and could not be supposed to render any services to king *John* and his affairs, in their reports of him to their Catholic majesties; and as there were many crowned heads who were desirous of allying themselves to so powerful a crown, by the marriage of *Donna Isabella* or *Elizabeth*, into their families, they began gradually to let fall the design of giving this infanta to *Don Alonso*, prince of *Portugal*. King *John*, who looked upon that marriage as a point of great consequence, caused several places upon the frontiers of *Castile* to be repaired and fortified; and having put good garrisons into them, he began to construct a large and strong fortress at *Olivencia*. When he had thus alarmed them sufficiently, he sent an embassy to their Catholic majesties, in which he gave them to understand, that he had put all the ports and fortresses throughout his kingdom into the best state of defence possible, and had adorned and improved the great cities in his kingdom, which he presumed would be acceptable to their majesties, as their daughter would one day share the throne of *Portugal*, and reap the benefit of all his labours. In the mean time he carried on his scheme with so much diligence, that the works of *Olivencia* were compleatly finished; and the state of their affairs not allowing them to take another resolution, *Don Ferdinand* and *Donna Isabella* settled, with the best grace they could, the time and other circumstances relative to the marriage. His success in *Africa* was by no means answerable to this. He had a mind to build a very strong fort at the mouth of the river *Larache*; and in order thereto sent a fleet with forces, to surprize the town of *Graciosa*, which they performed; but they no sooner began to fortify it, than *Muley*,

P HERNANDO DE PULGAR, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

¶ HERNANDO DE PULGAR, BERNALDEZ, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, GARCIA DE RESENDE, EMANUEL TELLEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS.

king

king of *Fez*, came down with an army of forty thousand horse, and invested it. The Christians, though the works were not half finished, defended themselves gallantly, and king *John* had once some thoughts of passing the sea in person for its relief; but the king of *Fez* proposing that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, it was accepted. To balance this, there arrived a great number of ships richly laden from *Guinea*, which enabled and encouraged the king to augment his naval force, and to make great preparations in *Algarve* for another expedition¹, the conquest of the whole coast being the object of his ambition.

As soon as king *John* was informed that the infanta *Donna Isabella* of *Castile* was set out from *Seville*, in order to enter his dominions, he appointed Don *Emanuel*, duke of *Beja*, to go with some of the principal nobility to receive her, on her passing the *Zaya*, which is the boundary between the two kingdoms. This ceremony was performed on the twenty-second of *November*, and the infanta conducted to the city of *Evora*, where her marriage with the prince Don *Alonso* was celebrated with much greater eclat than any thing of that kind had ever been, and a long train of feasts and diversions were fixed for six months to come². In the month of *May* the court removed to *Santaren*, where all possible preparations had been made to render one of the pleasantest places in the world a perfect paradise; jousts, bull-feasts, and other spectacles took up the day; and the evenings were either spent in sailing on the river *Tagus*, or in viewing the vessels that passed thereon, adorned with flags and streamers, and in dark nights illuminated with flambeaux, and listening to the excellent bands of music on board them. These scenes of joy, which had suffered some check by the death of the king's sister, the infanta *Donna Joanna*, and by the breaking out of the plague at *Lisbon*, were entirely overcast on the twelfth of *July*, when the prince, riding a short race with Don *Juan de Meneses*, his horse fell with him at full speed, and wounded him in so terrible a manner, that though he lived till the next day, yet he never recovered his senses. As this melancholy accident happened in the sight of his parents, and of his consort, it threw the court into the deepest melancholy possible³. The king caused the body to be removed to the

Celebration of that marriage, and unfortunate death of that young prince.

A. D.
1490.

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, VASCONCELLOS. ² PULGAR, CHRISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO, VASCONCELLOS. ³ GARCÍAS DE RESENDE, BERNALDEZ, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, PULGAR, FARIA Y SOUSA, EMANUEL TELLEZ, MARIANA, MAXERNE TURQUET, VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.

A. D.
1491.

monastery of *Batalha*, went thither afterwards himself in the month of *August*, to assist at a funeral office for his son; after which, his grief seized him in such a manner, that he shut himself up whole days, till, by the advice of his physicians, a natural son of his, named *George*, whom he had by *Donna Agnes de Mendoza*, was brought to him, and who, by degrees, allayed his sorrow. But as minds, under the dominion of passion, are liable to very sudden changes, so it was not long before the king laboured to persuade his consort to receive this boy into her favour, and treat him as if he had been her own son; and though, till that time, she had been of all wives the most dutiful, yet in this point she would never yield in the least, as apprehending it might prejudice the just claim of her brother *Don Emanuel*, duke of *Beja*, who was now become the presumptive successor of the dominions of *Portugal*^u.

The king's
endeavours
to bring his
natural son
George
into the
succession.

IN the beginning of the succeeding year, the king returned to *Lisbon*, where he laid the foundation of one of the most magnificent hospitals in *Europe*. He likewise erected a new convent for the canonessees of the order of *St. James*, at the head of which he placed *Donna Agnes de Mendoza*, the mother of his son *George*; for whom he still retained the greatest tenderness possible; and notwithstanding that he had felt the pulse of the states, when they sent a committee to condole with him on the death of the prince, yet he could not totally relinquish all hopes of procuring him the succession. To pave the way for his entire legitimation, he obtained a bull to capacitate him to hold the grand-mastership of *St. James*, and the order of *Avis*, which he bestowed upon him, though a child; but when he would have proceeded farther, and pressed Pope *Alexander* the sixth to remove, as far as it was in his power, the defect in his son's birth, he had not only the mortification to find his proposal rejected in a full consistory; but to be told that the thing was impracticable, because it would be an act of injustice towards the duke of *Beja*, the queen *Donna Isabella* of *Castile*, and other princes and princesses of the royal blood^w. The king then saw plainly, that the opposition on this side was too strong to be vanquished. He endeavoured, however, by his own indulgence to make some amends for the inflexibility of the court of *Rome*, and to the great offices he had already bestowed on his son *George*, he added the rich priory of *Crato*; which put him at the head

^u LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, GARCIAS DE RESENDE, VASCONCELLOS, CHRISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO. ^w GARCIAS DE RESENDE, FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO.

of the order of *Malta* in his dominions^x. These indications of the king's favour, joined to the address of a very accomplished governor, and the advantage of a plentiful revenue, did not fail to raise a party, though it was but a small one, in favour of the king's darling; which disgusted Don *Emanuel*, duke of *Beja*, to such a degree, that partly through fear, and partly through chagrin, he thought proper to quit the court, and retire to his own estate. But notwithstanding the king's thoughts were thus occupied, he gave various instances of attention to the public interest, and of the firmness of his mind where-ever that was concerned. He made several excellent laws, reformed many abuses, and vindicated the honour of his crown in a very remarkable instance. Some *French* corsairs had taken a *Portuguese* caravel from *Guinea*, very richly laden: of which he was no sooner informed, than he gave orders to Don *Vasco de Gama* to make prizes of all the *French* ships he could, and to seize all that were in the ports of *Portugal*; which amounted to ten. The *French* monarch, *Charles*, was no sooner acquainted with what had happened^y, and the cause of it, than he directed the caravel to be restored untouched, and made an apology for what had happened.

UPON the edict which banished the *Jews* out of the dominions of their catholic majesties, many of them, some say an incredible multitude, retired into *Portugal*; which it is supposed the king permitted for the sake of the immense wealth they brought with them; but some inconveniencies being felt, and many more pretended, from their stay in the kingdom, they were ordered to retire in eight months^z. The queen falling ill at *Setubal*, the king went thither in great haste, and remained with her, as the duke of *Beja*, and the dutchess of *Bragança* likewise did, till she was out of danger^a. Whether it was the fatigue of the journey, his great emotion of mind, or the unwholsomeness of the season, so it was, that the king fell extremely ill; and as several black spots appeared upon his body, a report prevailed, that he was poisoned^b. As soon as he was in some measure able to bear the fatigue of the journey, he went to *Evora*: the air of which place he thought agreed better with him than any other. There he caused several experiments to be made for the perfecting mathematical instruments in his presence; conferred with some experienced ship-

He is seized with an incurable disease, which is attributed to poison.

^x FARIA Y SOUSA, VASCONCELLOS.

EMANUEL TELLEZ.

^z GARIBAY, RESENDE, BERNALDEZ, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

^a VASCONCELLOS, GARCIAS DE RESENDE.

^b FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.

A. D.
1493.

builders about the different forms of vessels, and gave instructions for building two fortresses, one at *Cascaes*, and the other at *Caparica*, to cover the entrance of the bar of *Lisbon*: so that he might say truly of public affairs, that he made them equally his business and his amusement. His health still declining, he sent for *Alvaro Pacheco* and *Stephen de Barras*, men in whom he had the greatest confidence, and ordered them to restore to the churches the plate, and a certain public fund, which had been taken by his father to defray the expence of the war with *Castile*. He likewise ordered an enquiry to be made for any debts of his father's, for he had none of his own, and directed them to be paid^c. His punctuality in these matters was highly serviceable, as it rendered it by his example the fashion.

*In the
midst of his
pains and
infirmities
applies
himself to
affairs of
state.*

THE true state of the king's disease, according to the best historians, was a complication of distempers, which at length issued in a dropsy; from which in the beginning of the year he had some relaxation; and some there were about him who began to entertain hopes of his perfect recovery. He would have enjoyed this interval of ease in a higher degree, and perhaps it would have lasted longer, if he had not been vexed by the breaking out of a famine at *Evora*. This was not owing to any scarcity, but to the avarice of some rich men; who taking advantage of the court's being there, and having previously bought up all the corn, kept it at a high rate. The king endeavoured to reduce it by an edict, requiring it to be sold at a just price. The monopolizers, who had as little loyalty as charity, would not sell at all; which provoked the king to a great degree. He shewed what is rarely seen, his wisdom and his resentment at the same time. He forbid by an edict the buying of corn from any *Portuguese* merchants on pain of death: by the same edict he took off all duties, and gave a bounty on corn brought in by strangers; which produced plenty to the people, and absolutely broke the engrossers^d. At this time *Columbus*, returning from *America*, was forced, with his squadron, into *Portugal*. The king no sooner heard of it, than he sent for him; and though he knew that great man was prejudiced against him, he treated him with great generosity and kindness; and protected him from the ill will of some who would have dispatched him^e. The king had so true a love for merit, that when he heard

^c GARCÍAS DE RESENDA, CHRISTÓVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO. ^d EMANUEL TELLEZ, VASCONCELLOS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, VASCONCELLOS, GARCÍAS DE RESENDA.

Silveira, who was the manager of the duke of *Viseo*'s conspiracy, was come into *Castile*, he said, *Silveira* has so much knowledge, parts, and eloquence, that he will be well received where-ever he is. In the summer he relapsed, and was advised to go into *Algarve*. There he met with *Alonso Silva*, who came as ambassador from king *Ferdinand*, and whose principal business was to inform his master how long the king of *Portugal* might live. The king caused him to be introduced while he was looking at some horses, when striking one of them smartly on the back, "This arm, Don *Alonso*, said he, has still strength enough to fight a battle or two;" and after a pause of a minute, "against the *Moors*." The *Castilian* easily apprehended the king's meaning, and answered very politely, "My master will be very well pleased with this good news; and yet more pleased when I shall acquaint him, that your majesty's health is grown still better." He demanded afterwards, and obtained a private audience: in which he opened *Ferdinand*'s desire, that the king should enter into the league with *Italy*; for which he offered him many plausible reasons. In answer to this, he gave him a long and full account of the state of things in that country, entered into the characters and views of all the princes engaged on both sides, and concluded with telling him, he had as much ambition as any of them: "but my ambition, said he, is of a different kind. I mean to be a great king as well as they; but I go a shorter road to be a great king: I am for making my own a great nation. For this reason in the vigour of my life I never engaged in any of these alliances: I shall not do it in my decline; but I will be always ready to act as a mediator, and I am the fitter to act in that character as I am totally disinterested. This you may tell your master, which is all you will ever have to tell him; for I am not given to change my resolutions." But when he perceived that *Alonso* did not leave *Portugal*, he ordered him to retire to *Estremos*; where he had him so well watched, that he knew the contents of every dispatch he sent to *Castile*†.

As king *John* felt in himself a gradual decay, he became more and more uneasy about the succession. He ordered therefore a testament to be drawn, in which he set forth his sentiments on this and on various other topics; but directed a blank to be left for the name of the successor, unable to bear the thoughts of relinquishing his son, and at the same time as unable to devise any probable means for securing to him what

A. D.
1494-

His anxiety about his son to the last; his death and character.

† CHRISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO, EMANUEL TELLEZ, LE CLEDE, GARCIAS DE RESENDE.

he had a-mind to leave. At length in a fit of tenderness he ordered his secretary *Antonio de Faria* to fill up the blank with the name of *George* : but that secretary, who was a man of parts and probity, refused to do it. He told him, that it was against justice, and against reason ; that the queen, the nobility, and the people were unanimously for the duke of *Beja* ; and that by obeying his commands, *George*, instead of becoming his successor, would become a sacrifice. This was the more extraordinary as *Faria* had a principal hand in the detection of the duke of *Viseo's* conspiracy, was sure of being disgraced, and not sure of saving his life, on the duke of *Beja's* succession. His example, however, determined the king ; and having commended his firmness, he ordered him to insert the duke's name in the will ^z. He continued to linger long after it was signed ; and though he sent for the duke more than once when he drew towards his end, yet, through fear and distrust, he did not arrive till he was dying, or as some say, till he was dead. He added a codicil, by which he declared his son duke of *Coimbra*, and gave him all the lands and estates of *Don Pedro*, who had formerly enjoyed that title. He died on the twenty-fifth of *October* 1495, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, less hated than he had been by the nobility, but admired, and even adored by the people^h. His device was a pelican feeding her young with her blood, with these words *Pro lege et grege*, i. e. "For the constitution and the commonsⁱ." It was truly said of his father and of him, that one was a better man than a king, and the other a better king than a man. He fixed, however, the grandeur of *Portugal*, and left *Vasco de Gama* on the point of sailing for the discovery of the *Indies*. His parts, or rather his abilities, eclipsed those of his predecessors, and in return were eclipsed by the virtues and the fortune of his successor^k.

^z LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, VASCONCELLOS, GARCIA DE RESENDE. ^h CHRISTOVAL

Ferreira y SAMPAYO, VASCONCELLOS, GARCIA DE RESENDE, EMANUEL TELLEZ, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁱ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 626.

^k DAMIAN DE GOES, Hieronymus Oforius de rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ, FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA.

SECTION V.

The Reign of Emanuel, surnamed the Fortunate.

AT the time of his accession to the throne, Don Emanuel was with the queen his sister at *Alcaçar-do-Sal*, where he caused himself to be proclaimed, as soon as he was assured of the death of his predecessor^a. He had indeed all the titles that he could wish: he was the next heir by blood: he was recognized as such by the late king in his will: he had the hearts of the nobility, and the voice of the people: he was in the twenty-sixth year of his age; agreeable in his person; courteous in his behaviour; and universally beloved for that generosity which his vast estate enabled him to shew, even in a private condition. He came to the crown, therefore, and entered into the possession of the dominions of *Portugal*, peaceably and without the least opposition, though there was a pretender to the crown, whose claim was never considered by any body but himself. This competitor was the emperor *Maximilian*, whose mother was the sister, as Don Emanuel's father was the brother, of the king Don *Alonso*. He pleaded, therefore, that standing exactly in the same degree, he ought to be preferred to the duke of *Beja*, as being an older and a greater man^b; but this had no manner of weight with the *Portuguese*; on the contrary, they shewed the utmost eagerness in congratulating their new king, who received every body with the greatest kindness; promised much in general, but would not enter into any particular engagements; ordered the body of his deceased predecessor to be transferred to *Silves*, till it could be removed to the royal abbey of *Batalha*; demanded of all the ministers a distinct account of their respective departments, using his private fortune, till whatever regarded the public finances, could be adjusted, and neglecting nothing that could spread universal satisfaction, and dispose the bulk of the nation to love him as their benefactor, though they might not reverence and admire him as they did their late king, of whose loss they spoke as a thing that must be endured, though it could never be repaired. In this he succeeded so well, that every thing remained quiet, and the people pleased^c (A).

ONE

^a LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE *Histoire generale de Portugal*,
LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE
TURQUET. ^b FARIA Y SOUSA. ^c *Cronica do felicissimo Rey Don Emanuel composta, per DAMIAN DE GOES.*

(A) It will be requisite to- tory of this reign, to say some-
wards the understanding the his- what of this young prince, be-
fore

N 4

Wise precautions, attended by happy events.

ONE of the first acts of his government was, to call an assembly of the states at *Monte-Mor-a-Novo*, that every thing might have their sanction, and that he might the better judge of the temper of his new subjects. In this assembly a law

was

fore he ascended the throne. He was the grandson of king *Edward*, the nephew of *Alonso* the fifth, and cousin to *John* the second, his predecessor (1). He was the third son of the infant *Don Ferdinand*, duke of *Viseo*, by *Donna Beatrix*, the daughter of the infant *Don Juan* (2). He was born at the castle of *Alcobchetti*, May 3, 1469, which fell that year upon a *Thursday*, and the feast of *Corpus Christi*. This young prince being born at the very instant the sacrament passed by the door, it gave occasion to his receiving the name of *Emanuel* or *Manuel* (3). He had an excellent education given him, more especially in *Castile*, during the time he remained there as a hostage, upon the conclusion of the peace between their Catholic majesties and king *John* of *Portugal* (4). He returned into his own country about the time the duke of *Bragança* lost his life; and the very next year, his brother being killed by king *John*, he came into the possession of his estates, and by the king's desire assumed the title, not of *Viseo*, but of *Beja* (5). As he grew to man's estate, he discovered the most amiable qualities; his disposition was mild and humane; his temper naturally grave, but accompa-

nied with an agreeable sweetness and easy affability. He was extremely punctual in every thing; rose rather before day, and after he had performed his devotions, dispatched whatever business he had to do; and then diverted himself in hunting, shooting, or tennis. He was magnificent in his house, and very elegant in his table; but at the same time very temperate, abstaining wholly from wine (6). He loved music and conversation, more especially as to the mathematical sciences, travels, voyages, and discoveries, which induced the king, who really loved him more for his personal qualities, than for his near relation to him, to give him, by way of augmentation to his arms, a sphere, which he made use of ever after as his impress, and placed it over his arms when he was king (7). It might be accounted the first instance of his good fortune that he was not born heir to the crown; and, perhaps, the situation in which he lived, during the reign of his cousin, was another great advantage, as it obliged him to live cautiously, and very much within bounds. It had, however, no bad effect upon his manners; he was rather serene than serious, and

(1) *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal.*

(2) *Manuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.*

(3) *Cronica do felicissimo Rey Don Emanuel composta, por Damian de Goes.*

(4) *Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Ferreras.*

(5) *Hieron. Oforius de rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniae.*

(6) *Damian de Goes, Hieron. Oforius de rebus Emanuelis, Faria y Sousa.*

(7) *Damian de Goes, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet.*

very

was made, for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants of the late king, and the services rendered by those who had obtained them; an augmentation of the number of judges, that justice might be the more speedily and effectually administered; with some others of less importance^d. He gave very early marks of his intention to act on a very different principle from that which had governed king *John*; and this was reviving the power of the nobility, with whose arms, in conjunction with his own, and those of the princes of the blood, he caused his halls and dining rooms to be adorned, that the populace might be gradually drawn to reverence and esteem them. A conduct publicly applauded, but privately disapproved. We have before observed, that the *Jews* were admitted into *Portugal* in the late reign, for which they paid a heavy capitation tax; and not being able, or not being willing, to transport themselves abroad within the time given them, had been actually made slaves, and distributed through all *Portugal*, by the command of king *John*. To these afflicted people the king extended his mercy, restored them to their liberty, and fixed a new time for their departure. In gratitude for this favour, they would have given him a sum of money, but Don *Emanuel* very generously refused it^e. Their Catholic majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, sent very early an embassy to compliment the new king, to assure him of their friendship and alliance, and to propose a marriage with the princess *Mary* their daughter. The king treated these ministers with great respect, assured them it was his settled intention to maintain the peace between the two nations; but insinuated, that it was time enough to think of marriage; and that when the time came he would intimate his inclinations to their majesties, who were not ignorant of the meaning of this; and that it respected their daughter *Isa-*

^d LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS.

^e HIERONYMUS OSORIUS de rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ, DAMIAN DE GOES, MAYERNE TURQUET.

very far from declining any innocent diversion (8). He was circumspect, without being suspicious, very grateful and just, rewarding all services that were done him, and providing for all who attended him in any capa-

city. In fine, free from any apparent vice, at an age when follies are most excuseable; and with all this regularity in himself, very far from being severe to others (9).

(8) *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*, Faria y Sousa. Osorius, Faria y Sousa.

(9) *Damian de Goes*, bella.

bella^f. Amongst those who came to pay their addresses to the king, came Don *George*, who was presented to him by the grand commander Don *Diego Almeyda*. He was then about fourteen years of age, and had so strong a resemblance to the king his father, that when Don *Emanuel* had looked upon him a little time, he burst out into tears, and promised to do for him all he could desire or expect^g. The king's behaviour encouraged the nobility; so that many of them who were under great obligations to king *John*, came and kissed his son's hand, which in this country is the highest mark of respect. The youth received them with great dignity, and expressed the same affection and obedience to the king, as if he had been his son, and had the like honours paid him as in the former reign. The king likewise sent his ambassadors to foreign princes, caused supplies and recruits to be transported into *Barbary*, and had the satisfaction of learning that the revolt had been happily suppressed there, and a great victory gained over the *Moors*, which he looked upon as a fair omen of the succeeding glories of his reign^h. His subjects had the same opinion, and a general satisfaction was diffused through the state.

A. D.
1495.

*Restores
the family
of Bragan-
ça to their
rank, titles,
and estates.*

As the plague continued at *Lisbon*, the king, as well for the sake of pleasure as for the preservation of his health, went to *Setubal*, where he met with his mother and his two sisters, who pressed him very warmly to restore the family of *Bragança* to his favour and their estates, to which he consented. This was far from being universally pleasing, though the king took all possible measures to prevent its giving just offence; for he gave those who were benefited by the forfeitures of this family, equivalents with which they were fully satisfied, and assured his council he did not do it with a view of throwing any imputation on his predecessor's justice, but from a persuasion that children ought not to suffer for the offences of their parents. Some of his ministers took the liberty of representing, that he not only acted contrary to the maxims of his predecessor, but impoverished the crown to purchase an estate for those he recalled; that he administered fuel to factions and discontents; and that the nobility, encouraged by this act of clemency, would begin afresh to persecute and oppress the common people. But the influence of the ladies prevailed; and Don *Diego*, duke of *Bragança*, was fully rein-

^f ZURITA Annal. Arragon, DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, FERRERAS, MARIANA. ^g FARIA Y SOUSA. ^h DAMIAN DE GOES, FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

stated

stated in his titles and fortune¹. The king was likewise desirous of recalling cardinal *da Costa* from *Rome*, where he had resided during the reign of king *John*, notwithstanding that under that of his father he had been in great credit. At first he listened to the king's proposition, and had some thoughts of returning to his native country; but upon mature deliberation he acquainted the king, that he should be able to render him more service where he was, and that his infirmities made it very inconvenient for him to leave *Rome*². Don *Alvaro*, uncle to the duke of *Bragança*, was employed by the king to negotiate his marriage with the princess dowager of *Portugal*, Donna *Isabella*, either because *Emanuel* was enamoured of her, or because he judged it probable she might become the heiress of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and consequently his issue by her, possessors of all *Spain*, and the most powerful monarchs in *Europe*. But the first is the more probable opinion, though it coincided with the latter.

A. D.
1496.

DON *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella* seemed very well inclined to this marriage, from which, however, they thought to draw this advantage, that to purchase their daughter, Don *Emanuel* should enter into a league with them against *Charles* the eighth, king of *France*; but the king, though very desirous of a wife, would not purchase her upon such terms, because there had been always a good correspondence between the two crowns, and the *Portuguese* were great gainers by their commerce; but he went so far as to promise, that if the *French* king should act offensively, and enter *Spain* with an army, he would assist their majesties to expel them. He was not so much upon his guard against the lady, who pretended that she had an utter aversion to *Portugal*, from the grief that she had sustained there; that to marry a second time was beneath a princess of her rank; and that she could not give her hand to one who was a protector of the *Jews*¹. The wiser and better part of the council opposed this, as a measure that would be detrimental to the state, as well as inconsistent with the king's own promise to these unhappy people. Don *Emanuel* was desirous of pleasing both parties. By a new edict he gave the *Jews* leave to depart within a certain time, assigned them different parts where they were to embark, then reduced them to *Lisbon* only, disappointed them in furnish-

Esposes
Donna *Isabella*, who becomes heiress of the crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*.

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIOUS, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, LE CLEDE. ² FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES. ¹ MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, BERNALDEZ, CARVAJAL, GARIBAY.

ing

ing ships, and by these steps obliging them to elapse the time, punished them with slavery for not doing what it was impossible they should do ; but afterwards, as if it had been a mere grace and favour, they had the space of twenty years allowed them for their thorough conversion to Christianity, tho' in appearance they were all obliged to become Christians immediately ; and upon accepting this offer, their children were restored to them, which had been taken from them, in order to prevent their embarking : a severity which they bore so ill, that multitudes of them murdered their children to prevent their being made slaves to the Christians ; and not a few, out of the horror of having done this, murdered themselves likewise : so that it is no wonder that when any expedient was proposed, by which both their liberty and their children might be preserved, they readily embraced it^m. Many of the writers who relate this, admire the wisdom, but most of them commend the zeal and firmness of the king ; though it must be admitted, that the learned prelate of *Algarve*, and a few others, have treated this measure in the manner it deserved, and have expressed their amazement, that it could ever be thought consistent with the principles of true religion and sound policyⁿ. In consequence of this expedient, the blood and sentiments of the *Portuguese* nobility have been corrupted, and the severe tribunal of the inquisition made necessary, to keep numbers in a state of religious hypocrisy, without ever making perhaps one true Christian. After the point had been fully debated in council, the king took a resolution of prosecuting the discovery of a new passage to the *Indies* ; and gave the command of four vessels, appointed for that expedition, to *Vasco de Gama*, who sailed on the ninth of *July*, and happily accomplished it^o. In the autumn the king made a tour into *Valentia*, and there espoused the infanta Donna *Isabella*, at the very same time that her brother Don *Juan*, prince of *Asturias*, expired at *Salamanca*, by which she became the heiress of her parents dominions ; and as mirth and mourning could not well agree, as soon as the news of the prince's death was made public, the king Don *Emanuel*, with his bride, having taken leave of her mother, returned into their own dominions^p.

^m LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.
ⁿ OSORIUS. ^o JO. PETRI MAFFOEI, S. I. Historiarum Indicarum, libri xvi. fol. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^p FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES, PETRI MARTYR Epist. OSORIUS, BERNALDEZ, GARIBAY, CARVAJAL, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, LE CUEDE, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

As many inconveniencies had been experienced by the clashing of jurisdictions, and as these had been hitherto settled by occasional inspections, of which there were but few records, the king caused a survey to be made of his whole dominions, and the bounds of every jurisdiction was therein distinctly settled, the whole being divided into five books: from whence it seems probable that *Algarve* was excluded. The queen becoming pregnant, their majesties were invited into *Castile*; and after having held the states of *Portugal* at *Lisbon*, and received a new oath of fidelity, they set out for *Toledo*; where the states of *Castile* being assembled, the queen of *Portugal* was acknowledged for the presumptive heir. Their majesties then proceeded with the like view to *Saragossa*; where, on the twenty-fourth of *August*, Donna *Isabella* of *Portugal* was delivered of the prince Don *Michael*, and expired an hour afterwards. Upon this Don *Emanuel* resolved to return into his own dominions, having first agreed to send ambassadors to *Rome*, who, in conjunction with those of their catholic majesties, were to admonish Pope *Alexander* the sixth of the scandalous life he led, and to exhort him to behave for the future with more moderation and decency. The *Portuguese* ambassadors were Don *Rodrigo de Castro* and Don *Henry de Coutino*, men of great quality, and consummate prudence. They prosecuted therefore the instructions they had received very exactly; but the Pope answered them so smartly, and they were so well apprized of his true character, that they judged it convenient to withdraw as soon as possible out of his reach. But after this the Pope shewed much deference and respect for the two kings.

IN order to satisfy the demands of their catholic majesties, the king caused his son Don *Michael* to be acknowledged by the states the heir of that kingdom, as he had been in *Castile* and *Arragon*; but at the same time he promised upon oath, and gave it under his hand, that no *Castilian* should be capable of any preferment, ecclesiastical or civil, within the kingdom of *Portugal*. This young prince dying soon after, put an end to all fears that this promise might not be duly executed. The king, his father, applied himself with great vigilance and vigour to the care of the administration, and attended more especially to justice and the finances. The fleet of *Vasco de Gama* returning from the *Indies*, filled *Lisbon* with

An excellent code of laws, and other beneficial institutions, by this monarch.

A. D.
1498.

The discovery of the Indies happily achieved by Vasco de Gama.

¶ GARIBAY, CARVAJAL, MAYERNE TURQUET. ¶ ZURITA Annal. Arragon, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS. ¶ DU CHESNE Hist. des Papes, OSORIUS, FERRERAS, MARIANA. ¶ FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES.

joy,

joy, and the rest of *Europe* with astonishment. The history of his expedition belongs to another place: it is sufficient to say here, that he performed it in something more than two years; and that of one hundred and forty-eight persons, which made up the complement of his squadron, he brought home but fifty-five. The king received him with all possible testimonies of respect and kindness, created him count of *Vidigueira*; and not only declared him admiral of the *Indies*, but made that office hereditary in his family, that the reputation and reward of his discovery might go together^u. As he had now some leisure, Don *Manuel* took this opportunity of removing the body of his predecessor from the town of *Silves* in *Algarve*, where it had been deposited after his decease, to the monastery of *Batalha*, where a beautiful tomb of white marble had been erected to his memory^v. At his return he caused a great quantity of gold and silver to be coined, and ordered a numerous squadron to be fitted out for maintaining and extending the newly opened trade to the *East Indies*^x: that what prudence had acquired might be secured by spirit.

A. D.
1499.

The king
promotes
the son of
his predecessor,
and his own
nephew by
his brother's
side.

As the son of the late king was now arrived at man's estate, Don *Emanuel* thought it high time to perform what his father seemed to expect from him at his hands: he therefore caused him to marry on the twenty-fifth of *May* Donna *Beatrix de Velen*, the daughter of Don *Alvaro*, of *Portugal*, brother to Don *Ferdinand*, and uncle to *Diego*, duke of *Bragança*; and upon this occasion declared that young prince duke of *Coimbra*, with all the lands and revenues which had formerly accompanied that title. At the same time he created his nephew Don *Alonso*, the son of the duke of *Viseu*, whom king *John* killed with his own hand, constable of *Portugal*, and gave him in marriage Donna *Joanna de Norogno*, the daughter of Don *Pedro de Meneses*, marquis of *Villa Real*^y. This young nobleman, though very high born on the side of his father, is supposed to have been as well descended on the side of his mother, who was a *Castilian* lady of such quality that the historians of those times did not think it expedient to transmit her name to posterity. The king being without children, and a widower, was continually pressed by the nobility to a second marriage: in order to which he had been for some time treating with their catholic majesties for the infanta Donna *Maria*, whom he declined when she was offered him before; which treaty was at length brought to an issue, and the mar-

^u MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUVILLE.

^v FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^x OSORIUS.

^y DAMIAN DE GOES, FARIA Y SOUSA.

riage

riage portion fixed at two hundred thousand crowns, with an annuity of ten thousand, established on the revenues of the port of *Seville*². At this time the king meditated a formidable expedition against the *Moors* in *Barbary*, with a numerous fleet, and an army of twenty-six thousand men. This, he intended to command in person, nor could the advice of his nobility, or the intreaties of his new queen, prevail upon him to lay aside this resolution. But the *Venetians* having represented to him, that the *Turkish* emperor *Bajazet* threatened their state with destruction, and was about to attack them with the whole force of his empire, the king very generously relinquished the plan he had laid for raising his own reputation, and declaring, that the safety of his allies, and the interest of *Christendom*, were infinitely dearer to him than his own glory, he ordered a squadron of thirty sail, with a proportionable number of troops, to join the fleet of the republic, in order to act against the *Turks*³.

A. D.
1500.

THE king being very desirous of promoting to the utmost the welfare of his nephew the duke of *Bragança*, whom he looked upon as his presumptive heir, laboured to find out a fit match for him, as the most effectual means of diverting that melancholy with which he was afflicted sometimes to such a degree that forgetting to take proper sustenance, he was in danger of being lost for want of food. At length the king fixed on Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, daughter to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, whom, in obedience to his majesty's commands, Don *Diego* married; but soon after disappeared, and left a letter for the king, in which he desired that his majesty would bestow his honours and estates on his brother Don *Denis*, as he was determined to travel to, and spend the rest of his days at *Jerusalem*. Don *Emanuel*, however, caused him to be so carefully sought after, that he was discovered in the kingdom of *Arragon*, and sent back; when the king received him with so much affection that he was prevailed upon to lay aside the scheme he had formed; and lived ever after in a manner suitable to his birth and quality^b (B). The squadron sent to the

*He shews
the like re-
gard for
the duke of
Bragança,
his nephew
by the
sister.*

² PETRI MARTYR Epist. GARIBAY, FERRERAS. ³ DAMIAN DE GOES. ^b FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

(B) This Don *Diego*, duke of *Bragança*, had an excellent education in *Castile*, where he was treated with much kindness and respect. However, the misfor-

tunes of his family depressed his spirits so much, that notwithstanding the sudden change of his condition, and the great affection which the king shewed for

the assistance of the *Venetians* stood first over to the *Barbary* shore; and attempted to surprize *Mazalquivir*: but the *Moors* making a gallant resistance, and the *Portuguese* having suffered some loss, Don *Juan de Meneses*, count of *Tarouca*, thought it best to pursue his voyage; and after scouring the coasts of *Sardinia* and *Calabria*, he bore away for the island of *Corfu*, where the *Venetian* fleet was to rendezvous. There his soldiers beginning to intrigue with the women of the country, the inhabitants fell upon them and killed seventy. However, the *Venetian* and *Portuguese* fleets joining, and going in search of the *Turkish* force, *Bajazet* thought fit to drop his design, and to order his fleet to return into port. Soon after which

for him, he was very restless and uneasy. In 1498, when Don *Emanuel* went into *Castile*, he declared this duke heir to the crown of *Portugal*, in case he died without children. It was with a view to dissipate this melancholy, that the king in a manner forced him into a marriage with Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, and forced him afterwards to live with that lady, instead of passing his days, as he intended to have done, in a hermitage near *Jerusalem*. By degrees, however, this had its effect, and he shook off in a great measure that melancholy which was the sole effect of his disposition. The constant kindness of the king contributed not a little to it, for he appointed him frequently to represent his royal person; put him at the head of the great army he sent into *Africa*, and omitted nothing that could serve to convince him of the sincerity of his sentiments. By the lady before-mentioned, he had a son and a daughter; the name of the former was *Theodofus*, who succeeded him in his titles; and of the latter *Isabella*, who espoused the infant Don *Duarte*, son to king *Emanuel*. After the demise of his first dur-

chess, Don *Diego* fell in love with Donna *Joanna*, the daughter of Don *Diego de Mendoza*, governor of *Moura*, by whom he had four sons, and several daughters, whose names we shall mention as briefly as possible, because the succession in this family is absolutely necessary to be thoroughly known, for the clearer understanding of the succeeding part of this history. Don *Diego de Bragança*, who died without issue; Don *Constantine de Bragança*, great chamberlain to king *John* the third, his ambassador in *France*, and viceroy of the *Indies*, who espoused Donna *Maria de Meneses*, daughter of Don *Rodrigo de Mello*, marquis de *Ferreira*, by whom he had no issue; *Fulgentio*, prior of *Guimaraez*, who left two natural children; and *Theoton*, archbishop of *Evora*. The daughters were, Donna *Francisca*, who became a canoness at *Evora*; Donna *Angelica*, abbess of *Villa Viciosa*; Donna *Joanna*, who married the duke de *Maqueda*; Donna *Eugenia*, who married Don *Francisco de Mello*, marquis de *Ferreira*; Donna *Maria*, abbess of *Villa Viciosa*; and Donna *Vincenta*, who became a nun in that monastery.

the

the *Portuguese* squadron set sail for *Lisbon*; and soon after them arrived an ambassador from the republic, to acknowledge, and thank the king for this timely and effectual succour. This year *Pedro Alvarez de Cabral* discovered in his passage to *India* the noble country of *Brasil*, in *South America*, and having anchored in *Porto Seguro*, took possession of it for the crown of *Portugal*, to which it still belongs. The king also founded the famous monastery of *Bethlehem*, justly esteemed one of the finest edifices in *Portugal* (C).

A. D.
1501.

THE

* DAMIAN DE GOES.

* FARIA Y SOUSA.

(C) The proper name of this noble foundation is *Bethlehem*, but the *Portuguese* spell and pronounce it *Bellem*. There is a town, a monastery, and a fort, all of this name, which lie between four and five miles from *Lisbon*, on the river *Tagus*; but the monastery gave its name to the other two. The church, which at a distance appears a most stupendous fabric, is allowed to be a most correct and finished structure, when surveyed with the greatest care. It is not so much worthy of the great *Emanuel* from its beauty and magnificence, though there can be scarce any thing more splendid, as from the boldness of the design, and the success with which it is executed. It is the true picture of its founder, sublime and striking, but at the same time regular and harmonious. His tomb, and that of the queen *Donna Maria*, are very fine; as are indeed all the monuments that adorn this sacred structure, which are many in number, princes and princesses of the blood being interred here, as well as kings and queens; with this difference, that the tombs of the latter are supported by elephants, and adorned with crowns and escut-

cheons. The cloister belongs to the order of *St. Jerom*, capable of holding two hundred monks, who have very spacious and airy apartments, which look either upon the sea, or upon beautiful orange gardens, that equally charm the sight and smell. The revenue of this convent amounts to about eight thousand ducats; and besides those vast and elegant gardens, that serve for pleasure and amusement, there is a very large park, capable of supplying them with corn, wine, and fruits of every kind. This park is completely walled round; and not only the church and convent, but every building dependant on them, is of hewn stone. There is in its vicinity another building, large, neat, and wonderfully convenient, into which are received all such gentlemen as have spent their lives in the king's service, without acquiring wherewith to maintain themselves. At their admittance they receive the order of *Christ*, which is the most noble in *Portugal*; and, during the remainder of their lives, enjoy every thing that can render their decline comfortable; a good table, pleasant apartments, suitable diversions, cheerful conversation, with strict at-

Engages in
a war
with the
Moors,
and upon
what mo-
tives.

THE king, though the commerce of the *Indies* had not as yet produced any thing comparable to the expectations that had been formed from it, continued to send squadrons thither well manned, and with great store of naval and military provisions, not doubting that in process of time it would amply repay that expence; at which some of the narrow-minded amongst his subjects grievously repined. He also continued to meditate an expedition of more importance into *Barbary* than had been made by any of his predecessors: to which he was instigated by the memoirs left by king *John*; in which it was insinuated, that the opposite coasts of *Africa* were first to be conquered, then covered by fortresses; next adorned with cities and sea-ports; to which inhabitants might be drawn by gentle laws, and extensive privileges, which would gradually produce a communication between the interior parts of the country and strangers resorting to the cities and havens, to the inconceivable benefit of the subjects of *Portugal*; which, far from being impoverished by the expence, or weakened by the sending out, would, in the compass of a single reign, be greatly enriched by her conquests, and strengthened by her colonies. He laboured also to repair and restore such places as were in a manner depopulated by the plague, and by reviewing the charters of the principal cities and towns in his dominions, to redress what, through a change of customs, was become grievous; to supply defects, and to insert new privileges. While he was thus employed, the queen on the sixth of *June* was delivered of a prince, in the midst of one of the most violent storms that was ever felt or heard; and as this, according to the superstition of those times, gave birth to

• OSORIVS, MAJ. DEI Hist. Indic.

tendance; and in case of sickness, the assistance of physicians, surgeons, and nurses, all of whom treat them with a respect due to persons honoured with the express protection of the crown, according to the solemn institution of *Don Emanuel*, whose design it was that they should not be relieved there, but rewarded. Over against the church and cloister, but in the middle of the river, there stands a large square tower, which may be considered as

the citadel of *Lisbon*, as all ships that pass are obliged to salute it, and to produce their bills of health at their arrival, and proper certificates when they depart. The place of arms is extremely well fortified, and supplied with artillery. The lower stories of the fort are employed as magazines, and the upper furnish apartments for prisoners of state. The village or town of *Bellem*, has risen from the great resort to the places already described.

many

many strange notions, so these were strengthened and increased when the prince came to be baptized, on account of a fire breaking out in the palace, which threw all things into confusion^f. The king, full of piety, according to the mode of those times, made a solemn pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James, at *Compostella*. In his passage thither he directed the finishing a most beautiful tomb in the city of *Porto* for St. Pantaleo, the patron of that place, which had been begun by the late king^g. At the cathedral of St. James he left a noble silver lamp, in the shape of a castle, valuable from its weight, much more so from its workmanship; and distinguished himself by liberally relieving the poor where-ever he came^h. In his return through *Coimbra* he saw there the sepulchre of Don Alonzo, the first king of *Portugal*, with the meanness of which he was so much affected, that he directed a new one, worthy of himself, and of the memory of the great prince whose remains were to rest thereinⁱ. The fleet he had sent to *Africa*, with orders to reduce a certain fortress, returned without doing any thing. Notwithstanding which he was received upon his return to *Lisbon* with all possible marks of satisfaction and joy^k. In this he might be truly stiled *Fortunate*; for whatever were the issue of his designs, his subjects were so thoroughly persuaded of the rectitude of his intentions, that they were equally grateful for what they actually received, and for what, if it had been in his power, they knew their king meant to bestow.

A. D.
1502.

THE new project which the king had formed for going in person to *Africa*, was frustrated by the breaking out of a famine in his own dominions; by which he was obliged to divide his fleet into small squadrons, in order to send them to the coast of *Africa*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *France*, *Great-Britain*, *Germany*, and the north, to bring in supplies of corn, without which his people must have been famished^l. This misfortune did not hinder him from sending some missionaries over to *Congo*, with instructions to civilize the people, and to bring them as much as possible to relish their own manners and way of living; and to engage the king to send over some of his sons to be educated at *Lisbon*, that by extending these notions their commerce with that kingdom, which was very beneficial, might be increased. By the return of *Vasco de Gama*,

^f DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

^g CARIBAY, CARVAJAL, FERRERAS. ^h MARIANA, MAY-

NEE TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA. ⁱ DAMIAN DE GOES,

LA NEUFVILLE. ^k FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, DAMIAN

DE GOES. ^l LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

who had been sent again into the *Indies*, with a very rich cargo, to *Lisbon*, an end was put to all the objections and suspicions concerning that trade: the importance of which was now become conspicuous even to the meanest understanding^m. Amongst men of family and parts the spirit of discovery prevailed rather too strongly. About two years before *Gaspár Corteal*, a young gentleman of birth and genius, fitted out a ship at his own expence, which he commanded in person; and that he might not be reproached with thrusting his sickle into another man's harvest, bent his course to *North America*; and sailing along the coast, which he found inhabited by a barbarous people, but very pleasant, and capable of great improvements, he bestowed upon it the name of *Greenland*: and returning home, fitted out another vessel, with an intent to settle there; but was never heard of more. His brother *Michael* went in search of him; and had the like fate; and this year a third brother would have taken the same route, if the king had not interposed. From these brothers those coasts are entitled *Tierra de Cortereal*. The king had directed Don *Juan de Meneses* and the count *de Tarouca* to reduce the fortress of *Alcaçer-quivir*, which the king of *Fez* had augmented, with a view to bridle *Arzila*; and they attempted it, and shewed in that attempt all the courage and skill possible, but without effect; for in truth their force bore no proportion to the undertaking. At home Don *Emanuel* called an assembly of the states at *Lisbon*; where, notwithstanding affairs were but in an untoward situation, yet their desire of obliging that monarch was so strong that they granted him all he demanded; together with a free gift of fifty thousand cruzadoes for the war in *Africa*: they likewise acknowledged Don *Juan* in quality of heir apparentⁿ. On the fourth of *October* the queen was delivered of the infanta *Isabella*, afterwards empress and queen of *Castile* and *Arragon*^o. As soon as the states separated, the king went to *Tomar*, where he held a chapter of the order of *Christ*, and reformed many abuses.

A. D.
1503.

Death of
the queen's
mother.

DON *Emanuel* was extremely affected by the death of his nephew the constable; who left behind him an only daughter, who married into the house of *Villa Real*: but this loss did not affect the public so much as that of the queen's mother, Donna *Isabella* of *Castile*^p: for Don *Emanuel* being well apprized of the character of the arch-duke *Philip*, and of those

^m MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS. GOES.

^o FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

ⁿ DAMIAN DE

TYR Epist. BERNALDEZ, GARIBAY, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MARIANA, DAMIAN DE GOES.

^p PETER MAR-

about

about him, began to entertain so slender an opinion of his friendship, that he gave orders for repairing all the strong places on the frontiers towards *Castile*. It is not, however, certain, that he carried his suspicion of this prince so high as to enter into any negotiation with Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Arragon*, in order to a marriage between him and the unfortunate Donna *Joanna*, who had formerly borne the title of queen of *Castile*. In *Africa* Don *Juan Meneses* forced the *Moorish* port at the mouth of the river *Larache*, carried out ships that lay therein, which, with other excursions by land, very deservedly raised his character; but did not much advance the design of Don *Emanuel*, or any other solid and valuable purpose. The inclemency of the season was rather more remarkable this year than the last; more especially at the entrance of the autumn, when several shocks of an earthquake were felt with such violence that the people abandoned the towns and fled into the mountains; where being saluted with the same terrors, they descended into the plains, and remained under tents and cabins till the approach of winter. On the last day of the year the queen was delivered of the infanta Donna *Beatrix*, who became afterwards dutchess of *Savoy* ⁹.

A. D.
1504.

As the situation of things in *India* required a superior force, the king caused a better fleet, and a greater number of troops to be sent thither under the command of Don *Francisco de Almada*, than at any time before; and if it had not been for his consummate prudence in this respect, it is highly probable the *Portuguese* had been beat out almost as soon as they had entered into *India*. For the *Mohammedan* princes there, and particularly the king of *Aben*, who pretended to be descended from their prophet, applied themselves to *Campson*, sultan of the *Mamelukes* in *Egypt*, requesting him to protect them against the Christians. At the same time there were, at the court of the sultan ambassadors from the republic of *Venice*, who likewise prompted him to drive the *Portuguese* out of the *Indies*; and who, to render this the more practicable, supplied him with engineers to cast cannon, and to build ships in the ports of the *Red Sea*. By their advice also the sultan sent a monk, whose name was *Maurus*, with letters to the Pope, then *Julius* the second, complaining bitterly of the conquest of *Granada* by Don *Ferdinand*, and the expedition of Don *Emanuel* into *Africa* and the *Indies*, threatening to make reprisals on the Christians, and intimating, that unless he had satisfaction he might not find himself safe even at *Rome*. The Pope sent copies of these letters to *Lisbon* and to *Madrid*; but neither of the kings seemed to be much affected: on the con-

Sultan of
Egypt en-
deavours to
threaten
Portugal
and Cas-
tile.⁹ FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, FERRERAS.

trary they exhorted his holiness to do his duty, and publish a crusade, which would infallibly furnish a number of men sufficient to defend him against all his enemies^r. In the assembly of the states held this year many good laws were made for encouraging industry and frugality, and for preserving equality among the people. Amongst these there was one very remarkable: the king forbade hospitals to purchase lands without licence, under severe penalties; because it was discovered that taking advantage of people's necessities, they purchased on every side, and as they had no power of selling, were amassing vast estates^s. About this time arrived from the *Indies* *Duarte Pacheco*, who had performed there actions almost beyond the power, or the belief of man. The king, to shew how much he esteemed virtue, did him the highest honours, and not only caused a thanksgiving to be celebrated for his victories, but made him walk by his side to church upon that occasion^t. After this understanding that honour was all that he had brought with him from the *Indies*, he appointed him governor of the castle *St. George del Mina*, upon the coast of *Guinea*; where, performing his duty exactly, some envious persons accused him of such atrocious crimes that he was ordered home in irons, long confined, at last tried, and acquitted^u; and left innocent and indigent to the contemplation of that ancient maxim, *Virtue is its own reward*. So easily are even the best princes misled by flatterers. While the king fled from place to place for fear of the plague, which was brought into *Portugal* by the Pope's ambassador, some excursions were made in *Barbary*, but of no great consequence; from whence the king was more and more confirmed in his opinion, that his great design could not be carried into execution but by transporting a considerable force, and making a considerable conquest at once, towards the expence of which he had received a bull of crusade.

A. D.
1505.

*Dangerous
sedition at
Lisbon.*

THE court being at *Abrantes* to avoid the infection, there happened a dismal misfortune at *Lisbon*, where some zealous persons observing in a church that the glass which covered a hole in the side of a crucifix seemed to shine, cried out, "A miracle!" A *Jew*, who had been but lately converted, happened unluckily to say it was the reflection of the sun beams, which fell from an opposite window. This made a prodigious disturbance, and two seditious monks exciting the people to take vengeance of the *Jews*, they murdered about five hundred of

^r MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES, FERRAS.

^s FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^t DAMIAN

DE GOES, OSORIUS, MAFFOEI Hist. Indic.

^u LEQUIEN

DE LA NEUFVILLE.

them

them that day. The men from on board some *French* and *Dutch* ships in the river landed and joined the mob, and bringing with them a new spirit of devotion, which directed them to the richest houses, without making any distinction of *Jew*, or *Christian*, murdering and plundering without mercy. A recruit of villains of the same stamp out of the villages, entered *Lisbon*, and committed the most horrid outrages during the third day : so that in the whole there perished upwards of two thousand persons, the most part *Jews*. The king being informed of this, sent commissioners, with a corps of troops to support them. On a strict enquiry the magistrates were deposed, such of the ringleaders as could be found hanged, the two monks degraded, and burnt, and the city deprived of all its privileges. As for the *French* and *Dutch*, who had been the most active, as soon as they had loaded their ships with plunder they sailed away, and thereby escaped the due reward of so infamous an action *. While their majesties were at *Abrantes*, the queen was delivered of the infant *Don Lewis*. The king being informed of the arrival of the arch-duke *Philip* in *Spain*, sent to compliment him, which was very well received : and in *Africa* the *Portuguese* commanders, who began to be as great proficient in intrigue as the *Moor*s themselves, surprised the port of *Saffir*, which they kept and fortified, esteeming it a very considerable conquest †.

A. D.
1506.

By the king's great application to whatever regarded the extension of his power in the *Indies*, his influence in *Congo*, and the commerce of his subjects in *Guinea*, immense wealth was brought into *Portugal*, and the port of *Lisbon* grew one of the most considerable in *Europe*, and this notwithstanding the plague still prevailed. The king and court remained at *Abrantes* : there on the fifth of *July* the queen brought into the world the infant *Don Ferdinand* †. Some disputes having arisen with the crown of *Castile* in relation to their conquests in *Africa*, *Don Emanuel* applied himself to his father-in-law, to prevent things from coming to extremities, and offering to leave all points in dispute to be settled by their commissaries, which was accepted. The prince of *Mequinez* being driven out of his dominions, fled for shelter to *Don Emanuel*, and promised to put the strong city of *Azemor* into his hands, if he would intrust him with a proper force. The king consented to this, and embarked four thousand horse, and two thou-

Affairs in dispute with Castile, left to the determination of commissaries on both sides.

A. D.
1507.

* OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES, MARIANA, ZURITA, FERRERAS. † DAMIAN DE GOES, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. † OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

sand foot for this expedition ; which, however, came to nothing, and which some also place in the succeeding year. It had, however, one good effect, which was, that the king determined with himself not to confide any more in such renegades ; and indeed hitherto all the conquests he had made in *Barbary* had been so expensive, that if the nation had not been enriched in another manner than formerly, they must have been abandoned².

The Castilians and Arragonians generously succour the Portuguese in Africa.

As the famous *Albuquerque* was now in the *Indies*, the concerns of the *Portuguese* went to their wish, and the advantages derived from thence enabled Don *Emanuel* to gratify his passion for building, and indeed for every other branch of magnificence². At the same time, however, he was very careful in sending over annual supplies, well knowing how many and how powerful enemies he had to withstand, since it may be truly affirmed, that the *Mohammedans* were more firmly united, and much more formidable in those parts at this juncture, than they have been at any time since ; and that this power of theirs was entirely broke and defeated by the *Portuguese*, without the assistance of any *European* ally, and when there were no Christians but themselves in the *Indies*. The commissaries that had been appointed to treat with the *Castilians*, came at last to this agreement, that *Velez de la Gomera* should be their common frontier, and that all the country eastward, should be considered as appertaining to the crown of *Castile* ; while the same right was to be acknowledged in the crown of *Portugal*, as to the countries lying west. But while they were settling these imaginary bounds of empire, the king of *Fez*, at the head of upwards of one hundred thousand men, invested *Arzila* ; and though *Vasco Coutigno*, count of *Borba*, made a gallant defence, and gave immediate notice of his danger to the *Portuguese* admiral, and to the governor of *Tangier*, yet he found it absolutely necessary for his own preservation, to abandon the town, and to retire with the remains of his garrison into the castle : the news of which affected Don *Emanuel* to such a degree, that he ordered an army to assemble in *Algarve* ; to which kingdom he posted in person, and directed as many ships as could be got ready, to be sent thither from *Lisbon*. All his endeavours, and all his expedition, however, had proved ineffectual, if Don *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* had not employed the whole force he had in *Africa*, under the command of the fa-

² DAMIAN DE GOES, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

² OSORIUS, MAFFORI Hist. Indic. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

mous Don *Pedro Navarro*, for the assistance of the *Portuguese*, who, by this timely support, were so much encouraged, and behaved themselves so gallantly, that they constrained the king of *Fez* to set fire to his new conquest, and to retire with his army, which had suffered prodigiously during the course of the siege. This welcome news reached Don *Emanuel* at *Tavira*, where in a very short space he had assembled twenty thousand men, and was on the very point of embarking; but the *Portuguese* nobility representing to him the impropriety of such an expedition, in the present circumstances of his kingdom, he was prevailed upon to lay it aside, chiefly from the apprehension that those who gave him this advice in *Europe*, might make him repent the not following it, if he carried them against their wills into *Africa* ^b.

A. D.
1508.

Don *Ferdinand Coutigno*, a nobleman of great personal merit, was sent with fifteen sail of large ships into the *Indies*, with orders to regulate all disputes between *Almeyda* and *Albuquerque*; to send the former home, and to put the latter into full possession of the supreme power in those parts, the factions amongst the *Portuguese* having already produced great inconveniencies^c. On the twenty-third of *April*, the queen was delivered at *Evora* of the infant Don *Alonso* ^d. The war in *Africa* still continued, though the *Portuguese* writers are silent upon it; and the king of *Fez*, having raised another formidable army, disposed every thing for the siege of *Arzila* in such a manner, that the place had very probably been taken, if the count *de Borba* had not very wisely had recourse to those who were nearest him for their assistance. The town of *Xerez* sent him three hundred cross bow-men, arms, ammunition, and provision in plenty came from the city of *Seville*; and *Michael Soler*, admiral of *Arragon*, hastened thither with a small squadron of galleys, upon which the king of *Fez* finding the enterprize more difficult than he had conceived, retired and dismissed his forces^e. There was at this time a *French* corsair, whose name was *Mondragon*, who with a squadron of four sail of stout ships took, without much ceremony, whatever vessels came in his way, and amongst others made free with a *Portuguese* Indiaman, very richly laden. The king complained of this to *Lewis* the twelfth, then engaged in the league of *Cambray* against the *Venetians*, and not receiving such an answer as he expected, ordered *Duarte Pacheco*

A French pirate commits depredations on the Portuguese commerce, is pursued and taken.

^b DAMIAN DE GOES, GARIBAY, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS. ^c MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, LE CLEDE.

^d DAMIAN DE GOES, MARIANA, ZURITA, FERRERAS.

^e MAYERNE TURQUET, GARIBAY, ZURITA, FERRERAS.

with

A. D.
1509.

with six ships to go in search of the corsair, with whom he came up off *Cape Finisterre*. *Mondragon*, whose trade was fighting, behaved very gallantly; but *Pacheca* having sunk his own ship, and taken him prisoner, soon made him master of the other three, and returned to *Lisbon* in triumph, with the pirate in chains. Don *Emanuel*, however, having received full satisfaction, and having taken an oath of *Mondragon* to respect the *Portuguese* flag for the future, set him at liberty; but what reward *Pacheca* had for this gallant service, does not appear. This year *Luis de Camoens*, the prince of *Portuguese* poets, was born^f.

An inconfi-
derate jea-
lously bin-
ders the
catholic
king from
deposing
the mo-
narch of
Fez.

A. D.
1510.

THE affairs of *India* and *Africa* entirely occupied the mind of Don *Emanuel*, as indeed, considering the posture in which they were, they very well might, since *Albuquerque*, though a viceroy only of the *Portuguese* monarch, had a mind capable of as great projects as any of the ancient conquerors; and with a very inconsiderable force had extended the *Portuguese* empire from the streights of *Babelmandel* to those of *Molacca*. From hence it is certain that prodigious advantages accrued to *Portugal*; but it is no less certain, that it cost infinite pains to Don *Emanuel*, to supply annual squadrons and armies to maintain and preserve those conquests. On the other hand, in *Africa* the *Portuguese* had to deal with a very great monarch, or to speak with greater propriety, with the whole *Moorish* nation, who, if it had not been for the feuds and factions amongst themselves, might easily have dispossessed them of the places they held upon the coast, and have afterwards found them sufficient employment at home. As it was, the Christians, if they had not imitated the conduct of the *Moors*, might have done much more than they did; and yet what they did was very amazing, and was purely the effects of their troops being better disciplined and better commanded than those of the infidels. Hence in the space of two years, the attempts made to recover *Safia*, *Tangier*, and *Arzila*, though made with forces out of comparison greater than those of the *Portuguese*, all miscarried, and served only to raise the credit of the *Portuguese* governors^g. In the midst of this success, however, it was discovered that the king Don *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, and regent of *Castile*, had great designs upon that country; and, with a view to carry these into execution, was assembling a great fleet and army at *Malaga*. The design was indeed worthy of the vast talents of that able prince, who had formed a project for deposing the king of *Fez*, and making

^f DAMIAN DE GOES. ^g MAFFOEI, Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

the empire of *Morocco* tributary to him, which was discovered and defeated by the jealousy of the *Portuguese*. Their historians in general fall in with the prejudices of their monarch, and forgetting the succours so generously given by *Ferdinand*, and without which at this time they had not preserved a foot of land in *Africa*, exclaim against his perfidy in forming a scheme of conquest within the bounds assigned to *Portugal*, as if it would not have been infinitely more for their interest to have had for their neighbour a prince tributary to their king's father-in-law, than a potent monarch, whom, without assistance, they were unable to oppose. *Ferdinand* finding his project discovered, and Don *Emanuel* highly offended, yielded to the solicitations of his own nobility, who earnestly dissuaded him from this expedition^h. He then sent ambassadors into *Portugal*, to press Don *Emanuel* to enter into a league against the *French* king, which, however, he very wisely declined, as having no quarrel with that prince, and a great trade with his subjects; and for this reason he received the same year into his ports a squadron of *French* gallies, and supplied them with all necessariesⁱ. As from the beginning of his reign he had maintained a close correspondence with *England*, and as *Henry* the eighth and himself had married two sisters, that monarch thought fit to send him the ensigns of the garter, unto which he had been elected the year before^k: but it is not clear at what time he was installed.

A. D.
1511.

ON the last of *January* the queen Donna *Maria* was delivered at *Lisbon* of the infant Don *Henry*, who in process of time became a cardinal, and at length the last king of *Portugal* of this family. It was observed that at the time of his birth there fell a large and deep snow, a thing in *Portugal* very unusual. The king of *Congo*, upon whom the *Portuguese* had bestowed the name of Don *Alonso*, and who with great piety and industry had laboured the conversion of his subjects, sent over his son Don *Henry*, his brother Don *Emanuel*, and several of the young nobility of his kingdom, to be educated in *Portugal*; as also his cousin Don *Pedro*, a person more in years, and of riper judgment, who was to go in quality of his ambassador to *Rome*^m. In *Barbary* the war was still

The king of Congo sends his son, with other persons of rank, to be brought up at Lisbon.

A. D.
1512.

^h BERNALDEZ, MARIANA, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, PETRI MARTYR Epist. FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁱ BERNALDEZ, MARIANA, DAMIAN Y GOES, FERRERAS. ^k ANSTIS's Order of the Garter, vol. ii. p. 274. Lord HERBERT's History of Henry the Eighth, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^l DAMIAN DE GOES. ^m FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

car-

carried on with various success, and great effusion of blood on both sides, though at *Fex* and at *Lisbon* they meditated putting an end to this war of excursion, which served only to ruin the territories and destroy the subjects of either crownⁿ.

Duke of
Bragan-
ça's expe-
dition into
Africa,
and his
prudent
conduct
there.

As the preceding cold season had purged the air, and entirely freed *Portugal* from any epidemic disease, the king applied himself with great diligence to restore and repeople the cities, towns, and villages that were most decayed, which he did by granting large privileges to the inhabitants, and such as should become so. He sent Don *Pedro*, the ambassador of the king of *Congo*, to *Rome*, and with him the black prince, Don *Henry*, with a very handsome retinue, that the Pope might be sensible of the honour paid him by this *African* prince^o. But the great business of this year was the assembling a fleet and army, to be transported to *Barbary*: the former was very numerous; and the latter consisted of eighteen thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse: the whole commanded by Don *Diego*, duke of *Bragança*, who had orders to reduce the city of *Azamora*, and the country round it. He arrived before the place towards the end of *August*, reduced it in one day, and having put the affairs of the *Portuguese* in that part of the world into perfect order, returned again into *Portugal*, where he was very kindly received by the king, though many blamed him for not doing more; but the duke's sentiment was, that he who did what he was directed to do, always did enough. He was likewise persuaded that to march to *Morocco*, as he was advised, might not have been very practicable, considering how far the season was advanced; and as the only thing that could render it so, was the intestine troubles amongst the *Moors*, he suspected that such a march might serve to unite them; and as soon as this was done, he knew very well that himself and his army must be reduced to great extremity, and perhaps might find it impracticable to fight their way back^p.

A. D.
1513.

His splen-
did ambaf-
sy to Pope
Leo X.

IT appeared to Don *Emanuel* a fit thing to send the first-fruits of the *Indies* to the Pope. *Leo* the tenth was then seated on the pontifical throne, and being himself the most magnificent prince of his time, the *Portuguese* monarch was very careful in the contrivance of this embassy; so that it might not barely raise the admiration, but strike the whole city of *Rome* with astonishment. *Tristan da Cunha*, a man of great quality and vast fortune, was at the head of this legation,

ⁿ DAMIAN DE GOES. ^o FARIA Y SOUSA. ^p BERNALDEZ, ZURITA, DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIO, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

and

and with him were conjoined *Diego Pacheco*, and *Juan de Faria*, two eminent civilians, very eloquent, and perfectly versed in the arts of negotiation⁹. He followed in this respect the example of his predecessor Don *John*, who never failed to join a person of capacity and experience with the man of rank and parade; and the propriety of this caution never appeared more evidently than in the very case before us. For *Tristan da Cunha* conducted the pomp of his entry so handsomely, and the two lawyers managed their conferences, with such dexterity, that they brought a bull from the Pope, which left the clergy in a manner at the king's mercy; insomuch that they exclaimed his holiness had been surprized, and over-reached: but the king managed prudently, and instead of carrying things to extremities, demanded one hundred and fifty thousand cruzadoes in three years: to which the ecclesiastics submitted, and the king had the honour of obliging those whom he might have oppressed^r. The king shewed his magnanimity and justice in particular: the empire of *Abyssinia*, or *Ethiopia*, was then governed by a young prince whose name was *David*, under the tutelage of his grand-mother *Helena*, a princess of great wisdom and spirit; they sent one *Matthew*, an *Armenian*, with the title of ambassador, to *Albuquerque*, viceroy of the *Indies*, and desired that he would find him a passage in an honourable manner with their letters to the court of *Portugal*, which he did accordingly; but the captain with whom the ambassador failed having a pique at *Albuquerque*, treated him with the utmost contempt and ill usage, because he would not produce to him the letters from the emperor and empress, and laboured to represent him as an adventurer, and an impostor. But when *Matthew* arrived at *Lisbon* he not only produced *Albuquerque's* letters, but authentic credentials, which he kept concealed in a hollow cane; and the presents sent by their *Ethiopian* majesties, which consisted of some medals, and a crucifix in a gold box. On the whole, Don *Emanuel* was so well satisfied that he caused the captain and some other officers to be put in irons, and would have punished them more severely, if the ambassador, towards whom they had behaved so ill, had not interposed in their behalf^s. This year likewise the *Portuguese* arms were wonderfully successful in *Barbary*; where, with the assistance of the *Moors* who adhered to them, they made themselves masters of several considerable

A. D.
1514.

⁹ FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, PETRI MARTYR Angler. ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ^r Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, MARIANA. ^s FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

places.

places, routed armies of the kings of *Fez* and *Mequinez* in the field, and raised the glory of *Don Emanuel* there, as it was already raised every where else, much beyond that of his predecessors¹. So soon does a small kingdom come to make a figure when governed by a wise prince.

Some disappointments in Africa chagrin him very much.

THE wealth that flowed in annually not only from the *Indies*, but from the commerce which their intercourse with the *Indies* brought to the port of *Lisbon*, began to change the condition of *Don Emanuel's* subjects of all ranks, and to introduce gradually all the vices derived from opulence ill applied. Those who had been long out of the kingdom, and by mere dint of military discipline cut out for themselves honours and fortunes with their swords, were not indeed infected with idleness and luxury; but a spirit of arrogance and rapine had spread amongst them to a very high degree. Some advantage they had gained over the *Moors* upon the coast *Ataida*; and *Souza* formed a project of taking *Morocco*, a place of great extent, well fortified, and with a better garrison than they had an army. The consequence of this expedition might have been easily foreseen: they were repulsed with loss, and retired, not without some difficulty. Their historians indeed represent the *Moors* as trembling in the pursuit of a flying enemy, which is plainly the language of partiality². This was not the only abortive enterprize even on that side; for the king being informed, that it would be of great consequence to have a strong fortress at the mouth of the river *Mamora*, equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, laden with all the materials for erecting such a fortification, with several thousand workmen, and a good escort, under the command of *Don Pedro Norogno*. The king of *Fez*, apprehending the mischiefs that must attend such a new establishment, marched with a numerous army to oppose them; but that it consisted of fourscore thousand men, as the most moderate of the *Portuguese* writers assert, is not very probable. However, as the best part of *Don Pedro's* forces consisted of volunteers, who quitted the pleasures of *Lisbon*, and other great cities, to make a military tour, they were quickly tired of the hardships they underwent, and excessively harrassed by the continual attacks of the infidels; so that at length they were disposed to mutiny: of which the king having an account, sent *Don Pedro* orders to abandon the half-built fortress, and to make the best retreat he could; which the *Portuguese* authors own was attended with a considerable loss of men, and of credit, as well as the entire disappointment of

¹ DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, FERRERAS.
LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS.

² OSORIUS,

the project, which mortified the king extremely^w; for he was exceedingly tender in these points, and bore such reverses but indifferently.

YET even this was not the most sensible mortification of the year: the enemies of the famous *Albuquerque*, after long endeavouring, at length compleated his disgrace. They insinuated, that the title of *Great*, which his actions had acquired, was not to be endured in a subject: they magnified the reverence paid him by the most potent monarchs of the East: they hinted, that the fame of *Albuquerque* already surpassed that of *Emanuel*: they gave the king to understand, that authority might be easily brought to follow fame. The consequence was, that he appointed him a successor in a manner that was far enough from being agreeable; and this broke the heart of a hero, whom, without injury to the Greek conqueror, the *Portuguese* had compared to *Alexander*. In his last moments he recommended his natural son to his master, who by his kindness and gratitude towards him, confessed that he made some attonement at the same time for his weakness. The monarchs of the East, from a true spirit of greatness, did honour to the memory of *Albuquerque* by public mourning, and taught his countrymen to know what a victim had been offered to envy^x. On the seventh of *September* the king's family was increased by the birth of the infant Don *Duarte*; and the queen endeared herself to the people by distributing large sums to the poor upon this occasion^y.

Is deceived into disgracing the famous Albuquerque, who thereupon broke his heart.

A. D.
1515.

By the death of his catholic majesty Don *Ferdinand*, the court of *Portugal* was thrown into mourning. The king immediately sent an ambassador into *Castile*, to compliment the queen, Donna *Germana*, and to console her for the loss of her husband; which minister was also directed to confer with cardinal *Ximenes*, of whose friendship the king had received many proofs^z. The king sent likewise ambassadors into *Flanders* and *Germany*, to compliment the archduke *Charles*, and to offer him his daughter Donna *Isabella*; and to pay the like respects to his grand-father the emperor *Maximilian*, with whose daughter, the princess *Leonora* he proposed a match for

So much displeased with the disappointments in Africa, as to think of abandoning it.

^w FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES.

^x OSORIUS.

^y FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^z BERNALDEZ, CARVAJAL, PETRI MARTYR Epist. ZURITA Amal. Arragon, ABARCA, ALVARUS GOMESIIUS, de rebus gestis Francisci Ximenis, EUGENIO DE ROBLEZ, PEDRO DE QUINTANILLA, FERRERAS, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

the

the prince of *Portugal*, Don *John*^a. In *Africa* the war still continued : the *Moors* formed a very right judgment of their affairs, which induced the kings of *Fez* and *Mequinez* to assemble great armies, and having joined them, to attempt the conquest of *Azila*. *Coutigno*, son to the count of *Borba*, the first *Portuguese* governor of that city and fortress, defended it very bravely, till, by dispatching expresses on every side, he procured such reinforcements as rendered the taking the place impracticable : upon which the *Moors* raised the siege. The alarm this gave in *Portugal*, and the necessity there was of accepting the assistance of the *Castilians*, displeased Don *Emanuel* ; who was become sick of seeing all the treasures of the *Indies* buried in this war of *Africa*, from whence there resulted nothing. His disgust was increased by the revolt of a great part of the *Moor* who had submitted to him ; against whom he sent *Alvaro Ataida*, a very brave man, who, with the far greater part of his forces, was cut to pieces in this expedition. This soured the king to such a degree, that he was on the point of forming a resolution of abandoning the affairs of *Barbary* entirely ; but it happened that *Jehabentaf*, the most considerable of the *Moors* that had embraced the *Portuguese* interest, was then at *Lisbon*. He went to the king, and told him, that it was both cheaper, and more advantageous to him, to manage a war on the other side of the sea than in his own dominions ; that without doubt his countrymen had been guilty of some perfidy ; but that it was also possible the *Portuguese* had been guilty of oppression : that his majesty had nothing to do but to appoint another general, with whom he would go over, and restore things to a perfect state of quiet^b. The king thereupon named *Pedro Mascarenbas*, with whom went the *Moor*, who performed punctually, and with great honour, all that he had promised. The great progress of the *Portuguese* arms, more especially under the direction of *Albuquerque*, had taught the *Persians* to court the friendship of Don *Emanuel* ; who, by the advice of that great and wise man, had sent an ambassador thither ; and this year the shah sent a minister into *Portugal*, to signify how much he esteemed the friendship of Don *Emanuel*, and how willing he was to enter into the closest engagements against the *Turks*, whom they regarded as their common enemy^c. This would have been at any time pleas-

^a PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V. VERA Y FIGUEROA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS. ^b DAMIAN DE GOES. OSORIO, MARMOL, FERRERAS. ^c FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIO, LA NEUFVILLE.

ing to Don Emanuel; but was particularly so at this juncture, on account of the prodigious force with which the sultan of *Egypt* was preparing to attack the *Portuguese* settlements in the *Indies* by land and sea, of which the king had received notice from the knights of *Rhodes*; as also that the *Mamaluks* fleet and army was well supplied with *Italian* gunners and engineers. It was therefore of very great consequence to hinder the shah from entering into this confederacy, and of still greater to engage him in an alliance from whence many advantages might result. Add to all this, that the very appearance of the *Persian* ambassador at *Lisbon* did not a little raise the credit of Don Emanuel throughout all *Europe*. On the seventh of *September* the queen *Donna Maria* was delivered of the infant Don *Antonia*; but with such difficulty that she fell into a weak and languishing condition, which baffled the art of her physicians; and the child also proved weak and sickly, and did not long survive^d.

Donna Maria queen of *Portugal*, having lingered to the seventh of *March*, with an incurable imposthume in the bowels, deceased, to the great grief not only of the king, and of her family, but of the people of *Portugal* in general; who admired her virtues, and who adored her humility^e. The king was so much afflicted that for some days he gave no audiences. At length the urgency of affairs requiring it, he returned to the management of business, and found in application that ease which he had sought in vain from a retreat. Human policy can never see far, and is sometimes very short-sighted. The empire which had been the object of Don Emanuel's jealousy but a year before, now alarmed him by its fall. A revolution of this kind with respect to a prince, would not have been without example; but in regard to a nation it was very extraordinary. *Selim*, emperor of the *Turks*, in one battle broke the power, and in a short time after utterly subverted the government of the *Mamaluks*; and thereby added the famous and fertile kingdom of *Egypt* to the rest of his dominions. This astonished the rest of the princes of *Europe*; but it alarmed Don Emanuel. He saw the consequences, and remonstrated to Pope *Leo* the tenth how much it was his duty to compose all quarrels in Christendom, in order to consider of the most effectual methods for reducing the power of the infidels. The Pope accepted his advice kindly; and made some efforts in the pursuit of it; but other kings were not so

*Ended-
ours 10.*

*form a confederacy
against the
Turks,
but without
effect.*

^d LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

easily awakened: they just opened their eyes to look about them, and then sunk into their lethargy. Don *Emanuel*, who was in earnest, and who had actually begun to prepare both a fleet and an army, when he saw it could not be used against the *Turks*, sent it under the command of Don *Diego Lopez de Siqueira*, to act against the *Moors* in *Barbary*. His design was to take the city of *Targa*, which might have been very useful as a place of arms, in carrying on the war against the king of *Fez*; but Don *Diego* differing with the governor of *Ceuta*, who was to have assisted him, the enterprize came to nothing, and *Siqueira* soon after returned to *Portugal*. Things wore a better aspect in the *Indies*, where this year they opened a passage to *China* from *Malacca*, and gained some advantages over the king of *Bantam*, in the isle of *Java*; but their principal settlement of *Goa* had been in great danger, and the vices and follies of those who succeeded him, had almost overturned the magnificent fabric raised by the virtues of the great *Albuquerque*.

Has
thoughts of
abdicating
in favour
of the
prince, but
wisely al-
ters his
mind.

THE war in *Barbary* was still carried on with little success, and with little hopes. Expedition after expedition, in which sometimes the *Portuguese* were victorious, and sometimes they met with the worst, and these alternatives sometimes happened more than once in the same campaign. Don *Emanuel* having carefully enquired into the reason of this, discovered the cause of it so plainly, that it left him no room to doubt that, humanly speaking, it could never be otherwise. Intestine divisions amongst the *Moors* gave both subjects and success to the *Portuguese*; and on the other hand, envy and jealousy amongst the *Portuguese* governors afforded the *Moors* in their turn opportunities to triumph. The king, after mature deliberation, having nothing but the glory of his crown, and the good of his subjects at heart, inclined to abdicate the throne of *Portugal* in favour of his son, reserving only *Algarve* to himself, with the revenues of the mastership of one of the religious orders, and from thence to pass over into *Africa* with a complete army, concluding that his presence would put an end to all disputes, and that the remainder of his life could not be better employed than in making a thorough conquest of what some have stiled the *African Algarve*; in consequence of which some of the kings of *Portugal* have stiled themselves monarchs of the *Algarves*, in the plural number. But while the king meditated this great and disinterested design, some

MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIO, DAMIAN DE GOES, LE-
QUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, MA-
RIANA, FERRERAS.

whispers

whispers of it flew about, which were quickly attended with consequences that obliged him to change his sentiments. For many of the nobility began to worship the rising sun; and which was still worse, laboured to give him ill impressions of his father, whose magnificence was now treated as dissipation; whose easiness of access was stiled mean condescension; and whose great attention to trade was represented as stooping much below his dignity. But above all, his complacency in some instances to the clergy, and to the people in abolishing taxes that were thought too hard, were insolently and foolishly called betraying the prerogative; for the king had very wisely procured all the formalities of law in support of these impositions, and very prudently took them away when the people had recourse to his prerogative for their relief. The prince had parts and probity, but he was very young; and stories of absolute power are apt to tickle the ears of young men^s. Don *Emanuel* quickly saw this, and immediately resolved not to deliver himself up to distress, or his subjects to oppression; but he kept this resolution as a secret of state. He saw that to support himself upon the throne, it was become necessary to share it with a princess equal to him in birth; and therefore he directed Don *Alvaro de Costa*, whom he sent to compliment Don *Carlos* on his arrival in *Castile*, to negotiate for him a match with the infanta Donna *Leonora* his sister, which was concluded with great privacy: and the new queen being conducted into *Portugal* by the duke of *Alba*, the king was married to her at *Crato*, on the twenty-fourth of *November*, and went from thence to *Almerin*: the plague then raging at *Lisbon*^d. There on the feast of St. *Andrew* he was with great solemnity invested with the order of the Golden Fleece^l, as a mark of his brother-in-law's esteem; and there certainly never was a marriage of this kind more convenient at the time it was made for the interest of both kingdoms, or that had better effects for the time it lasted.

A. D.
1518.

AFFAIRS in the *Indies* not going entirely to the king's satisfaction, he resolved to send thither *George Albuquerque*, with a fleet of sixteen sail, and as the solemnity of his marriage, and the supplies sent to *Barbary*, had exhausted his treasure, he imposed a tax upon corn, assigning the necessity he was in, and the inexpediency of holding an assembly of the states

*His conduct
summate
policy in
the management
of affairs,*^s FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, LE CLEDE.^d PRUDÊNCIO DE SANDOVAL ARGENSOLA, PETRI MARTYR ANGLER Epist. OSORIUS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, DAMIAN DE GOES, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.^l FARIA Y SOUSA, SANDOVAL, LE CLEDE.

so as never to forfeit the love of his people.

while the country was infected as the motives, with which the better part of his subjects were satisfied. But the principal magistrate of *Evora*, a man no way considerable for birth or fortune, obstinately opposed it: not, as he said, for want of duty to the king, or because he thought his reasons ill founded, but to prevent the consequence of such a precedent. The king sent for him, tried the force of expostulation and promises: when these proved ineffectual, he confined him in his own house; but after a few days he sent for him, commended him, and abolished the tax^k. There had been great disputes with the crown of *Castile* about the limits of their discoveries, which had been partly settled by treaties, and partly by bulls from *Rome*, as we have shewn elsewhere, and upon which it would be improper, as well as tedious, to dwell here. But notwithstanding this there had been some years before several attempts made by the subjects of *Castile* to settle in the *Brazils*; of which complaint being made, it was immediately corrected by cardinal *Ximenes*; for that great statesman held good faith to be the first maxim in sound policy^l. At this time *Ferdinand Magellan*, and *Ruy Falero*, quitted the service of *Portugal*, and went to *Don Carlos*, to whom they offered the discovery of a new passage to the *Molucca* islands, which they positively asserted lay without the bounds granted to *Don Emanuel*, and consequently within those assigned to the crown of *Castile*. The king's ambassador, *Alvares de Costa*, had notice of this, and had for a time so much interest as to prevent the acceptance of this proposition; but at length the promises of *Magellan* wrought so effectually on the avarice of the ministers, who had an appetite to wealth beyond all things, that a small squadron was ordered for this service, on board of which *Magellan* sailed from *Seville* in the beginning of *August*, having rejected all the offers made him by *da Costa* to return to *Portugal*, as having the gratification of his resentment in view, which resentment rose from *Don Emanuel's* refusing to raise his salary in the *Indies* nine shillings a month. So dangerous it is to quarrel for little things with men of great parts^m. The nobility, who had declared themselves so early, found themselves exposed to the king's indignation, without either shelter or defence; for on the one side the confusions in *Castile* left them no place of retreat; and on the other the government, civil and military, was so exact, that all were steady to the king, who were in his service, because they knew that the best part of the emoluments they drew from thence, were

A. D.
1519.

^k OSORIOUS.

^m DAMIAN DE GOES.

^l SANDOVAL, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

not national establishments, but flowed purely from his bounty. In regard to the former, he was close and reserved, because the salaries once stated and settled, in a certain way, became a charge upon the crown, and were paid out of the ordinary revenues; but easy and beneficent in respect to the other, as being disbursed by himself out of certain privileges, which he had reserved in the commerce to the *Indies*. He governed, therefore, with an authority, the plenitude of which was so much the greater, as it was not either seen or felt; the king's good fortune being so extraordinary, that his own and his subjects' affairs were continually improving; and as this proceeded apparently from the measures of his government, the far greater part of those who lived under it were thoroughly, and with good reason, persuaded that it was incomparably wise and justⁿ. In *Africa* only affairs went not entirely to the mind of *Emanuel*; and yet, even in *Africa*, things began to grow better than they did. The *Portuguese* cavalry equalled the *Moors* in expedition, and excelled them in discipline; and their infantry were always incomparably better. Their government also was so much better and milder than the *Moors*, that the more industrious part of that nation willingly accepted of their protection; and those who growing rich under it, had out of wantonness revolted, were so humbled by repeated defeats, that their very chieftains, who had excited them to this act of ambition, were constrained out of regard to their own safety to persuade them to submission, to charge themselves with the negotiation and treaty, and to give hostages out of their own families for the due observance of it; so that on the whole, things had a fairer prospect on this side, than they had hitherto worn from the commencement of this reign^o.

By this time the harmony of the royal family was entirely restored; for Don *Lewis de Silveira*, who was in great credit with the prince, and who had been the principal agent of the young nobility; in filling his head with false maxims, being banished, Don *Juan* found it expedient to conform to his father's will, and being treated with great kindness by the new queen, and perceiving that after a short coldness his father was disposed to forget what was passed, he altered his conduct entirely, and instead of affecting the government, appeared desirous of learning from the king what it was to govern. On the eighteenth of *February* the queen was deli-

His generous behaviour to Charles V.

ⁿ LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.
FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MAY-
ERNE TURQUET.

^o DAMIAN DE GOES,

vered of a prince, whom, in honour of her brother, now become emperor, she, with the king's consent, caused to be baptized by the name of *Carlos*, but he died in the succeeding year^p. The rebellion of the commons in *Castile* was now at its height; and as some persons of quality, and many of the clergy, had embarked on the side of the people, they judged it expedient to send the dean of *Avila* to *Lisbon*, with an offer of the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon* to Don *Emanuel*. The king gave him several audiences, received his propositions favourably, and heard all he had to say. He then told him, that he had managed a bad cause in the best manner: that he believed it might be in the power of his party to put many great cities and strong places into his hands, and to enable him to raise a numerous army; but he assured him that this was no temptation to injure a neighbouring prince absent, and his brother-in-law: that these very propositions shewed they were rebels, and that they had taken arms, not to protect their own, but to overturn their sovereign's rights. However, as he apprehended they might be driven by necessity beyond what they originally intended, he was willing to interpose his good offices, to procure for them what they had any title to demand; and that if any of their chiefs would lay down their arms, and retire into his dominions, he would grant them his protection till he could procure them a pardon. This answer, though it was not very acceptable, was in appearance well received by the malcontents^q. Cardinal *Adrian*, and the lords of the king's party, made their applications to Don *Emanuel*, who granted them ammunition, artillery, provisions, and a corps of auxiliary troops, for suppressing the rebellion, advising them not to lessen the king's authority by any ill-judged treaty, nor to preclude his mercy by any violent proceedings against their fellow-subjects. This was very kindly taken by the emperor *Charles*, notwithstanding the king of *Portugal* kept his word to the malcontents, receiving many of them, and by his example his son did the same, even *Maria de Padilla*, who had been the very soul of the revolt, but without affording them any countenance or assistance^r.

*Begins to
listen to the
clergy.*

ON the return of the emperor *Charles* into *Spain*, Don *Emanuel* sent a minister to compliment him upon his new dignity, and to inform him of his design to build a new fortress in *Africa*, that he might not take umbrage at it. The

P OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES, FARIA Y SOUSA. q SANDORAL, PETRI MARTYR ANGLER Epist. LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS. r GEDDES's Miscellaneous Tracts, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET,

emperor

emperor assured him, that he entirely approved his project, and that if it was any way inconvenient for him to carry it into execution, he would do it himself with his leave¹. Don Emanuel upon this sent a Squadron of eight sail to examine the spot where it was intended his fort should be, and received as favourable a report as he could desire; notwithstanding which some unforeseen accidents intervening, there was nothing more done in this affair. The truth is, the clergy about this time had gained a great ascendancy over the king, and by drawing false consequences from true divinity, had perplexed him extremely. They told him that the Pope's bulls could only exempt him from papal censures; but that revenues once consecrated to sacred uses could not lawfully be applied to any other; and this they assured him was the reason that all his attempts in *Africa* had hitherto proved unsuccessful, the money levied upon the clergy having been chiefly employed in that service; and this it was that occasioned some stop in the dispositions he intended to have made². In the mean time, *Mohammed* king of *Fez*, who saw a great part of his territories taken from him, and the power of the Christians daily increasing, was continually in the field, and no less active in his intrigues. Sometimes regaining the *Moorish* tribes, who had revolted to the *Portuguese*; and at others, rendering those suspicious in the eyes of their new friends, whom he could not debauch³. This very year there happened several instances of this sort; but upon the whole there was nothing done of any great importance to either party, since the *Moors* were not able to recover any of their fortresses out of the hands of the Christians: and on the other hand, the *Portuguese* had much ado to maintain the ground they had gained, and to recover several little *Moorish* clans who had revolted from them in the spring. But the greatest mischief they met with, was the death of *Jehabentafus*, the most able and the most faithful *Moor*, who had embraced their interest. The king of *Fez*, notwithstanding their long acquaintance and friendship, had found means to create a jealousy of him in Don *Nugno de Mascarenhas*; which the *Moor* no sooner perceived than he acquainted Don Emanuel with it, and desired that the strictest enquiry might be made into his conduct; but the king, who was grown extremely cautious since the affair of *Albuquerque*, transmitted his letter to *Mascarenhas*, and ordered him not to give so worthy a man any offence. As this justified the governor in trusting him, he made no

¹ SANDOVAL, FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES.
RIUS, FARIA Y SOUSA.

² OSORIO.
³ MARMOL GOES.

scruple of doing it, and *Jehabentafuf*, either by force or persuasion, brought back all but one tribe of the revolted *Moor*. At length a conference was demanded by their chiefs; to which he went with three of his officers, and was by them most perfidiously murdered as he sat at table, to the great sorrow and irreparable misfortune of the *Portuguese*.*

His project of penetrating thro' Congo into Ethiopia. THE king flattered himself this year with having found out the means of gaining some degree of certainty, in respect to the only part of his oriental discoveries, which even till this time was not thoroughly understood. There was one captain *Quadrás*, who being shipwrecked in the *Arabian* gulph, fell into the hands of the natives, and having suffered a long and severe imprisonment, acquired their language in such a degree of perfection, that by concealing his country, and pretending great zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion, he passed through *Arabia* into *Persia*, and so to *Ormus*, where resuming the habit and the manners of a Christian, he was sent home with great recommendations of his knowledge, capacity, and integrity. With this gentleman the king had many conversations, and having learned from him many particulars relating to *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, which he never knew before, he conceived that he was a very fit person to execute a scheme that had long occupied his mind, of discovering a passage by land from the kingdom of *Congo* into the empire of *Abyssinia*. His predecessor, king *John* arrived at a certainty with respect to a passage to the *Indies*, by employing men of learning to travel, as well as men of courage to discover by sea; and Don *Emanuel* had formed to himself great hopes of the advantages that might be derived by opening a correspondence between two Christian potentates, with whom he was in alliance, and who had ports on both sides of *Africa*. What the nature of his system was is very uncertain, to what height it might have been carried we are likewise ignorant; but the learned bishop of *Silves* has very truly observed, that it was very judicious, and manifested his perfect skill in the art of making, managing, and completing discoveries. According to his scheme, whatever it was, captain *Quadrás* was dispatched to *Congo*, where he safely arrived, and presented letters from Don *Emanuel* to the king of that country, desiring he would give him proper instructions, and the necessary passports for his journey into *Ethiopia*. The monarch of *Congo* received him kindly, and treated him respectfully; but the *Portuguese*, in his court, and about his person, conceiving that *Quadrás*

* FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, OSORIUS, MARIANA, FERRERAS, DAMIAN DE GÖES.

might

might acquire great riches by establishing such a correspondence, became envious of him to such a degree, that they insinuated to the king these letters were either forged or obtained from Don *Emanuel* by surprize, and that he ought to do nothing in an affair of so great consequence, without obtaining from that prince some more particular and authentic explanation of his intention. Captain *Quadros*, after waiting some, was obliged to return to *Lisbon*, where finding the king dead and his hopes blasted, it made such an impression on his mind, that he shut himself up in a convent, where he spent the remainder of his days in pious meditations^x.

As the fame of Don *Emanuel*'s greatness, magnificence, and other royal virtues was diffused throughout *Europe*, he had always many ambassadors at his court; and amongst these there was one from *Charles* duke of *Savoy*, a prince, who, during the war in *Italy*, had rendered himself more considered and more respected, than could have been well imagined from the size of his dominions. The true business of this ambassador was to negociate a marriage for his master, with the infanta *Donna Beatrix*, the king's second daughter. Don *Emanuel* listened at first to the proposition; but he drew the negociation into some length, sent ministers of his own into *Piedmont*, and at length, in the spring of this year, consented to the duke's desire, and concluded a marriage. His circumspection in this affair was not so much the effect of policy, as of paternal affection. He was desirous his daughter should be as happy in her own dominions as in his; he ordered his ministers, therefore, to study the temper of the duke; to give him an exact account of the disposition of his court, of his family, and manner of living; and having received satisfaction in these points, he gave the infanta one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and a great many fine jewels. While every thing was preparing for this wedding, the queen was delivered at *Lisbon*, on the eighteenth of *June*, of the infanta *Donna Maria*^y. As the king was naturally magnificent, so he never shewed it more than in the squadron appointed to carry the infanta to her husband's dominions. It consisted of eighteen sail of the largest ships that had been seen in *Portugal*. She was attended by many of the nobility of the first quality; and *Martin Da Costa*, archbishop of *Lisbon*, accompanied her in a new ship, built and equipped at his own expence, and which was not at all inferior to any in the fleet. She sailed from the river of *Lisbon* on the ninth of *August*^z, and arrived

Marriage of the infanta Donna Beatrix, to Charles duke of Savoy.

^x OSORIUS. ^y DAMIAN DE GOES, LE CLEDE, FER-
RERAS. ^z FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE,
MARIANA, OSORIUS, MEYERNE TURQUET.

towards

towards the end of *September* in the port of *Villa-Franca*, in the county of *Nice*, where she was received by the duke and his court^a. In their return, the fleet touched at *Ceuta*, where the archbishop of *Lisbon* breathed his last. About this time the *Venetians* sent a solemn ambassy to Don *Emanuel*, to desire of him several favours; but the principal design of it was to make a contract for all the spices that came from the *East-Indies*, that they might manage that trade throughout all *Europe*, as they had formerly done. The king received these ministers very politely, treated them kindly, and granted them all their other requests; but declined entering into the contract for spices, as conceiving it unreasonable that they should reap the profit of the risks and dangers to which his subjects were exposed^b.

*Dreadful
famine in
Barbary.*

SOME military expeditions there were this year in *Barbary*, but of no great consequence; which was chiefly owing to a grievous famine, occasioned by a great drought in the spring. This oppressed the *Moors* to such a degree, that they pretended to be generally inclined to embrace the Christian religion, and offered to become slaves to those who would instruct them. Don *Emanuel's* piety was so great, that he would willingly have accepted this proposition, and have contributed all in his power towards their subsistence; but his subjects absolutely refused to receive them, from an apprehension that it was rather bread than instruction they sought; and that it might be extremely dangerous to admit such numbers, as upon the least encouragement would have taken this method to prevent starving. Besides, the harvest had been but very indifferent in *Portugal*; and they were afraid of heightening that scarcity they already felt, into the same evil from which these poor wretches sought to be delivered. However, from his own tenderness of heart, the king gave them great supplies, and neglected nothing that might make their conversion numerous and sincere^c. Their corsairs being at this juncture very troublesome, and there being a strong suspicion that the ships of other nations dealt in the same trade of piracy, and sold their prizes to the *Moors*, the king caused a strong squadron to be fitted out, which he sent to cruise in the streight of *Gibraltar*, and upon the coast of *Africa*, with strict orders to take the vessels of all nations by whom any prizes had been made from his subjects; which had so good an effect, that in the space of a few months those seas were

^a DAMIAN DE GOES, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.
RIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES.

^b OSO-
^c LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF-
VILLE, LE CLEDE.

entirely

entirely clear. He also gave instructions for visiting and repairing the fortifications of all the places he possessed in that country, paid the arrears due to the garrisons, and caused the magazines to be filled, that they might be in a better condition to resist the efforts of their enemies, and to protect such of the *Moors* as continued to acknowledge him for their sovereign. It may be he had also greater designs in his intention, which were prevented from disclosing themselves by his unexpected death ^d.

THE temper, regularity, and excellent constitution of Don Emanuel, seemed to promise a florid old age; the rather because as yet he was unattacked by infirmities, and so constant and exact in his diet and exercise, that his subjects flattered themselves he had still many years to reign. However, in the beginning of the winter an epidemic fever prevailed in *Lisbon*, which either through the constitution of the air, or the unskilful management of the physicians, commonly terminated in a lethargy, which proved mortal. The king was seized with this fever in the beginning of *September*, and died of it upon the thirteenth. He was assisted in his last moments by some of the most eminent persons amongst the clergy, and died with all possible marks of piety and firmness. Such was the end of Don Emanuel, in the fifty-third year of his life, and in the twenty-seventh of his reign ^e. He directed that his corpse should be interred in the royal monastery of *Bethlehem*, which he intended should become the burying-places of the princes of his line ^f. He was universally lamented by his subjects, and with great reason. He completed what his predecessors had begun: reduced the government of *Portugal* into a regular system, which moved uniformly, and without interruption, as the great wheel of the finances turned steadily, and without interruption. He kept war and discord at a distance: he communicated by his own example a placid and chearful disposition to his subjects; and might justly boast, that he had banished poverty and sorrow out of his dominions. But what contributed above all to endear him to all ranks and ages was the indefatigable pains he took to procure them ease and satisfaction, and the sincere joy he expressed in contemplating the success with which his endeavours were attended. In a word, from his accession to his demise he was

Unexpected
death of
Don Emanuel.

^d MARMOL, OSORIUS, DAMAIN DE GOES. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. VASCONCELLOS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. ii. p. 606. LE CLEDE, DAMIAN DE GOES, FERRERAS, MARIA-NA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA.

always,

always, and in all instances, the parent of his people ; just, without severity ; affable, without affectation ; compassionate, without weakness ; and pious, without any tincture of hypocrisy (D).

(D) Don *Emanuel* was in point of stature rather above the ordinary size, but somewhat lean ; his forehead high ; his hair of a dark brown ; his eyes blue, and remarkably soft and pleasant. His arms, like those of the *Persian* emperor *Darius*, so long that when he stood upright his fingers reached below his knees. He performed all his exercises gracefully, and with much agility. He was very knowing in astronomy, geography, and navigation ; and tho' he seemed to spend a great deal of time in diversion, yet while he appeared to be only occupied about these, he did a great deal of business. It was a maxim of his, that to hear truth and to obtain the best advice, the surest way was to ask and to receive answers on the sudden. He did not affect to be thought a great politician, and perhaps this shewed that he was so. The troubles that his predecessors met with, came either from *Rome* or from *Castile*. He met with no vexation from either quarter. The presents he received from *India*, when they had been sufficiently flared at in *Lisbon*, he sent to *Rome*, accompanied with more solid presents. Methods by which he obtained bulls for reforming and taxing his clergy, very little to their satisfaction, but which, however kept them humble and quiet. In regard to *Castile*, he was always courted by its sovereigns, and yet put no great

confidence in their friendship, which, however, he retained during his whole reign, partly from the ties of alliance, and partly from the respect due to his great power. In point of justice, he was not either remiss or inexorable. He was told one night, when he was on the point of going to bed, that a lady pressed earnestly for audience ; upon which he dressed himself, and ordered her to be admitted. " If my husband," " sir, said she at her first entrance into the room, had caught me in the act of adultery with any man, would you not have pardoned him if he had killed me ? " " I certainly should, madam, returned the king." " Then I, replied the lady, claim the same indulgence. I found my husband at his country-house in the arms of my slave, and in the heat of my resentment I dispatched them both with the single stroke of a dagger." " So far as in me lies, added the king, your offence shall be remitted." He kept his word, and sent her a pardon the next day. There was no court in *Europe* more gallant or more polite than his, without being at all dissolute, for in this he was extremely correct, laying it down as a rule of great consequence, that where women were conspicuous for their virtue, men would be always distinguished by a true spirit of honour.

Hx

He was justly stiled *the Fortunate* ; but his good fortune was *His cha-*
the effects of the divine blessing on his great wisdom, and the *rather,*
good ends to which it was directed. He promoted and employed the worthiest men his country produced : the intrepidity of *Vasco de Gama*, the steady courage of *Duarte Pacheco*, the noble spirit of *Francisco Almeyda*, the vast abilities of the incomparable *Albuquerque*, were all called forth to action by his discernment. He saw the discovery, and he saw the empire of the *Indies* carried to the greatest height : he reaped the fruits of that spirit of commerce and navigation the expectation of which only had been the delight of his predecessor. He did much, though he did not all he proposed in *Africa*. He made that country a nursery for officers and soldiers : he broke the spirit of the *Moors*, by inflicting on them the miseries that *Portugal* and *Spain* had felt from them in former ages. He raised the naval power of his kingdom not only beyond what it was, and beyond expectation ; but even to a degree that, till it was visible, had been held impossible. He was respected, and formidable to his neighbours, without injuring them. His friendship was courted as an honour, and not from a principle of fear. His magnificence carried utility with it ; and the splendor of his buildings and establishments of every kind, bore at once the marks of his magnanimity and generosity. Amongst these were reckoned thirteen monasteries in *Portugal*, besides those in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*. Eight great churches, the hospital of *Lisbon*, five palaces, upwards of twenty fortresses, exclusive of lesser castles, and several bridges, moles, fountains, and other public works were begun and finished by him. He dedicated the hundredth penny of all his revenues to pious uses : he gave proper appointments to one hundred knights who served in *Africa* ; and he made this service the road to preferment. He created a king at arms ; and as he had reduced the laws, so he likewise brought the system of nobility into perfect order. He caused *Edward Galvam* and *Roderic de Pina* to reduce the ancient chronicles into some tolerable method. He loved, and encouraged the sciences chiefly by shewing a singular respect for those who excelled in them. He was a great reformer of his clergy ; not by intruding into ecclesiastical affairs, or making strict regulations, but by paying a just deference to learning and merit, and raising none who were defective in either. He brought this so far, that the great officers of state, and the great prelates were equally the ornaments of his court ; and he would often say, that the prosperity of a state depended on paying an equal regard to nobility of blood, and nobility of mind. As an instance of this he wore
mourning

mourning for the great officers who died in his service, and kept his chamber three days upon the death of the best pilot in his dominions. One of his courtiers told him that would not recal him. "It is true, said *Emanuel*, and it is because I know " his loss is irreparable that I mourn." He had faults, but they were not considerable either in their nature, or in their number ; and which is more, they were the excesses of his virtue. His own candour made him think all men candid ; by this he was sometimes deceived, but he quickly perceived it, owned it, bewailed it, and attoned for 'it. He had a familiarity which some of his courtiers thought incompatible with his rank. As for instance, he was pleased in hearing the children examined at church, and frequently asked them questions himself. It may be he had more religion and less pride, than those who censured him. He loved music and dancing, and would often pass the whole night at a ball ; but it was privately, and in his own family. He had set hours for business, which he never neglected ; but this was for business that could be done at those hours : when any thing happened unexpectedly, he dispatched it where-ever he was, or however engaged. He loved rural sports, and manly exercises, and he spent much time in them ; but it was not thrown away. He would sometimes say to one minister, sometimes to another, " Come, we are alone, have you any " thing to say." When they came in from hunting, or from tennis, when he found proper persons about him, he would tell them, " Now we are fatigued with play, let us " divert ourselves a little with business." These appeared great things to some, and trifles to others. The reader will think of them as he pleases.

S E C T. VI.

The Reigns of John III. Sebastian, and Henry.

*Accession
of king
John III.*

AT the time of his father's demise *John* prince of *Portugal* was in the twentieth year of his age. By the advice of his council he retarded his proclamation to the sixth day after his father's death ; whereas till that time it had been always on the third. But when it was performed, it was with very great magnificence ; almost all the nobility and prelates of the kingdom assisting, and all the king's brethren being

§ DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIO Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

present.

present. The cardinal *Alonso* administered the oath to the king, and the infant Don *Lewis*, duke of *Beja*, was the first nobleman who did homage^a. He recalled immediately Don *Lewis Silveira*, whom his father had banished, and received him again into his favour, but in conjunction with Don *Antonio de Ataida*, who was a man of a very different character. Don *Lewis* had wit, learning, and spirit; was a very accomplished nobleman, and in all respects an ornament to the court. Don *Antonio*, with all the good breeding of a courtier, and with the abilities of a great statesman, had clean hands, and an upright heart. They shared the confidence of the king for a time; but as he grew older he bestowed it entirely on Don *Antonio*^b. One of his first acts of government was to send Don *Juan Silveira* to the court of *France*, to expostulate roundly about the depredations committed by some ships that bore the *French* flag, and the attempts made to interfere with his colonies and conquests by others. He sent likewise an ambassador to compliment cardinal *Adrian* upon his advancement to the papacy, to offer him a squadron to carry him to *Italy*, and to desire a dispensation for his brother Don *Lewis* to hold the priory of *Crato*, which he had bestowed upon him. But the ambassador came too late, for the Pope was already gone^c. There had been in his father's lifetime a treaty of marriage between the infant Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Maria Coutinho*, which had been delayed on account of her youth, and which her father, the count of *Mariaiva*, desired might be now celebrated. But the marquis of *Las Torres*, son to Don *George*, duke of *Coimbra*, interposed, and affirmed, that there was a contract between him and the young lady. This she solemnly denied, and the king thereupon committed the marquis, and consented to his brother's marriage: upon which Don *George* retired from court in discontent^d. As the council were unanimously of opinion, that the king ought to think of a fit marriage, the duke of *Bragança* proposed that he should espouse his mother-in-law, Donna *Leonora*, who was immensely rich, and to whom his father had left a large jointure; and as strange as this proposition might seem, it was supported by a strong party. But the count of *Vimioso* steadily opposed it, and the city of *Lis-*

^a Cronica do Rey de Portugal Don Joan III composta por FRANC. D'ANDRADA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b FARIA Y SOUSA, ANDRADA.

^c PETRI MARTYR ANGLER, GARIBAY dans l'Histoire de Navarre, SANDOVAL, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

^d FARIA Y SOUSA.

Don having remonstrated against it, the king declined all thoughts of it; so that in the month of *November*, when the count *de Cabra* came from the emperor *Charles* the fifth, to desire that his sister might have leave to retire into *Castile*, with her daughter *Donna Maria*, the king readily granted it with respect to his mother-in-law, though it was with some difficulty he consented to part with his sister, and at length revoked it* (A).

* ANDRADA, SANDOVAL, MARIANA.

(A) This prince was born at *Lisbon*, on the sixth of *June*, 1502, and from the violent storm that happened at his birth, so much the more uncommon, as it fell out in the most serene season of the year. The vulgar figured to themselves perpetual wars abroad, and it may be, popular firs and commotions at home, whenever he came to reign (1). The palace taking fire while the ceremony of his christening was performing, revived these idle discourses, which passed for oracles, through the superstition of those times. When he was a year old, the king his father caused the nobility to swear to his succession. He was first committed to the care of *Gonçalo Figueyra*, a citizen of *Lisbon*; but the queen his mother took upon her the care of his education, and was very solicitous about it herself, admonishing him frequently that nothing rendered a man so despicable as ignorance; and that at the same time it rendered no man so despicable as a prince, whose authority was best supported by his personal merit. Don *Emanuel*, his father, who was himself a very learned prince, and who had always persons of

distinguished knowledge in his palace and in his presence, was extremely desirous that his son should be distinguished by his science, and for this purpose fixed upon Don *Diego Ortiz*, bishop of *Tangier*, to instruct him in the languages; *Louis Teixeira* to acquaint him with the laws, and to give him fit notions of them, and of the principles on which they were made; and one *de Torres*, who was then famous for his skill in physic and astrology, to give him lights into the superior sciences (2). The prince, however, shewed no inclination to study; and all the pains that his masters took was to very little purpose. When he was about ten years old, he had the misfortune to fall out of a high gallery, by which he was so much stunned that the surgeons and physicians thought his life in danger: however, he quickly recovered, without suffering any thing more by the accident than having a small scar in his forehead. Not long after he had a violent fit of sickness, and from the time of his recovery from thence, a very firm and settled state of health (3). His father perceiving that Don *Juan*

(1) *Damian à Goes, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.*
de las Historias Portuguesas, le Clède.

(2) *Andrada, Ejiçam*
(3) *Andrada, Vasconcellos, Faria y*
Sousa.

THE plague being in *Portugal*, the king was obliged to shift from one province to another, and so was the queen likewise, to whom Don *John* made a visit at *Meija*, where he took his leave in public; and that princess set out in the month of *May*, accompanied by the princes Don *Lewis* and Don *Ferdinand*, and continued her journey to *Valladolid*, and from thence to *Medina el Campo*, where the emperor then was¹. Don *Juan Silveira* was received with all possible testimonies of respect in *France*; but except these, and a smooth answer, he could obtain nothing. The king's favourite, Don *Lewis de Silveira*, was sent to the court of the emperor, where he remained eight months. It was intended that he should have offered the infanta Donna *Isabella* to that monarch; but one of the ships that *Magellan* carried to the *East Indies* returning, the king restrained Don *Lewis's* negotiation to mere points of ceremony. At his return he found the king at *Almeyrin*, where entertaining him with his usual familiarity, and forgetting to kiss his hand at his first appearance, he lost his favour; with which he was not much affected, nor did he enter into any intrigues against Don *Antonio de Ataide*, who became in a manner first minister. There is a passage related of this statesman that ought to be preserved: the lord of *Azambuja*, a nobleman of one of the most ancient families in *Portugal*, partly through his zeal for the public service, was so reduced that he was constrained to sell his lands. The king told Don *Antonio* that he would do well to buy them, as they lay next his own. "Your majesty, replied the minister,

A very singular instance of the prime minister's disinterestedness and probity.

A. D.
1523.

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, ANDRADA, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE.

had not either taste or application sufficient to render him learned, had recourse to another method of instruction, placing about him noblemen distinguished for wit and parts, and bringing him before he was eleven years of age to the council table. This had a very good effect; he improved daily, listened with attention to debates, and came to entertain very right notions in politics; but at the same time he grew vain, opi-

nionated, and full of presumption (4). His father's second marriage, and the alteration of his behaviour, corrected these defects; so that at the time of the king's demise; Don *Juan* was infinitely more capable of the administration than most of his father's old ministers ever believed he would have been, and shewed for them all the respect and attention they could desire (5).

(4) *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*, Andrada, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.
(5) *Andrada, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, Vasconcellos; *Mayerne Turquet, de le Clede*.

“ will do much better to enable him to keep them, since himself, and his ancestors, have been impoverished by the services they have rendered the crown.” The king took his advice, and so that noble family was saved from ruin^g.

The king very wisely causes the dispute about the Moluccas to be suspended.

IN order to restore a right understanding between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*, it was absolutely requisite that the dispute about the *Moluccas* should be adjusted, and for this purpose commissaries were named on both sides, who met, debated, and disagreed; by which the breach was made wider than before, and the emperor actually granted a commission for sending thither another fleet, notwithstanding the *Portuguese* commissioners, at their departure, had protested against the proceedings of those who assisted at these conferences on the part of *Spain*. King *John* upon this sent Don *Pedro de Correa* and doctor *Juan de Faria*, his ambassadors to the emperor, to treat of a marriage with his sister the princess *Katherine*; which these ministers not only concluded, but also by the loan of a considerable sum of money for the *Italian* expedition, obtained a convention by which all points in dispute in regard to the *Moluccas*, were to be suspended till this money should be repaid; and thus this troublesome affair was laid asleep. As to the marriage, it was agreed, that the emperor should be at the expence of his sister's journey, but that the king of *Portugal* should pay for the dispensation; that the princess should have two hundred thousand crowns, exclusive of her jewels, and an annuity of five thousand crowns *per annum*. These points being settled, she was conducted with great solemnity to the frontiers of *Portugal*, received there by the king's brothers, and upon her arrival at *Crato* the marriage was celebrated with all the magnificence possible^h. This year the king found it necessary to send *Vasco de Gama*, count of *Videguira*, to the *Indies* which he discovered, where, old and infirm as he was, he settled all things to the general satisfaction of the *Portuguese* and the natives; and soon after expired at *Goa*, universally regretted by bothⁱ. The *Portuguese* still continued their expeditions in *Africa*; but the chiefs extended their empire in that country notwithstanding, and revived thereby the credit and power of the *Moors*.

A. D.
1524.

Prevailed on by the clergy to introduce

THE emperor Don *Carlos* perceiving that little or no advantage would arise from the negotiation he had been long carrying on in *England*, resolved at length to send ambassadors into *Portugal* to demand the infant Donna *Isabella*. It was not

^g FARIA Y SOUSA, ANDRADA.
DA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
Indic.

^h SANDOVAL, ANDRADA.
ⁱ MAFFORI Hist.

long before the treaty was concluded, by which the emperor charged himself with the expences of the dispensation; the king promised to defray those of the journey, and the fortune was fixed at a million of ducats, nine hundred thousand to be paid in money, and the rest to be bestowed in jewels. This marriage was celebrated in the month of *November* by proxy, and in the spring the infanta set out for *Castile*^k; the *Portuguese* noblemen who accompanied her, having orders to take possession of certain lands, which the emperor was content to give in mortgage for his sister's fortune that was not yet paid. About this time arrived an ambassador from *Ethiopia*, sent by the emperor *David*, who governed that country, now stiled by the *Portuguese* the *Grand Negus*, and who had formerly made such a noise in the world by the title of *Prestor John*. This ambassador, who did not make any great figure, proceeded afterwards to *Rome*, in order to pay his master's homage to the Pope, or at least it was so given out^l. At this juncture the affairs in the *Indies* were in a very flourishing condition, and the vast treasures they brought into the kingdom occasioned a great resort of strangers. This, with some insolent actions of the *Jews*, either really committed, or boldly invented, and confidently maintained, gave the clergy an opportunity of pressing the king to introduce the inquisition^m, which at length they obtained; and it happened luckily for them, that soon after the holy office was established a great famine ceased, which the priests persuaded the people was the peculiar blessing of Heaven on this pious action. It was not long, however, before the bulk of the nation saw what a blessing this was, but their penetration came a little too late; for by this time the authority of that inexorable tribunal was risen to such a height, that it was equally unsafe and ineffectual to aim at disclosing the miseries and inconveniencies that had attended it. Some indeed place this event ten years later, and found their calculation upon the bull granted by Pope *Paul* the third; for establishing the holy office at *Evora*; which very possibly might be, and yet the tribunal might have been brought in by the king and clergy before, who now applied to the holy see to still the murmurs that were raised against it, by this authentic act of approbation (B).

THE

^k SANDOVAL, ANDRADA, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^l FARIA Y SOUSA. ^m ANDRADA, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

(B) There is something very that even the most intelligent dark in the introduction of authors are far from being well the inquisition into *Portugal*, so agreed either as to the time or

Q 2

manner

THE Moors began at this time to reduce some of the Portuguese garrisons in Africa, and to extend their power very con-

manner of it. But if any credit be due to a certain relation, we may, notwithstanding, have a pretty good account of this perplexed affair (6). It is said that a certain monk, one *Juan Perez de Saavedra*, a native of *Cordova*, feigned himself cardinal legate for *Paul* the third, brought a bull from *Rome*, appointing certain inquisitors into heresy and other dangerous opinions, which instrument, besides all exterior marks of authenticity, was drawn up with all the care and caution imaginable, and executed by those to whom it was directed with equal vigour and vigilance (7). However, some suspicions arising, upon a strict enquiry, this bull was found to be forged and counterfeit: for publishing of which the monk was condemned to spend the remainder of his days in the galleys; but by the interposition of the Pope, after some years released (8). The inquisitors, however, went on in the discharge of their offices, as if the authority by which they were appointed had been the best founded in the world; and the king was persuaded that this was so much for his service, for the benefit of the church, and the welfare of the people, that he not only acquiesced but actually procured a new bull from *Rome* for the establishment of the holy office (9). It appeared, however, in a very short space of time, that the post of first inquisitor was

of such consequence, that it could not be put into better hands than those of the cardinal infant *Don Henry*; and indeed it has been ever since held the highest ecclesiastical promotion in this kingdom (1). To prevent opposition, the power of the inquisitors was somewhat qualified in *Portugal*. They were not to imprison bishops upon suspicion of heresy; or to proceed to the conviction of any charged with that crime, without the consent or concurrence of the bishop in whose diocese the person accused of heresy resided. But the inquisitors, who have the strongest aversion in the world to restraints, have explained away both these clauses in a very plausible manner. They confess they have no authority to send any prelate to prison; but that this does not hinder their confining him to his own house. Upon convictions, they demand the consent and concurrence of the diocesan; but as they seldom vouchsafe to give him sufficient lights, this is commonly refused: however, the having demanded it, is in the judgment of the holy office, a sufficient act of complaisance; and the refusal, a sufficient provocation to proceed without it, which without any farther ceremony they do (2). We shall have occasion to touch this subject more than once hereafter, and shall not therefore pursue it any farther here.

(6) *Memoires historiques pour servir à l'Histoire des Inquisitions*, tom. ii. p. 3.

(7) *Cronica de el Cardinal Don Juan Tavera*, cap. xxxvii.

(8) *Aubery Histoire generale des Cardinaux*, tom. iii. p. 618.

(9) *Andrada, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras, Faria y Sousa, le Clede.*

tom. i. p. 384.

(1) *Papir. Masson. Elog.*

(2) *Geddes's Account of the Inquisition in Portugal.*

siderably.

siderably. The *Turks* also sent the famous *Barbarossa* to give The infant Don Lewis, duke of Beja, attends the emperor Charles V. into Barbary. the Christians all the trouble in his power; who having overturned the king of *Tunis*, became very formidable. This induced the emperor *Charles* the fifth to make an expedition for the restitution of that city to its old monarch; in which he desired and received the assistance of *Portugal*: the king sending two or three very large ships, and a numerous squadron besides, under the command of Don *Antonio Saldagna*, with whom went privately the infant Don *Lewis*, who was received at *Barcelona* by the emperor with all possible marks of esteem and regard; and the king likewise sent after him an hundred thousand ducats for the expences of the campaign; in which he distinguished himself exceedingly, and in a short time became the delight of the whole army. In the main, however, this was no great benefit to the *Portuguese*; for, by employing the greatest part of their strength on that side, they left their own conquests open to an enemy that never let slip any advantage; neither does it appear that the *Castilians*, after they had carried their point, were in any condition to assist the governors who held places for the king of *Portugal*, and consequently whatever glory might be gained by this transaction, there was little or no profit resulted from it; but rather the contrary; and it was not long before they were made very sensible of this as well as of the difficulty and expence of supporting a war at so great a distance, and with such an inequality of forces; more especially as they were obliged to make their utmost efforts for the preservation of their acquisitions in the *Indies*ⁿ.

A. D.
1536.

SOLYMAN the second, emperor of the *Turks*, being The *Turks* and *Moors* solicited by the *Mohammedan* princes in the *Indies*, resolved to take up the quarrel against the *Portuguese*, as lord of *Egypt*, attack the where the *Mamelukes* had dropped it, and accordingly sent *Portuguese conquests, but are soon repelled.* orders to the bashaw who governed for him there, to employ his whole strength against the Christians; which he did, and sailed out of the *Red Sea* with a greater naval force than the *Mohammedans* had ever employed before, having four thousand janissaries, and sixteen thousand other land troops on board. Yet the courage of the *Portuguese* soldiers, and the conduct of their officers, taking the advantage of the insult, cruelty, and perfidiousness of the *Turkish* general, defeated all this mighty force, and saved their empire from that ruin with which it was threatened^o. In *Africa* also the king of *Fez* was baffled be-

ⁿ OCHOA, PARUTA, RAYNALD, PARUTA, SANDOVAL, ANDRADA, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^o OCHOA, SANDOVAL, RAYNALD, PARUTA, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

A. D.
1538.

fore the town of *Safi*, and fresh quarrels breaking out amongst the *Moorish* princes, gave great and unexpected relief to the Christians in those parts, who were in a manner quite exhausted by the long continuance of a defensive war; and had even sunk under the last attack, if they had not twice received timely supplies from the island of *Madeira*. But whenever the *cherifs* quarrelled with each other, one party was sure to have recourse to the *Portuguese*, who, by sending them a small supply, preserved quiet to themselves, and had the satisfaction of seeing their enemies employed in destroying each other. Yet in the end even this had bad consequences, for on one hand it kept up a martial spirit amongst the *Moors*, and on the other it made them acquainted with the *Portuguese* discipline; so that after every short interval of repose, they not only found them as much enemies as before, but likewise more formidable through constant exercise, and these accidental improvements.

Melancholy
events in
Portugal.

A. D.
1539.

WHATEVER pleasure king *John* might take in the prospect of foreign affairs, it was much qualified by disagreeable events at home. Don *Philip*, who was the heir apparent of his dominions, died at six years of age at *Lisbon*, and his mind was scarce composed, before the empress *Isabella*, his sister, finished her days at *Toledo*. The next year was big with more black events, since death bereaved him of his son Don *Atonio*, and of his brothers Don *Alonso* and Don *Duarte*, which renewed his grief for the infant Don *Ferdinand*, and his two sons, who died some years before. These disasters rendered him not a little melancholy, and this was heightened by an act of treachery, of which the king was so much the more sensible, as flowing from a person whom he could never have suspected. This was Don *Michael de Silva*, bishop of *Viseo*, brother to the count of *Portalegro*, and secretary of his cabinet, who having privately negotiated at *Rome* for a cardinal's hat, on condition of revealing his master's secrets, stole from him some papers of great importance, and then privately withdrew to *Rome*; where, for this infamous action, he was received with the greatest joy, and, according to the Pope's promise, admitted into the college. The king, as it might be well expected, resented this highly, caused him to be outlawed as a traitor, deprived him of his honours and benefices, and forbid all his subjects to hold any correspondence with him on pain of his highest displeasure; which fell upon his brother Don *George*, count *Portalegro*, who ventured to

P ANDRADA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, SANDOVAL.
q FARIA Y SOUSA, ANDRADA, LE CLEDE.

write

write him a letter, for which he was sent prisoner to the tower of *Bellem*, where he remained till the infanta *Donna Maria* prevailed on the king to release him, and even then he was banished to *Arzila*: where, by his gallant behaviour against the *Moors*, he at length effaced the memory of this miscarriage, and recovered his sovereign's favour, who, in the course of his reign, had never proceeded with the like severity against any of the nobility; but, however, it had a good effect.

A. D.
1542.

As the emperor was very solicitous to conciliate the close alliance between the two crowns, another marriage between his son, the infant *Don Philip*, and the infanta *Donna Maria*, daughter to king *John*, was proposed, and well received by the court of *Portugal*: the terms were quickly adjusted, and the princess married by proxy. She did not, however, set out for *Spain* till some months after, shewed a visible reluctance at quitting her own country and family, who made her the like returns of tenderness. The king had a natural son, *Don Duarte*, archbishop of *Braga*, whose mother was *Donna Isabella Nugnez*, daughter to the alcaide of *Lisbon*: he caused him now to appear for the first time at court, caressed him extremely, and seemed to expect the like regard should be paid him by the rest of the royal family. This young prelate, who was between twenty and thirty, was distinguished by his learning and piety, and his great knowledge in, and application to the *Portuguese* history, which rendered his father inconsolable for his loss, which happened by sudden death not long after. In the *Indies* things were carried with a high hand: *Don Juan* was very circumspect in the choice of the officers he sent thither, supported them thoroughly, and rewarded them amply. In *Africa* he contented himself with keeping on the defensive, in which, though his subjects did wonders, yet their force gradually declined, and he saw himself at length under a necessity of constructing at a great expence a new citadel at *Alcazar*, to which he was desirous the emperor should contribute, as that fortress was like to be of more consequence to *Andalusia* than even *Portugal*, or *Algarve*. When the *Portuguese* minister stated this to the emperor, he very readily admitted the matter of fact, and as cheerfully complied with what king *John* desired, who also accepted of the order of the Golden Fleece, which hitherto

Prince
Philip of
Castile es-
pouses the
infanta
Donna
Maria of
Portugal.

* Epitome de las Historias y Portuguefas. * SANDOVAL,
ANDRADA, SALAZAR DE MENDOZA, FERRERAS Historia de
España, part xiii. § xvi. † ANDRADA, MARIANA, MAY-
ERNE TURQUET, LE CLEDE.

for certain reasons he had declined^u, and as the emperor had revived this order, he was the more obliged.

*The king
causes many
good laws
to be made
for the be-
nefit of his
subjects.*

THIS good correspondence, however, between the two crowns, did not in the least abate king *John's* attention to his just rights, or render him in the least passive when they were violated. He understood that there was one *Antonio de Pesquera*, a merchant at *St. Lucar*, who carried on privately a great trade to *Guinea*, and the *Brazils*, upon which he gave orders to *Vasco Lorenzo* to keep an eye upon him; and accordingly *Pesquera* having fitted out his vessel for a new voyage, *Vasco* came up with, and took him in the height of the *Canaries*. Of this the arch-duke *Maximilian*, who was regent of *Spain*, complained very loudly, as *Pesquera* was taken within the dominions of the crown of *Castile*, and before he had engaged in any illicit trade; and therefore upon the first application of the Imperial minister, the king ordered him to be set at liberty, and his own officer to be sent to prison: but he ordered his ambassador to tell the arch-duke, that he did not do this because he thought *Pesquera* innocent, or his own officer at all to blame, but that he might shew him how exactly he complied with treaties, and the manner in which he expected they should be complied with^v. Don *George*, the son of king *John* the second, after having lived upon bad terms with the court from the beginning of this reign, returned thither now of his own accord, and though seventy years of age, fell violently in love with Donna *Maria Manuel*, one of the queen's maids of honour, whom he would have married, if, at the request of his son, the king had not interposed, and prevented it: upon which he once more withdrew from the court in discontent^x. The king finding that wealth and indolence had rendered the kingdom in some measure defenceless, very wisely established a militia, appointing that every man of such an estate should keep, or at least be ready to find a foot soldier with the usual weapons, whenever he was called upon: that he who had double that estate should provide a musqueteer; and he who had thrice that income a trooper. By another law he restrained the breeding of mules, that he might be the better able to remount his cavalry, and prevent that fine breed of horses for which his dominions had been famous, from being lost or injured. He gave rewards for hunting wolves, as well for the sake of destroying those ravenous creatures, as to revive an active and manly spirit amongst the common people: but another re-

^u SANDOVAL, OCHOA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
PRADA.

^x FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^v AN-
gulation

gulation he made at the same time, though nothing could be better intended, had consequences of the most pernicious kind^r. The king had hitherto had an eye to all business himself, and had shewn great sagacity in the choice of ministers, but as he could not do every thing at once, there wanted not some complaints that affairs were not dispatched, which put the king upon imitating the practice in *Castile*, leaving most of the affairs of government to council, and dividing that council into boards, or committees, for different purposes. To which an able and honest *Portuguese* historian attributes the declension of the kingdom; for irresolution, feuds, and perhaps corruption, crept into these boards; and if affairs went slowly before, they now either went not at all, or went so fast that justice could not keep pace with them. The king perceived it too soon for himself, and too late for his subjects, as we shall see hereafter^z.

A. D.
1550.

ON the death of Pope *Paul* the third, the king sent orders to his minister at *Rome* to employ every method practicable for raising his brother cardinal *Henry* to the papal throne, and he demanded likewise the assistance of the emperor and the *French* king, to which he thought himself well intitled, by his near relation to the one, and the alliance that had so long subsisted with the other. He was promised, and deceived by both^a. Cardinal *de Monte* was chosen, and assumed the name of *Julius* the third^b. The copper money in *Portugal* being intrinsically of a higher value than what it was coined for, it was gradually carried out of the kingdom; upon which one of the new councils devised a large new copper coinage under the intrinsic value, which was thereupon counterfeited abroad, vast quantities of it brought in, and silver and gold carried away^c. It is possible the king did not fully understand this matter, but his good sense should have engaged him to enquire, and his interest inclined him to listen to those who did. The *Spanish* and *Portuguese* coasts were at this time miserably infested by pirates under *Turkish* and *French* colours: to remedy which king *John* determined to fit out guard-ships; but considering with himself that these might prove little better, if not under due regulations, he concerted measures with the emperor, who also fitted out others, and the instructions of their officers being reciprocally exchanged, it was impossible for them to find their account in any thing but doing their duty. The prince *Doni Juan* being now near man's estate, it was thought

Marriage concluded between prince of Portugal, and the infantina Joanna,

^r ANDRADA.
^a RIA Y SOUSA,
SANDOVAL.

^z. FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^b MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET,
^c Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas.

highly

A. D.
1552.

highly expedient that he should marry, and the princefs fixed upon was the princefs Donna *Joanna*, daughter to the emperor, niece to the king of *Portugal* by the mother, and to the queen by the father's fide. The treaty was quickly concluded; the portion fixed at three hundred and fifty thousand ducats; the duke of *Aveyro* and the bifhop of *Coimbra* were fent to receive her on the frontiers towards the end of *November*. She was met by the king foon after ſhe entered his dominions, and by him conducted to *Lifbon*, where the marriage was folemnized with a degree of ſplendor, and with ſuch teſtimonies of public joy as had been ſcarce ſeen in *Portugal* before ^d.

The unfortunate
death of
the prince
of *Portugal*, and
birth of
Don *Sebastian*.

A. D.
1553.

As the king apprehended domeſtic affairs to be now in a great meaſure ſettled, he applied himſelf with vigilance to thoſe at a diſtance, ſending to the *Indies* ſeveral young men of birth and ſpirit, with reaſonable appointments for their ſubſiſtence, and promiſes ſufficient to entertain their hopes. Amongſt theſe was *Camoens*, the famous poet, who celebrated the behaviour of others, and was no way inferior to them in his own. In *Barbary* the *Moors* gained ground; for the king apprehending the projects of his predeceſſors impracticable, began to bound his own to the preſervation of the fortrefſes upon the coaſt, which, though not pleaſing to the generality of his ſubjects, was perhaps a meaſure neceſſary to his affairs, ſince the expence of men and of money was too great to be borne by the kingdom of *Portugal*, even in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. The joy expreſſed on the prince's marriage had been heightened by his conſort's pregnancy; but it was quickly turned into mourning. He became ſo uxorious that it was viſibly detrimental to his health, upon which, under pretence of tenderneſs for that of his conſort, ſhe was removed into the queen's apartment. The remedy was applied too late, the ſlow fever, which had ſeized the prince, augmented in ſuch a manner as to carry him off on the ſecond of *January*, in the ſeventeenth year of his age^e. He was a prince remarkably handſome in his perſon, of ſprightly parts, which made him uneaſy under the tuition of Don *Pedro Maſcarenas*, one of the worthieſt and wiſeſt men of that age; who, to gratify the prince, was made viceroy of the *Indies*, and forced to go thither againſt his will. Don *Juan*, if he had remained under his care, might probably have lived to aſcend the throne. To conceal the knowledge of his death

^d ANDRADA, SANDOVAL, FERRERAS, MARIANA, *Epitome de las Historias y Portugueſas*, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^e OCHOA, ANDRADA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

from

from the princess, the king visited her out of mourning. She was delivered on the feast of St. *Sebastian* of a son, to whom that name was given, in honour of the saint^f. After she recovered her health, she appeared inconsolable for the death of the prince; notwithstanding which, she quitted *Portugal* in the month of *April*, in order to assume the regency of *Spain*^g and the care of the infant Don *Carlos*, upon the departure of his father, prince *Philip*, who was on the point of sailing to *Planders*, to facilitate the negotiation of his marriage with queen *Mary*. Don *Pedro d'Acunba*, having a squadron of five ships and four gallies on the coast of *Algarve*, received intelligence that *Hamet Arraez*, a famous *Mohammedan* corsair, was in the bay of *Tavira* with four gallies, upon which he sailed thither immediately to attack him; but the wind failing, his ships were of no use: however, he very gallantly fell upon the enemy, notwithstanding they were double his number. The two admirals engaged with great fury; at first the *Portuguese* had the worst, but the *Turk* boarding them, was taken; the other gallies sunk one of the infidels and took two, upon which the rest fled. Don *Pedro* returned victorious to *Lisbon*; and by the exchange of the corsair, preserved the life of captain *Peter Paul*, a *Mohammedan* convert, whom the *Turks* had otherwise destined to the most exquisite tortures^h.

A. D.
1554.

THE king exerted himself with great spirit in the settlement of *Brazil*, which he brought into a very good state; caused several strong towns to be erected there, and took all possible methods to encourage the conversion of the natives to christianity. In this, it is said, they met with great difficulty; and the writers of those times describe the *Brazilians* as the most obstinate, barbarous, and bloody of all the natives then discovered in *America*; notwithstanding which, it is very certain that the *Portuguese* were forced to be at great pains to prevent other *Europeans* from settling amongst or trading with them; whence it may be suspected that those accounts were at least a little exaggerated. The grief of the kingdom for the loss of the prince was renewed by the death of the infant Don *Lewis*, duke of *Beja*, on the twenty-seventh of *November*. He was commonly stiled the delight of *Portugal*; and a very impartial historian assures us, that for piety, learning, sagacity, courage, and generosity, he was not exceeded by any prince of his timeⁱ. The disputes amongst the nobi-

King John
dies of an
apoplexy.^f Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, FERRERAS.^g ANDRADA, SANDOVAL, MARIANA,^h FARIA Y SOUSA,

LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

ⁱ FARIA Y SOUSA,

ANDRADA.

lity,

A. D.
1557.

lity, about precedency, were frequently attended with very untoward consequences, which obliged the king to take a resolution of settling them once for all, which he did by established rules, that have subsisted ever since, and have in a great measure prevented the revival of such altercations. He restore the lustre of the university of *Coimbra*, and brought several professors thither from *Paris*. He had other great designs in his head, particularly with regard to reformation, which he had pushed very far with respect to religious persons of both sexes; but upon a close inspection into affairs, he found his subjects in general to have been so much injured by his leaving their concerns to the inspection of his council, that it affected him to a very great degree; so that he was seized with a kind of apoplexy, from which he recovered only so long as to make the necessary preparations for a christian death, to which, with great calmness and resignation, he submitted *June* the sixth, or as others say, *June* the eleventh, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, to the great regret, and to the irretrievable misfortune of his people. His corps was interred with prodigious pomp in the royal monastery of *Belem*, to which he had been a great benefactor, and ^k dutifully accomplished all his father left undone (C). By

^k VASCONCELLOS, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, ANDRADA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

(C) This monarch was in his person of a middle size, somewhat inclined to fatness; his eyes were of a lovely blue; and his countenance so majestic and serene, as to excite affection and respect in all who came near him (2). In his youth he spoke very quick, and loved talking a little too much; but before he came to the crown he set himself studiously to correct these and other defects, in which he was peculiarly happy (3). His piety was solid and free from superstition. He was a great friend to the jesuits, because at the first appearance of that or-

der they were very strict in their morals, and declaimed perpetually against the luxury and intrigues of the monks, who were by no means in the king's good graces; who, following the maxims of his father and grandfather, studied to be well with the court of *Rome*; and having procured from thence bulls for the reformation of the mendicant orders, he took care they should be thoroughly executed; and though the monks clamoured, it was all in vain, for having the nuncio, the bishop, the jesuits, the nobility, and the people on his side, they

(2) *Andrada, Ferreras, Faria y Sousa.*

(3) *Vasconcellos, Andrade, Faria y Sousa.*

were

By this unexpected and unfortunate death of so great a monarch, the crown of *Portugal* devolved on the head of *Sebastian*. *Accession of Don Sebastian.*

were constrained to submit (4). He instituted the council of conscience, in which the sentences of all courts of law were reviewed, that they might be moderated according to equity. He likewise formed the council for the inspection of military orders, and heightened the lustre of that of Christ, in a manner suitable to its dignity (5). His tenderness for his people was so great, that nothing could move him to tax them. When his ministers proposed it, "Let us be first clear, said he, that raising of money is necessary." When that point was cleared, "Now, says the king, let us see what expences are unnecessary." So that frugality was the fund that answered all extraordinary demands in his reign (6). He had a great, and even a miraculous memory, inasmuch that upon reading the roll of the students, in the university of *Coimbra*, he retained it at once, and saluted each of them by their names (7). He rewarded all services with his own hands, and that without delay, but withal moderately; and he used to say upon such occasions, "I would give more, but I must give to many." He loved to have his nobility about him; but he created no new employments, nor reduced any; yet he did not heap them upon a few persons; for his maxim was, that one public em-

ployment, and his own private business, was occupation enough for one man (8). In ceremony he was extremely correct, and carried magnificence to the greatest height, but very rarely and upon extraordinary occasions: at other times he was modest in his garb, and very familiar with those about him. His nobility understood this, and that he looked upon all spectacles as masquerades, where a man was to be careful in acting his part properly, for the entertainment of the people, but was to lay aside his theatrical air with his fine cloaths. He built and endowed several hospitals, some religious houses for women, and finished whatever structures had been begun by his father (9). In the first part of his reign he made so good a choice of ministers, and all things went on so regularly, that he believed they would still proceed in the same manner, though he did not inspect them constantly himself; but there his judgment failed him; and when he saw this, and to how great a degree his subjects were injured by it, the sense of it was so strong that it affected his health. In one thing he far exceeded all his predecessors; for though he put an end to the feuds that reigned amongst his nobility, reconciled all the great houses, and restrained some of their prerogatives, yet he kept them in the

(4) *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Mayerne Turquet, de le Clede.*

(5) *Vasconcellos, Andrada, Faria y Sousa.* (6) *Epitome de las Historias*

Portuguesas. (7) *Andrada, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.* (8) *Andrada, Ferreras, de le Clede.* (9) *Faria y Sousa.*

an, a child three years old. The regency, pursuant to the king's will, remained in the queen his grand-mother, who exercised it with great circumspection and moderation¹. The *Moors* supposing that under a minority they might be able to dispossess the Christians of the fortresses they yet held, they laid siege in the first place to *Masagnan*. The queen regent, alarmed at this, sent such speedy succours, and promised such rewards to those who should do their duty, that notwithstanding the *Moors* brought fourscore thousand men before the place, they were at length constrained to raise the siege. This was at first magnified as a high proof of the queen's wisdom and capacity; but by degrees the natural aversion of the *Portuguese* to be governed by a woman, and perhaps also by a *Castilian*, appeared so visibly, that of her own accord she quitted the administration, and retired into a convent, devolving the power and title of regent upon the cardinal infant Don *Henry*, who it was thought did not dislike the queen's resolution^m. He presently appointed Don *Alexius de Meneses* the king's governor, and *Gonçales de Camera*, and two other priests for his preceptors, being content to apply himself wholly to affairs of state: in which, though he was very profound, yet he had an invincible love for peace, and a noble spirit of equity and justice. By this means the nation in general, and the city of *Lisbon* in particular, increased in wealth, and the people became every day more and more pleased with the lenity of his administration.

Short account of that young monarch's disposition, and of the errors in his education.

AT length the king drawing near the age of fourteen, the cardinal began to prepare all things for delivering up his charge. Authors are very much divided as to the capacity of the young prince, his pupil; for some represent him as a prodigy in point of capacity and abilities; while others would persuade us that he was either deficient in parts, or at certain times frantic, and deprived of the free use of his senses.

¹ Epitome de la vida y hechos de D. Sebastian Rey de Portugal, par JUAN DE BAENA PAREDA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^m FARIA Y SOUSA.

strictest dependency, by paying them all possible respect in public, and being very familiar with them in private (1). By his neighbours he was always courted and revered; for though he loved peace, his troops were

kept full and in constant exercise, a strong squadron at sea, and an exchequer never empty; which precautions deterred insults, and in case of accidents procured immediate satisfaction.

(1) *De le Cled.*

What

What seems to be most certain is, that while a child he had a very quick capacity, and a very unusual eagerness for learning, which certainly might have been improved so as to render him a great and a good prince; but those who had the care of him ruined the capacity they should have cultivated, and by the violence of their practices in his tender years produced those inconsistencies in his character that were afterwards ascribed to natural imbecilityⁿ. It will be necessary, however, to explain this more clearly. His governor infused into him an opinion that the distinguishing quality of a king was courage, and courage he represented to him as a contempt of danger however great, which was to be always surmounted, and never avoided. His preceptors on the other hand taught him to place all religion in the abhorrence of infidels; so that from the time he approached man's estate he was in a continual fever, burning on the one hand with a vehement desire of displaying his want of fear, and as earnestly desirous to give the world marks of his implacable hatred to *Mohammedism*, which he took to be zeal for Christianity. During the time of his minority the cardinal governed him by the assistance of those who were about him, and who for this reason were suffered to go their own way; but by that time he had governed the kingdom three years in his own name, they exerted their power over him for their own advantage, and not only deprived the cardinal of his confidence, but had the boldness also to propose to him resigning his archbishopric.

A. D.
1568.

Few kingdoms have been more exposed to a spirit of intrigue than this of *Portugal* during the reign of Don *Sebastian*. His grand-mother queen *Katherine*, and his great uncle the cardinal certainly meant well to him and to the state, but not to each other; and therefore while they were employed in destroying each other in the king's good opinion, they threw him into those hands that ruined both him and his kingdom. *Martin Gonzalez de Camera*, the brother of his preceptor, was his first favourite, and the person who prevailed upon him to discard *Alcaçova*, who had been long secretary of state; was a person of great abilities, and if it had not been for his boundless ambition, very equal to the post he affected of first minister. He bore his disgrace with great firmness, contented himself with publishing through the court what the arts were by which he had been circumvented, and how they might be turned upon their authors^o. He then withdrew, and left his

His ministers cabal, and his favourites intrigues, to the prejudice of the crown and people.

ⁿ LE CLEDE *Histoire generale de Portugal*, FARIA Y SOUSA.
^o JUAN DE BAENA PAREDA, MARIANA.

lessons to work, which they did so effectually, that the court was very soon in confusion. Don *Alvaro de Castro*, a young man of great spirit and courage, possessed himself of the king's favour from the similarity of their tempers. He drew him into *Algarve*, under pretence of examining the state of the country, the garrison, and ports. When he had him there, and had shewn him abundance of things, of which he had no true conception before, he began to talk to him very plainly. He told him he meant well, but he knew nothing; that he was totally governed by the jesuits, who exhausted the treasures of the kingdom in establishments that had a plausible appearance, but which at the bottom were useless, and consequently ruinous, from the want of capacity in those by whom they were directed; and that after all, they were properly the monarchs of *Portugal*, and he only their minister. The king was astonished at this boldness; but when he recollected and compared facts, he returned to *Lisbon* as much an enemy to the jesuits as he had been before their creature. *Alvaro de Castro* soon discovered that he wanted political abilities, and that he had taught his master to find this out, upon which he recalled *Alcaçova*, and brought him again into the council; who in return insinuated to the king that *Alvaro* had a mind to pass for the greater hero of the two, which probably would have ruined him if death had not interposed and screened him from disgrace.

He declines entering into the league against the Turks, and marriage with a princess of France.

AFTER this succinct account of the intrigues, we will proceed in the detail of the events that happened under this reign. In *India* and in *Brazil* things were well administered, and in general the government was regular throughout all *Sebastian's* dominions; for as soon as he was passed his childhood, he made with his own hands an abridgement of the laws, in the knowledge of which he was very correct, and took care to see them punctually obeyed. He loved war, and had a great propensity to naval affairs; and it was to gratify both at once that he projected an expedition to the *Indies*; but *Alcaçova*, who had no inclination to attend him thither, set that aside, and substituted *Africa* in its stead. When, therefore, he was invited by *Philip* the second of *Spain*, to concur in the grand alliance against the *Turks*, he excused himself under pretence that the plague had made such ravages in his dominions, as, notwithstanding the warmth of his inclinations, put it entirely out of his power. He is also said to have declined marrying the princess *Margaret de Valois*, sister to *Henry* the third of

P. Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, LE CLEDE, JUAN DE BAENA, FERRERAS.

France, though the Pope sent a cardinal legate to press it. However, a famous *French* historian relates the matter otherwise, and much to the honour of *Don Sebastian*; but the fact is so clearly on the side of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* historians, that it would be unjust to suspect their veracity; more especially as he soon after made an expedition into *Africa* hastily, and in a manner by surprise¹. He first sent over *Don Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, with some hundreds of soldiers, carried his principal courtiers over with him from a hunting match, and without equipages; then sent for the duke of *Aveiro*, with such troops and volunteers as he could collect at such short notice; and, when he had them, he spent his time in hunting, and slight excursions, without doing any thing of consequence, unless exposing his person upon all occasions could be so counted; and at length returned to *Portugal* in the month of *November*, in such tempestuous weather that his subjects gave him up for lost, when they were agreeably surprised by his unexpected arrival in the river of *Lisbon*², which they celebrated with a degree of affection which must have given him great satisfaction.

A. D.
1574.

It might have been reasonably imagined, that this disappointment would have opened the king's eyes, and have shewn him the impossibility of invading *Africa* with success. It was, however, so far from having any such consequence, that it served only to exasperate his martial humour; so that from the very time he came back he meditated nothing else; and those who had a mind to make their court to him, could not do it any other way than by flattering his appetite for conquest; and, according to the common lot of princes, he found numbers who took this way, without considering whether it would lead either him or them to it. The king was highly delighted by an incident which offered him a pretence for war, though of that he stood in no need. *Muley Hamet*, king of *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Tarudant*, had been dispossessed of his dominions by his uncle *Muley Moloch*. At the beginning of this war *Don Sebastian* had offered him his troops in *Africa*, which offer was rejected with contempt; but now being a fugitive, and having demanded succours from *Philip* the second of *Spain*, without effect, he had recourse to the king of *Portugal*; and that he might the more easily prevail, caused the fortresses of *Arzila*, which his father had recovered, to be restored to the *Portuguese*. *Don Sebastian* was in raptures at this event;

Declares in
favour of
Muley
Hamet
against
Muley
Moloch,
king of
Fez, Mo-
rocco, and
Tarudant.

¹ ANTONIO DE HERRERA, JUAN DE BAENA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ² FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, JUAN DE BAENA.

A. D.
1576.

he looked upon himself as destined to exceed his predecessors in their conquests, and sent *Alcaçova* to secure the friendship of king *Philip*, and to procure an interview between them¹. In this the minister had all the success he could wish: *Philip* consented to an alliance, promised the king his daughter, and appointed the place of conference to be *Guadalupe*. Don *Sebastian* set out from *Lisbon* on the twelfth of *September*, accompanied by the duke de *Aveyro*, the count de *Portalegre*, and some other persons of distinction. *Philip* represented to him fully and fairly the great difficulties of the expedition; but finding his nephew not to be dissuaded, he promised him fifty galleys, and five thousand men; but the *Spaniard* did still more: he sent *Francisco Aldana*, an old and experienced officer into *Morocco*, and at his return ordered him to attend Don *Sebastian*, and give him an account of the state things were in; which he performed with great fidelity, but without the least effect². The queen dowager and the cardinal, forgetting all former disputes, united in their endeavours to divert the king from an enterprize which was so apparently inconsistent with his true interest, and so incompatible with the present situation of his dominions. He treated them both with so little respect that his grand-mother quickly broke her heart, and the cardinal, to shew his distaste to this measure, retired to *Evora*, and came no more either to court or to council; and many of the first nobility followed his example³, though even these sent their brethren or their children to accompany the king.

King Philip and the principal nobility in Spain and Portugal labour to dissuade the expedition.

THE more difficulties appeared, the more obstacles were raised, the more the king seemed determined to persist in his design; and as it was impossible to undertake it without money and troops, neither of which could be obtained by ordinary methods, he authorized *Alcaçova* to take any that he could devise; and as he had a fertile invention, and no other way to maintain himself in that absolute degree of credit which he had with his master, he pushed his contrivances to the utmost. In virtue of a bull of crusade he levied one hundred and fifty thousand ducats on the clergy; he laid a heavy tax upon salt; he augmented the excise; he gave the money of *Castile* a currency through the dominions of *Portugal*, and raised it a ninth part of its value; he drew under the title

¹ CABRERA, HERRERA, FERRERAS, Historia de Espana. part xv. § xvi. ² Jornada de Africa, por el Rey Don Sebastião de Portugal, composta por HIERÓN DE MENDOÇA, CABRERA, HERRERA, JUAN DE BAENA, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ³ Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas.

of exemptions, from the *Jews*, two hundred and twenty thousand ducats; he extorted loans from such as were in easy circumstances, and demanded free gifts from the nobility. He sent into *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Holland* to raise forces, and he drew from different quarters several thousand men, but at a large expence. While these preparations were making, he called an assembly of the nobility, in which he gave them a large account of the motives and end of his expedition; which he concluded by telling them, he meant to let them know his intentions, but not to receive their advice, and so withdrew^w. This did not hinder his receiving remonstrances from all quarters: the count *de Tentugal*, his ambassador in *Castile*, wrote him a long, and very free letter upon this subject; others of the nobility did the same, but in person; but none with so much freedom as Don *Juan de Mascarenhas*, who had served with great reputation in the *Indies*: upon which the king got his physicians to certify, that age might make a man a coward, who was a hero in his youth: upon which Don *Juan* observed, that the advice he had given proved them to be both liars and fools^x. Lastly, king *Philip* sent the duke *de Medina Celi* to lay before him the reasons why he thought his design impracticable, and to put him in mind that he had no hand in pushing him upon his own destruction, or in concealing from him the dangers upon which he seemed determined to throw himself and his subjects^y, and this to answer no end.

A. D.
1577.

It would lead us much beyond the bounds to which a work of this nature must be confined, if we should enter into all the methods practised on the one hand by the friends of this unfortunate prince to divert him from this design, or when that appeared impossible, to defeat it, and the contrivances he used to accomplish his desire, and to bring about what strangers and his own subjects daily prophesied would prove his destruction. Let it suffice therefore to say, that in the midst of this struggle Don *Sebastian* received a letter from *Muley Moloch*, against whom these preparations were made. In this epistle he explained to him his own rights, and shewed him he had only dispossessed a tyrant and a murderer, who therefore had no title to his friendship or assistance. He next assured him, that he had no reason to be apprehensive either of the power or the neighbourhood of the *Portuguese*; as a proof of which, and as a mark of his esteem, he was content to make him a present of ten miles of arable ground,

The king of Fez endeavours to prevail upon him to desist from this war.

^w LE CLEDE *Histoire generale de Portugal*, FARIA Y SOUSA.
^x JUAN DE BAENA, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^y CABRERA,
 HERRERA, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

round each of the fortresses he possessed in *Africa*, which were *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, *Arzila*, and *Mafagan*, to be enjoyed by his subjects without molestation or disturbance. At the same time he addressed himself to king *Philip*, with whom he lived on good terms, to interpose with his nephew, that things might yet be adjusted, without the unnecessary effusion of human blood. Some say that Don *Sebastian* did not so much as write an answer to this letter; others that he demanded *Tetuan*, *Larache*, and *Cape Alger*, as the price of peace, which *Muley Molech* treated with disdain. The *Portuguese* writers complain, that *Philip* the second did not perform his engagements, though they admit he covered this with very plausible excuses. The truth was, that he thought the *Portuguese* ministry would have rendered the enterprize abortive, and have laid the blame upon him, and he was inclined to give them an opportunity of doing this, which was their real intention: but *Sebastian's* obduracy got the better of all; upon which *Philip* collected in haste two thousand *Castilian* foot, and sent them under *Alonso Aquilar*, an excellent officer, that he might not seem to abandon his nephew^a.

Don Sebastian, rejecting all reason and advice, persists in his scheme of invading Africa.

WHEN his preparations were in a manner completed, the king offered the regency to his great uncle cardinal *Henry*, which he roundly and absolutely refused: he then devolved it upon Don *George de Almeida*, archbishop of *Lisbon*, *Pedro de Alcaçova*, his secretary, *Francisco de Saa*, and Don *Juan de Mascarenhas*, notwithstanding the two last had steadily and vehemently opposed this enterprize from the very beginning. He first of all appointed Don *Lewis Ataide* general and commander in chief, a man of great merit and military skill; but taking offence at the circumspection he used, ordered him to repair to the *East Indies*, and gave the command to Don *Diego de Sousa*, a very brave man, but unequal to it in every other respect. On the seventeenth of *June* he went in procession to the cathedral, where his standard was blessed by the archbishop; he gave it instantly to Don *Lewis de Meneses*, with orders to embark the troops as fast as possible: these consisted of nine thousand *Portuguese* foot; three thousand *German*, which the prince of *Orange* spared him, under the command of colonel *Amberg*; seven hundred *Italians*, under the command of Sir *Thomas Stukeley*, an *English* exile, but remarkably brave, the two thousand *Castilians* before mentioned, and five hundred volunteers, commanded by Don *Christopher de Tavora*,

^a HIERON DE MENDOÇA, CARRERA, HERRERA.
DE BAENA, HERRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.
RIA Y SOUSA, JUAN DE BAENA, LE CLEDE.

^a JUAN
^b FARIA

master

master of the horse, a man of courage, but without either conduct, or experience. His fleet consisted of fifty ships of war, and five gallies; his train of twelve pieces of cannon; his transports and tenders, made up near a thousand sail^c. The king had with him Don George of Lancaster, duke of Aveiro, Don John and Don Diego, sons to the duke of Bragança, Don Antonio, prior of Crato, Don Manuel, bishop of Coimbra, Don Arias, bishop of Porto, the count de Vimioso, Don Juan de Silva, ambassador from king Philip, and many others^d.

On the twenty fourth of June the king Don Sebastian sailed *Embarks* from the bar of Lisbon, with a fair wind, and bore for Lagos *his forces* bay in the kingdom of Algarve, where he remained for four *at Lisbon* days; then he proceeded to Cadiz, where he was magnificently feasted for a week, by the duke de Medina Sidonia, who took the first opportunity, by the command of his master, of renewing his representations to the king on the folly of proceeding further in person^e. But as soon as the reinforcements were arrived, the king sailed for Tangier, with a good detachment of troops, and ordered Don Diego de Souza to embark the rest, and to decamp them in the neighbourhood of Arzila, where it was three weeks before the king joined them. He met the cherif Muley Hamet at Tangier, with three hundred Moors, who delivered to him his son Muley, a boy of twelve years old, as a hostage, whom he sent to Masagan under a guard; but the cherif himself accompanied the king to Arzila, where it was resolved in a council of war to reduce Larache: but whether to march thither by land, or to re-embark the troops and proceed by sea to that place, admitted a long debate. But at length the march was approved, chiefly by the king's influence, and orders given to advance directly to the river Luco, over which they were to ford. The cherif opposed this; but the king gave him so rude an answer, that he left his presence in discontent. On the twenty-ninth of July the army began its march, and encamped two leagues from Arzila. There Don Francisco Aldana joined them, who presented the king with a letter from the duke of Alba, in which he advised him to think of nothing beyond taking Larache, and a helmet which had been worn by Charles the fifth^f. On the other hand, Muley Moloch having intelligence that the king's fleet was arrived before Arzila, marched from Mo-

^c HIERON DE MENDOÇA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^d FARIÀ Y SOUSA, JUAN DE BAENA, HIERON DE MENDOÇA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^e CABRERA, HERRERA, MA-

RIANA. ^f HIERON DE MENDOÇA.

The monarch of Fez marches against him with a numerous army.

rocco with sixty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. In his passage, finding reason to suspect that part of his army were inclined for his competitor, he declared that such as were disposed to join their old master were at liberty to do it, which permission was accepted by some few, and punctually complied with. There was a corps of three thousand horse, of whom he stood likewise in some doubt; he sent these to reconnoitre the enemy, and by that act of confidence he secured them. He was yet under some uneasiness as to his officers; for though he was not afraid of the *Portuguese* troops, he was very apprehensive of their money, and of the knowledge his competitor had of those who were most like to take it. To guard against this, he changed the disposition of his army entirely, so that none of his officers commanded the corps which had been under their orders; and having new men to deal with, had consequently none whom they could trust. It is wonderful he was able to take these precautions, considering he was so ill of a fever, that he was unable to sit his horse; notwithstanding which he marched directly towards the *Portuguese*, and on the third of *August* encamped within a league of *Alcazar-quivir*, within sight of the Christian troops, with a full resolution to give them battle, his brother *Muley*, governor of *Fez*, commanding under him §.

Don Sebastian calls a council.

As soon as the scouts of the *Moorish* army were perceived, Don Sebastian called a council of war, in which, contrary to custom, there was much order and moderation. The count *de Vimioso*, and those, who out of complaisance to the king, had given their opinions for this march, were now for returning. They said the enemy were masters of the ford, and of the river; that there was no forcing them in their posts immediately; and that it was impossible for them to wait a more favourable opportunity, as they had no victuals. The foreign officers, whom they were now glad to hear, had changed their opinion, and were now for fighting; not because they thought it more reasonable than before, but that now it was become necessary. This was vehemently opposed by the *cherif*, who saw very clearly, that they ran the hazard of being beat, and of losing all, and were not sure of gaining any thing, even if they were victorious; whereas, if they drew down towards the sea, and intrenched, they might be relieved by their fleet, during which space, if *Muley Moloch* died, he looked upon it as a thing certain that a great part of the army would desert to him, which would render him master of three kingdoms, and of the fate of the Christians also. When he

§ HERRERA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

found that the king was bent on fighting, he only desired that he would delay till four o'clock in the afternoon, that in case things went amiss, they might have some chance of escaping in the night; but even in this he could not prevail, for the king disposed every thing for an engagement the next day, which was the fourth of *August*; and it was not at all owing to him that he did not begin as soon as it was light. *Muley Moloch* now so clearly perceived his advantage, that he was inclined to make the *Portuguese* army prisoners; but finding his strength, and even his life, sinking, he had taken the resolution of fighting that very night, fearing those very events in which his competitor *Muley Hamet* placed all his hopes; so that after all, if the cherif's advice had been taken, things might have gone otherwise than they did: but the king wanted experience and judgment; the first put it out of his power to act for himself, and the latter hindered him from discerning which of different counsels it was most expedient for him to pursue^b.

THE disposition of the Christian army was very regular and correct, thro' the care of *Aldana* and other old officers: the infantry were disposed in three lines; the battalion of volunteers made the vanguard; colonel *Amberg*, with his *Germans*, and sir *Thomas Stukely* with the *Italians*, were on the right; the *Castilian* battalions on the left; the *Portuguese* regiments in the center and in the rear; the cavalry, consisting of about fifteen hundred men, partly on the right under the command of the duke of *Aveyro*, to whom the cherif joined himself with his horse; on the left was the standard royal, and the rest of the cavalry, under the command of the duke of *Barcelos*, eldest son to the duke of *Bragança*, Don *Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, and several persons of great rank. The king took post at first with the volunteers. *Muley Moloch* disposed his troops also in three lines: the first consisted of the *Andaluzian Moors*, commanded by three officers who had distinguished themselves in the wars of *Granada*; the second of renegadoes; and the third of the natives of *Fex*, *Morocco*, and *Tarudant*. They moved in a half-moon, with ten thousand horse on each wing, and the rest in the rear, with orders to extend themselves so as to encompass the Christian army. *Muley Moloch*, tho' extremely weak, was taken out of his litter and set on horseback, that he might see how his commands had been obeyed; and being perfectly satisfied with the situation of his troops, he directed the signal of bat-

*Disposition
of both armies.*

^b HIERON DE MENDOÇA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

tle to be given, about an hour before noon, by a general discharge of his artillery, which was immediately answered by the Christians, who advanced with the utmost alacrity, and charged with the greatest spirit¹. This was an effect of that generosity natural to noble minds, and all the youth of quality in Portugal were present.

The Portuguese defeated and destroyed.

DON *Sebastian*, in the beginning of the action, received a musket shot in the shoulder, which did not hinder his charging at the head of the horse on the left wing, by whom, by the *Castilians*, by the volunteers, by the *Italians*, and by the *Germans*, the first line of the *Moorish* infantry was broke, and the second disordered. On this *Muley Moloch* drew his sword, and would have advanced to encourage his troops, but that his guard prevented him; at which his emotion of mind was so great he fell from his horse, and one of his guards having caught him in his arms, conveyed him to his litter, where he immediately expired, and had only time to lay his finger upon his lips to enjoin them silence². *Hamet Taba*, a renegade, stood by the curtains of his litter, opened them from time to time, and gave out orders as if he had been living. By this time the *Moorish* horse had quite wheeled round, and charged the *Portuguese* in the rear; upon which the cavalry in the *Moorish* left wing made so vigorous an effort, that they broke the *Portuguese* horse on the right, and put them into confusion; and at this time in passing a rivulet the cherif was drowned. The *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Castilians*, did wonders; but the *Portuguese* foot, as their own writers say, behaved but indifferently. The king had two horses killed under him. *George Albuquerque* mounted him upon a third. Don *Alonso de Aguiar*, Don *Gonzalez Chacon*, and *Francisco Aldana*, all *Castilians*, were killed by his side. At length he was surrounded by the *Moors*, who seized his person, stripped him of his sword and arms, and secured him. They immediately fell out amongst themselves, about whose prisoner he was; upon which one of the generals rode in, and crying out, "What, you dogs, when God has given you so glorious a victory, would you cut one another's throats about a prisoner?" at the same time discharging a blow on the head of Don *Sebastian*, over his right eye, brought him to the ground; when, despairing of ransom, the rest of the *Moors* killed him. This is by some held the most authentic account¹. Others say,

¹ HERRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

² HIERON DE MENDOÇA, JERON FRANQUI, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

¹ HIERON DE MENDOÇA, SEBASTIAN DE MESA Jornada de Africa.

that

that *Lewis de Brito* meeting the king with his standard wrapped round him, *Sebastian* cried out, "Hold it fast, let us die upon it:" upon which, charging the *Moors*, he was seized, rescued by *Brito*, who was himself taken with the standard, and carried to *Fez*. He affirmed, that after he was taken he saw the king at a distance unpursued. *Don Lewis de Lima* afterwards met him making towards the river; and this *Emanuel de Sousa* says was the last time he was ever seen alive^m. Of the whole army there were not above fifty escaped. There fell on the field of battle the count of *Vimioso*, *Don Lewis de Coutigno*, *Don Vasco de Gama*, *Don Alonso de Norogno*, the counts of *Redondo*, *Videguera*, and *Mira*, *Don Diego*, son to the duke of *Bragança*, the bishops of *Porto* and *Coimbra*, and many others. The young duke of *Barcelos*, then but twelve years old, and the prior of *Crato*, were amongst the prisonersⁿ. The plunder of the *Portuguese* camp was a prodigious booty, for all the young lords had piqued themselves upon a very ill-placed magnificence. *Muley Hamet*, the brother of *Muley Moloch*, was saluted king by the *Moors* that very night. The victory, however, cost them dear, for they lost at least eighteen thousand men; and those who fled, when the first line was broke, made their way to *Fez*, and published that the battle was lost; so that when the news of the victory arrived the next day, it was scarce believed, more especially as those who brought it acknowledged that *Muley Moloch* was dead, so that it was looked on as an artifice to keep the city quiet; but they were quickly undeceived, and immoderate rejoicings succeeded to ill-grounded apprehensions.

THE day after the battle the cherif ordered all the prisoners to be brought before him: amongst whom was *Don Nugno de Mascarenhas*, a domestic of the king's, who affirmed he was present at his death: he described the manner of it, and the place where he fell; upon which proper persons were sent to examine the truth of it, with whom went *Sebastian Resende*, the king's valet de chambre, who brought back a body which he affirmed to be that of his master, and which was acknowledged for such by most of the prisoners, who saw and examined it. This body, by the cherif's order, was deposited in the house of a Jew at *Alcaçar-quivir*^o. Some time after *Philip* the second of *Spain* sent over captain *Zuniga*, as his minister to the cherif, with whom he made an alliance in his master's

^m FARIA Y SOUSA. ⁿ CABRERA, ANTONIO DE HERRERA, JUAN DE BAENA, HIERON DE MENDOÇA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^o HIERON DE MENDOÇA.

name,

name, procured the duke of *Barcelos* and the *Spanish* ambassador to be released without ransom ; and the supposed body of *Don Sebastian*, deposited at *Alaçar-quivir*, was likewise given to his catholic majesty, by whose direction it was sent to *Ceuta* ; and the governor having given an authentic receipt for it, transported it from thence to *Portugal*, where it was interred with the rest of his ancestors in the monastery of *Belem*, with all possible solemnity ; and with the like ceremony his obsequies were observed at *Madrid*^P (D). This was the end of *Don Sebastian*,

^P CABRERA, ANTONIO DE HERRERA, SIGUENCA, JUAN DE BAENA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

(D) All the pains taken to authenticate the death of this monarch could not effect it, and plausible answers were given even to those which seemed the most direct proofs. As for instance, it was said that his valet de chambre brought a body to *Muley Hamet*, and owned it for his master's, that he might stop all farther searches, and facilitate his escape. The nobility of *Portugal*, who saw and owned this body, are said to have acted from the same motive ; and some of them after they came back did acknowledge, that it was so disfigured with wounds and blood, that it was impossible to know it (2). Yet it was this body that king *Philip* received from the *Moors* ; it was this body that was delivered to the *Portuguese* ; it was this body that was interred at *Belem* ; and it was upon the supposition of its being the body of *Don Sebastian*, that *Philip* the second caused his obsequies to be celebrated at *Madrid* (3). However *Don Antonio*, prior of *Cra-to*, always affected to speak

doubtfully of this event. In the reign of the king and cardinal *Henry*, there was a rumour prevailed, that *Don Sebastian* was actually returned into *Algarve* ; and a person has been named who is said to have carried a message from *Don Sebastian* to that king, whose ambition is said to have stifled all affection for his nephew (4). Be this as it will, it is very certain that there were several impostors, who assumed the name of this prince, as we have shewn in the history of *Spain* ; and we shall hereafter mention one, with respect to whom it is by no means clear whether he was an impostor or not (5). But though his history be very marvellous, yet there is nothing in it so strange as that there should be still persons in *Portugal*, and persons in other respects of good sense, who would die martyrs for their opinion, that he is yet miraculously preserved ; and that some time or other he will be again seated on the throne of *Portugal*. This faction, or sect, call them which you please, are stiled in *Portugal*

(2) *Jornada de Africa, Histoire veritable des derniers Guerres de enues en Barbarie, &c. Mésa, Baena.* (3) *Mayerne Turquet, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.*

(4) *Avantures Admirables du Roy de Portugal D. Sebastian.* (5) *Mayerne Turquet, Avantures Admirables, de le Clede.*

A. D.
1578.

Sebastian, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign; who, by his obstinate imprudence, sacrificed himself and his subjects; for he left the kingdom in a most exhausted state, deprived of men, money, and reputation, most of her nobility slain, and scarce an ancient family which had not some member or other in slavery: so that a country which, at the demise of king *John* was the wonder and envy, became in so short a space of time, the object of amazement and pity to all *Europe* (E).

AT

Sebastianistas, and though they have not printed any arguments, yet they have written many memoirs, which are handed about, in which they have laboured, with incredible zeal and industry, to support this strange opinion (6).

(E) As to the person of Don *Sebastian* he was above the common size, his body well proportioned, his eyes blue, his countenance pleasing and majestic, extremely adroit in his exercises, prodigiously strong, incapable of fear, magnificent, generous, affable, full of justice, piety, and truth. His virtues he owed to nature; his faults and follies to his education (7). He must have been in all respects an extraordinary person, to have attached in the manner he did a whole nation, not only to his person but to his memory. He had, however, great imperfections; and amongst these his passion and his obstinacy were by far the greatest. There are certainly great inconsistencies in all the accounts we have of him, and in almost all the considerable branches of those accounts (8). It is not only the *Portuguese*, but also the *Spanish*

history, in which the beauty of his person is commended: and yet both seem to admit that it had some singular and surprising defects. His right hand, for instance, was longer than his left; as he was higher on the left side than on the right. We meet with no particular accounts of mischiefs that befel him, before his expedition to *Africa*; and yet it is affirmed that he had upon his body the scars of twenty-five remarkable wounds (9). The current of the best histories make it apparent, that his expedition and his end proceeded entirely from himself. His appetite for glory was so strong, that nothing could restrain him; his contempt of danger so great, that he wore green armour in the battle of *Alcazar*, that he might be the more easily distinguished by friends and foes. But notwithstanding this, some, and particularly *Brantome*, have laboured to induce the world to believe the king was persuaded, or rather seduced, to invade *Africa*, by the jesuits, who were in the interests of king *Philip*. That the jesuits were the authors of the expedition, and of the king's

(6) *Memoires de Portugal.*

(7) *Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet, de le Clede.*

(8) *Faria y Sousa, Baena, Mendoza, Herrera, Ferreras.*

(9) *Avantures Admirables, Mayerne Turquet, de le Clede.*

misfortunes,

The accession of king Henry.

AT the time the fleet arrived in *Portugal* with the melancholy news of the defeat at *Alcaçar-quivir*, cardinal *Henry* was at *Alcobaça*, of which royal monastery he was abbot: the regency immediately sent him notice of it; upon which he came to *Lisbon*, where, on the twenty-second of *August*, in the house of the duke of *Bragança*, he assumed the title of protector, and on that day severnigh, having received the news of the king's death, after celebrating mass in the church of the hospital of *All Saints*, he assumed the crown, being then in the sixty-seventh year of his age¹. He was at this time archbishop of *Braga*, *Lisbon*, and *Coimbra*, from which, and from the abbey of *Alcobaça*, though he drew an immense revenue, he was far from being rich: neither was the wealth of these ecclesiastical preferments at any time better bestowed. He was an enemy to pomp, without vices, sincerely pious, and had been hitherto occupied in providing for the education of poor children, relieving the sick and infirm, building hospitals for the aged, giving fortunes to young women disposed to marriage, and encouraging men of letters. This great change in his circumstances made some in his conduct: he shewed that he was not altogether so free from spleen as had been imagined: he removed *Alcaçova* from his employ-

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, HIERON DE MENDOÇA, CABRERA, HERRERA, FERRERAS.

misfortunes, is certainly true in one sense, but not in this (1). They inspired him with the notions that undid him; but certainly they had not this in view; for in his first expedition, which was as wild and desperate as the last, it was the pathetic letter of father *Gonzalez*, of that order, which induced him to return; and if *Philip* is to be acquitted of any accusation that was ever brought against him, this seems to be that which is most destitute of proof (2). It may be said with more probability, that the Pope instigated him to this fatal

expedition, for he sent him one of the arrows with which the infidels pierced St. *Sebastian*; and, like the poisoned shirt bestowed upon *Hercules*, this gift continually tortured him and spurred on him to revenge (3). The Pope likewise granted him bulls, by which he raised money upon his clergy, and sent a nuncio to compliment him upon his zeal for the Christian faith (4). Yet all this might be without any intention to promote his ruin, though the Pope set up a claim to his dominions as well as the king of *Spain*.

(1) Bayle.

(2) Faria y Sousa, *Mayerne Turquet, de le Clede*.

(1)

Mendoça, Baena, Faria y Sousa, de le Clede.

(4) Cabrera, Baena, Faria y Sousa,

ments, banished *Lewis de Silva*, and some others who had treated him ill under the reign of his nephew¹. King *Philip* immediately dispatched *Christopher de Maura* to compliment him upon his accession, and to sound his inclinations, which he found to be entirely favourable to *Katherine* dutchess of *Bragança*. He treated the poor king, however, with civility and respect, and advised him to take every measure he could to make his own life easy. The return of *Don Antonia*, prior of *Crate*, did not much contribute to this: he found means to get out of *Barbary* by pretending to be a poor ecclesiastic, and that he should lose his benefice if he did not return within a limited time: upon which a *Jew* either paid, or became bound for his ransom; on which he set out for *Centa*, and from thence came to *Lisbon*, where he began to cabal; which provoked the king, his uncle, extremely, who never had any good opinion of him, and now thought of him daily worse and worse². The bulk of the people seemed desirous that *Henry* should marry, and pressed him to send ambassadors upon that head to the Pope, which for some time he declined: at length they were nominated, but did not go. However, *Phillip* the second discovered that this prince was more a politician than he expected; and that he had privately directed his agents to apply to Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth upon this head. The *Spanish* ambassador had orders to take every method possible to prevent it. The Pope, notwithstanding, directed a particular congregation of cardinals to consider this point, who reported to him, that it was not fit for him to grant a dispensation; yet the agents of *Henry* still solicited with so much zeal, that it was suspected at *Rome* the cardinal had some illegitimate son, whose title he might have a desire to help by marrying his mother. It is more probable those agents solicited without the king's orders, through an honest desire of saving their country from falling under the yoke of foreigners; but it proved ineffectual, for, under pretence of its requiring mature deliberation, *Gregory* would decide nothing; and though he made a merit of this to king *Philip*, yet the true reason of his conduct was, that he had a mind to frame a title of the holy see to the crown of *Portugal*, or at least to establish in himself the sole right of judging to whom the succession of that crown belonged: in order to which it

¹ Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, ANTONIO DE HERRERA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ² FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLERE Histoire generale de Portugal.

*His crown
but a
crown of
thorns.*

was equally necessary to him and to king *Philip*, that this cardinal monarch should die without issue¹.

ALL monarchs, however great and happy, have notwithstanding some causes of chagrin; but *Henry of Portugal* had every thing to chagrin, and no one circumstance to console or content him. He heard nothing from the hour he was seated upon the throne but enquiries who was to be his successor, and saw plainly that the utmost he had to expect was to be confessed sole and supreme judge of this point; which most writers seem to agree he might have been, if he had shewn a sufficient degree of steadiness and courage; but his profession, his age, and his circumstances considered, we need not wonder that this was wanting. There were but five titles, out of many, that deserved to be considered, and of these there were three at least in respect to preference, of which it was not easy to decide. The first of these was the prince *Ranuccio of Parma*, whose mother, *Donna Maria*, died about two years before: she was the eldest daughter of the infant *Don Duarte*, and consequently her son claimed to be the legal heir of the crown. The next was the dutchess of *Bragança*: she was the second daughter of the same prince; but she affirmed, or rather her lawyers affirmed for her, that the civil law did not allow the benefit of representation beyond the third degree of propinquity to the last possessor; so that she being nearer by a degree to the reigning king than her nephew *Ranuccio*, ought to be preferred before him. She likewise claimed to be preferred before *Philip*, who stood in equal degree to king *Henry*, because she claimed under a male, and he under a female. *Philip* the second was the son of the infanta *Donna Isabella*, sister to the infant *Don Duarte*. The duke of *Savoy* claimed in right of his mother *Donna Beatrix*, who was the younger sister of *Donna Isabella* above-mentioned. *Don Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, asserted, that the infant *Don Lewis*, duke of *Beja*, was privately married to his mother; which if he could have made out, would have given him a better title beyond comparison than any of these; but not against *Katherine de Medicis*, queen-mother of *France*, who set forth, that she was descended from *Robert* the son of *Don Alonso* the third, by his first wife *Maud*; so that all the kings of *Portugal* from *Don Denis* were usurpers, and therefore it was high time to restore the crown to her who was the last of the right line. To this there lay one pretty strong objection, taken from the will of the countess *Maud*, from whence it clearly appeared that she never had any

¹ CABRERA, HERRERA, FERRERAS, HIERON DE MENDOÇA.
children

children by Don *Alonso* ^u. The Pope also put in his claim, and insinuated a double right; first, because the holy see had either given or confirmed the regal title to Don *Alonso Fitz Henry*; which, however, was denied by all the laity of the kingdom of *Portugal*, who affirmed, it was given him by their ancestors, and which was more, that they purchased it too by their blood. The second claim was taken from the reigning king, to whom, as a cardinal, the see of *Rome* was heir. But this was denied, because in point of civil succession no such title had been ever admitted ^w. After all, the best title was destitute of support, or otherwise the prince of *Parma* must have prevailed. The dutchess of *Bragança* had in the beginning the king in possession for her, and the statutes of *Lamego*, which were either valid, or all the kings from *John* the first were usurpers. King *Philip* had his own power, and by far the best advocates; for he was one of those kings who thought the pen at least as good a weapon as the sword; and therefore attempted nothing without a previous appeal to the judgment of mankind, which he often courted in so plausible a manner as to obtain it; which, if it could not give him right, gave him what was next to it, the colour of right, which, in truth, was all he wanted. Don *Antonio's* claim was in right of blood; but his best support was the favour of the people, and particularly of the *Jews*; and therefore it was sometimes given out, that in the present perplexed state of things, the right originally derived from, devolved again to the people ^x.

In this unhappy and confused condition of public affairs, it *His timid* was a great additional misfortune that all power of rendering them better, or indeed of reducing them into any degree *steady com-* of order, depended upon the king. It is believed, and it is *duff* highly probable, he meant well; but at the same time it is universally allowed that he acted ill: he removed some men of merit, and more of capacity. Those he brought in were, like himself, mild and moderate; but no way suited to the juncture in which they were employed; so that, except suppressing the salt tax, there was scarce a right step taken during

^u Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, CABRERA, ANTONIO DE HERRERA, P. DANIEL, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, Discurso sobre la succession al Reyno de Portugal siendo vivo el Rey D. Henrique, Allegaçoes de Direyto que se offercerão a el Rey D. Henrique por parte da Senhora D. Catherina Duquesa de Bragança.

^w FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^x CABRERA, HERRERA, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

his reign : so very easy a thing it is for a king to be a very good man, and yet not a good prince, which, however, seldom springs so much from weakness of abilities as from want of resolution. He really wished the good of his people, but wanted the spirit, courage, and skill necessary to take proper measures for preventing the miseries with which they were threatened. The states of the realm desired him to declare his successor, and the magistrates of *Lisbon* presented to him strong remonstrances on the same subject. He answered them it was a matter deserved much and serious reflection ; but he would in time provide for the succession. He was undoubtedly inclined to the dutchess of *Bragança*, and encouraged the lawyers of *Coimbra* to write for the maintenance of her title, in order to prepare the world for the declaration he was disposed to make in her favour : and had he clearly and expressly declared her his successor, and got her acknowledged as such by the states of *Portugal*, which might easily have been done, the kingdom would, in all probability, have united in supporting her interest against *Philip*, and the miseries which ensued upon a different conduct, in a great measure prevented. What diverted, or rather with-held him from taking that step, was his fear of a civil war between her and *Don Antonio*, who was favoured by the common people. But incapable of taking a vigorous step, finding almost equal difficulties in all that were suggested, and uncertain what party to take, he sought only to gain time, and put off a declaration which was absolutely necessary for the quiet and safety of the kingdom, and the delay of which could not but prove fatal. This was the worst party of any that could be taken ; yet he resolved to cite all that laid claim to the crown to appear before him, and produce their respective reasons. His age and infirmities were such that it was not likely he could live till a decision : he proposed therefore to appoint five governors with a sovereign authority during the interregnum, and to oblige the people to swear obedience to them, whilst they examined at their leisure the titles of the candidates, and till they had pronounced sentence on their several pretensions. The world was very justly amazed at this resolution, and the people complained of the slowness of his determination, when he could not flatter himself with hopes of living to behold the end of the cause. They railed openly at his ministers and measures, - and maintained that he ought himself to decide the right of succession, to declare his successor, and see that he took an oath to preserve the rights and privileges of the nation ; and that it was too tedious in the present perilous juncture even to wait an assembly

bly of the states, their condition and situation requiring an immediate declaration ^y.

HENRY, however, was positive, or rather obstinate, in his resolution, and calling together the states to confirm it, they met at *Lisbon* on the first of *April*. He asked their advice how to provide for the good of the realm, but scarce two persons agreed in the same sentiment. In this confusion he talked in private with the principal persons of the clergy, nobility, and gentry; and prevailed with them not to insist on his naming a successor at that time, but to consent to his regulation. It was resolved that he should hear the reasons of the several candidates, and give his judgment thereon; but this judgment was not to be published till after his decease: In case he died before this was done, the affair of the succession was to be decided by eleven persons to be chosen by the king out of twenty-four named by the states; and the government of the realm during the interregnum was to be in the hands of five persons appointed by his majesty out of fifteen recommended by the states, all the members whereof swore to obey the governors so chosen, and the person who should be declared successor ^z. The states being dissolved; *Henry* cited the candidates. *Ferdinand Farnese*, bishop of *Parma*, came to support the interests of the young prince *Ranuccio*, who was still a child, and might have been bred up as the *Portuguese* pleased; *Charles de la Rousse* appeared for the duke of *Savoy*; and *Urban de St. Gelais*, bishop of *Cominges*, for *Katherine de Medicis*, who was admitted to set forth her claim, but could not support it by any proof. *Philip* suspecting as well the goodness of his cause, as *Henry's* disposition towards him, refused to appear, alledging, that a king's power ceased at his death, and he could bequeath no authority to governors; nor had he in his own life any power to judge of the rights of his successor, or take them away by his sentence. The duke of *Bragança* appeared to support his consort's pretensions ^a; as *Don Antonio* did to support his own. These two last quarrelled, and the animosity between them raised a great disturbance in the court. *Henry* ordered the former to retire from thence, and the latter to his priory; yet the duke returned soon to maintain his cause in person: a favour which was not indulged the other. *Antonio* complained of this inequality of treatment; yet sent his agents and witnesses to

^y *CABRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS;*

^z *ANTONIO DE HERRERA, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.*

^a *LE CLEDE, Histoire generale de Portugal, MARIANA.*

make out his title; but the latter either recanting, or disagreeing in their depositions, he was declared illegitimate. Instead of retiring to *Crato*, he went over the several provinces of the kingdom to court the populace. This proceeding incensed *Henry* so highly, that he issued out a proclamation against him, confiscated his goods, and banished him the kingdom in fifteen days ^b. *Antonio* not obeying this order but lurking in secret, and being protected by the people, that he could not be taken, or discovered, was summoned to court; but did not come, being afraid to trust himself in the way of the king's resentment. King *Philip*, though he would not appear in form to support his claim, sent first *Christoph de Moura* as his ordinary ambassador, and afterwards the duke of *Osuna* as an extraordinary one, to take care of his interests ^c. He wrote also to the chief cities of *Portugal*, representing his descent from the royal blood of their kings, the kindness he had shewed, and the good offices he had done to their countrymen prisoners in *Barbary*, offering to augment their privileges, flattering them with the expectations of great benefit from a free trade to the *Spanish West Indies*, and laying before them every thing that they had either to hope or fear from his power. His ambassadors were continually soliciting *Henry* to declare him his successor, and neglected measures that could be serviceable to carry their point. They did not fail to employ money properly, and by large presents and larger promises, they drew in several persons of quality. But however notable their management, and considerable their success were, he would not trust to them entirely; he assembled a powerful army of old *Spanish* soldiers, and levied great numbers of new forces in *Italy* and *Germany*, resolved at any rate to make himself master of *Portugal*.

The States
labour to set
him right
in vain.

THE timid and diseased old king, seeing these preparations was afraid of declaring the dutchess of *Bragança*, whom he judged unable to resist *Philip*, especially since the affection of the common people were so much set on Don *Antonio*, that a civil war was expected to be raised within the kingdom at the same time that it was attacked by the *Spaniards* from without. His apprehensions of *Antonio's* popularity were so strong, that he raised new companies of guards for the security of his person. These fears of his were so improved by *Leon-Henriquez*, a jesuit, his confessor, who had a vast ascendancy over him, and who, though he had been at first for *Katherine*, was now gained over to *Philip's* party, that he was

^b CABRERA, FERRERAS.
MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^c ANTONIO DE HERRERA.

brought

brought to think the only way to save the nation from that immediate ruin that threatened it, was to compromise things with *Philip*, and declare that prince his successor^d. This design he communicated to the *Spanish* ambassadors, and sent the project of accommodation (in which it was provided that no charges should be given but to natives of *Portugal*, and some other flattering conditions were inserted) with great secrecy to *Madrid*, signifying his intention of laying it before the states to obtain their consent. *Philip*, though he hoped well of the clergy and the nobility, as being most of them gained by his agents, yet knowing the aversion of the people to the *Castilian* government, easily imagined it would be impracticable to obtain the concurrence of the third estate. He proposed therefore consulting the cities singly, and used strong remonstrances against assembling the states, who having already given the king power to declare his successor, there was no need of calling them again. But *Henry* was not now; more than formerly, to be diverted from his own methods by any reasons; and the states meeting at the palace of *Almerin*, *January* the ninth, he communicated to them his design of concluding a capitulation between *Philip* and the kingdom, as the only expedient of preserving peace in the nation, which, if *Philip* succeeded to on such advantageous conditions, would receive great benefit by his succession. The clergy accepted it readily; and it was after long debates among the nobility, carried there by a single voice; but it was rejected by the third estate^e. The king had used his utmost endeavours to get the cities to chuse deputies to his mind, and to gain such as were returned: he had prevailed in *Lisbon* to get such elected as he thought most dependant on his will; but failed of his point at *Coimbra*, and in the rest of the cities. These deputies were unanimous in rejecting all manner of accommodation with the *Castilians*, and *Phæbus Moniz*, one of the deputies for *Lisbon*, and more attached to him than any other, desired him, in the name of the rest, not to give them up to *Castile*; but to declare any *Portuguese* whatever his successor, and they would be satisfied. The king rejecting this, and the states perceiving that there were some secret negotiations between one of the claimants and king *Philip*, declared roundly, that they considered themselves as the supreme power, and would fill the throne, whenever it became vacant, by election^f.

THEY had very soon an opportunity of doing this, if they had stuck to that resolution, since in the midst of these disor-

^d CABRERA. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.
BRERA, HERRERA; LE CLEDE.

^f Ga-

Henry dies, and the male line of the Portuguese monarchs becomes extinct.

ders and disputes king *Henry* ended his life on the last day of the month of *January*, when he had lived precisely sixty-eight years, and had reigned something more than seventeen months². The plague being at *Lisbon*, his body was deposited at *Almerin*, from whence it was afterwards removed by king *Philip* to *Bellem* (F). He was the nineteenth sovereign, and the seventeenth king of *Portugal*, the eighth and last monarch of his house; for in him the male line of the *Portuguese* princes determined, after having subsisted upwards of four hundred and sixty years. He was very little esteemed, and less lamented, notwithstanding he had done many laudable actions in the course of his life, though very few during that of his reign; yet he lost nothing, for by a timely peace

² Dell'unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona di Castiglia istoria di GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO, JO. ANT. VIPERANI de obtentâ Portugalliâ à Rege Catholici Philippo Historia, CABREIRA, ANTONIO DE HERRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(F) This last king of *Portugal* much resembled his father; of a middle stature, thin habit of body, very light and lively, and capable of much labour. He understood all the learned languages, was well acquainted with divinity, and had some tincture of the mathematics. He could command his looks much better than his passions: he not only remembered injuries, but revenged them: his judgment was sound enough in foreseeing misfortunes, though he had not sagacity enough to find out remedies (6). He died displeased with his subjects, as they also were with him. Some of the *Portuguese* writers have made many superstitious remarks on the beginning and ending of their sovereignty with a prince of the same name. They likewise observe, that this *Henry* was

born precisely four hundred years after *Henry* of *Burgundy*; but of what use these remarks are it is hard to say (7). But it may not be amiss to take notice, that in the year of his accession the mother of king *Sebastian* died, as did likewise the cardinal's youngest sister *Mary*, who if she had survived must have succeeded him (8). But through the indulgence of her father, and the dispositions made in her favour by the queen dowager her mother, she amassed so large a fortune, that the *Portuguese* were unwilling to see it carried out of the kingdom, which hindered her marriage; though if a proper choice had been made in that, by espousing her to a prince of the blood at home, all the miseries they afterwards felt might have been avoided (9).

(6) *Mayerne Turquet Histoire generale de Espagne, tome de las Historias Portuguesas, Memoires de Portugal. de Espana, Mayerne Turquet.*

(9) *Faria y Sousa.*

(7) *Faria y Sousa Epi-*
(8) *Ferreras, Historia*

with

with the cherif, he secured the few places that were still left in *Africa*, and procured at a large expence the return of most of those who survived the battle of *Alcaçar*: but in respect to the poverty and weakness of the kingdom, both were too visible at the time of his decease, of which, though he was very sensible, yet he knew not how to seek, or how to apply a remedy. In short he died disconsolate, and the monarchy with him.

S E C T. VII.

The Reduction of Portugal by Philip; the Continuance of it under the Dominion of the Kings of Spain till the Revolution, by which the Duke of Bragança was advanced to the Throne.

IN the former part of this work we have already treated of *The scope* the expedition into *Portugal*, by the famous duke of *Alva*, and *divi-* in the light in which it has been considered by and from the *sion of this* authorities afforded us by the *Spanish* historians; but as these *section.* are not entirely consistent with what we find delivered by *Portuguese* writers, and as the reduction and revolution of *Portugal* are points of the highest importance in modern history, the reader has a right to expect a more full relation of them here. We will, therefore, within the compass of this section, endeavour, with all possible succinctness and impartiality, to explain in what manner king *Philip* annexed *Portugal*, with all her conquests in the *Indies*, to his dominions; what efforts were made by *Don Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, to support his claim; the maxims pursued by him and his successors in the administration of the affairs in *Portugal*, so long as it remained under their obedience; and lastly, what were the true sources that induced this nation so unanimously to throw off what they called the yoke of *Castile*, and what concurrent circumstances there fell out to facilitate this bold step, and to maintain them in possession of their independency, after by this generous effort they had so gloriously recovered it. In order to treat these matters with perspicuity, as well as to pursue strictly the plan we have laid down, we must resume the thread of our narration from the demise of the king and cardinal *Don Henry*.

UPON the death of that monarch, the five governors assumed the administration of the kingdom; and the dutchess of *Bragança* referred her cause to them, pressing for their de-

final judgment ^a. *Philip* also wrote to them in maintenance of his right, and offering them the terms upon which *Henry* had insisted, sending them a copy of that prince's memorial. He wrote also to the principal nobility, and the five chief cities of the kingdom, to the same effect. The governors, three of whom were in his interest, published the conditions he had granted; viz. That he would take a solemn oath to maintain the privileges and liberties of the people: that the states should be assembled within the realm, and nothing proposed in any other states that related to *Portugal*: that the viceroy, or chief governor, should be a native, unless the king should give that charge to one of the royal family: that the household should be kept on the same foot: that the post of first president, and all civil, judicial, and military offices, should be filled with *Portuguese*: all dignities in the church, and in the orders of knighthood, confined to the same: the commerce of *Ethiopia*, *Africa*, and the *Indies*, reserved also to them, and to be carried on only by their merchants and vessels: that he would remit the third penny, the crusadoes, and other imposts on ecclesiastical revenues: that he would make no grant of any city, town, or jurisdiction royal, to any but *Portuguese*: that estates resulting from forfeitures should not be united to the domain, but go to the relations of the last possessor, or be given to other *Portuguese* for recompense of services: that when the king came into *Portugal*, where he should reside as much as possible, he should not take the houses of private persons for his officers lodging, as in *Castile*, but keep to the custom of *Portugal*: that wherever his majesty resided he should have an ecclesiastic, a treasurer, a chancellor, two masters of requests, with under officers, all of them *Portuguese*, who should dispatch every thing relating to the kingdom: that *Portugal* should ever continue a distinct kingdom, and its revenue consumed within itself: that all matters of justice should be decided within the realm: that the *Portuguese* should be admitted to charges in the king and queen of *Spain*'s households: that all duties of entry on the frontiers be taken away: that *Philip* should give three hundred thousand ducats to redeem prisoners, repair cities, and relieve the miseries which the plague and other calamities had brought on the people. The clergy and nobility were for accepting these offers; but the deputies of towns refused them, believing they would not be long kept ^b.

^a MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA.
JO. ANT. VIPERANI, FERRERAS.

^b CABRERA, HERRERA.

THE kingdom of *Portugal* was at this time in a condition very unfit to oppose the arms of *Philip*. Besides the terrible blow received two years before in *Barbary*, an excessive drought had spoiled their harvest, and caused a famine. The extreme scarcity of provisions, unwholesome diet, or infected commodities, had occasioned a plague in *Lisbon*, which spread all over the kingdom. There was no money in the treasury; and when it was proposed to the merchants to lend so small a sum as one hundred thousand ducats, they refused. The very capital city of *Lisbon* was without walls in several places, and all the forts in the kingdom destitute of garrisons and ammunition. There was, however, still a sufficient force in *Portugal* to defend it, had there been any union among the nobility, any spirit of obedience among the people, or any head to direct the conduct of both, and put the nation on exerting itself with vigour, and collected force. The greater part of the governors were in the interest of *Philip*, and desirous of delivering up their country into his hands; but this they durst not declare, and they found that the execution of was not so easy as they had imagined. The method they took was none of the most honourable: they pretended to inspect the magazines, out of which they took some of the powder, and caused the rest to be mixed with sand: they appointed an agent to go and demand succours from the crown of *France*, which they knew could not arrive in time: they dissolved the states as soon as they discovered they were bent on rendering themselves a free people: and, under a shew of confidence, they sent such of the nobility as they most suspected, to command in different places on the frontiers^c. Thus, in hopes of advantages which their posterity never enjoyed, they sacrificed the honour, independency, and welfare of their country.

ABOUT the middle of *June*, the duke of *Alva*, by *Philip's* orders, entered *Portugal* with twenty thousand men. *Elvas*, *Olivenza*, *Serpa*, *Moura*, *Portalegro*, *Esfremos*, and other towns submitted to him without any opposition, there being *Spanish* factions in all of them ready to force the governors to surrender^d. The people ascribed all to the five governors, and exclaimed against their betraying the kingdom to *Philip*. Don *Antonio*, to make his advantage of these discontents, took

The prior of Crato proclaimed king.

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, Dell'unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona de Castiglia istoria di GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO, MAYERNE TURQUET, CABRERA, FERRERAS. ^d ANTONIO DE HERRERA, FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS, VIPERANI, CAMPANA, FERRERAS.

occasion, from the building of a fort at *Santarem*, to get himself proclaimed king in a tumult. The project succeeded: the mob declared for him, and several of the nobility were compelled to be witnesses of the proclamation; but being a man of little judgment (though not without some learning) his passion for a crown was too violent to let him wait so long, and he placed all his hopes in this tumultuary election; while the nobility disliking, retired to their own houses and revolted as soon as the force upon them was removed^c. This defect was so general, that scarce any of them stood by him but the count of *Vimiofo*. He was, however, so much in favour with the people, and all the religious were so zealous for him, that he was proclaimed in almost all the towns north of the *Tago*, and marching to *Lisbon*, was received there by the inhabitants who were left in it by the plague, which had made the merchants quit the city, as the magistrates also did upon reproach^f. From thence he sent the count of *Vimiofo* to *tuval*, which declaring for him, the governors fled in confusion, gave sentence in favour of *Philip*, declaring him king of *Portugal*, in virtue of the laws^g, who was like to be so by force of arms.

His forces
beat by the
duke of
Alva.

DON *Antonio* being master of the capital, seized on the arsenal and magazines, placed new magistrates, officers of justice, and ministers; but as he employed new men without experience, ready to execute all his orders with rigour, the place was soon full of violences, rapine, plunder, and all manner of disorders. He made great offers to the duke of *Braganza*, the marquis of *Villa-Real*, and other grandees: he wrote also to the lower nobility, but very few cared to acknowledge him. These were great discouragements; however, to provide the best he could for his defence, he sent the *French* consul to *France*, to procure a succour of two thousand men, seized the crown jewels, the collections that had been made for redeeming slaves in *Barbary*, the plate of churches, the money deposited in convents, or given to charitable uses, and left no means untried to provide a fund sufficient for the support of an army. He depended on the populace for numbers; but as the peasants could not leave their work to make a campaign, and he found it impracticable to keep any considerable number of them together for above a day, he, to supply that defect, armed the negro slaves that were in *Lisbon*, and published a proclamation,

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO, MAYER TURQUET.

^f CABRERA, HERRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, CAMPAÑA, HERRERA, CABRERA, FERRERAS, MAYER TURQUET.

^g CONESTAGGIO, FRANCO. DIAZ DE VARGAS.

offerings

offering freedom to all that would take up arms¹. This gave occasion to infinite disorders, those negroes seizing arms, stealing horses, and supplying themselves with every thing they wanted or desired, wherever it was found. With this hasty ill-armed body of men he resolved on defending the *Tajo*, and hindering the duke of *Alva's* passage. On the other hand, the duke having had the town of *Setuval* delivered to him by the inhabitants, and received the submission of the kingdom of *Algarve*, and all the country south of the *Tajo*, advanced to pass the river, which he did at *Cascaes*, by the help of the *Spanish* gallies, without any difficulty. *Cascaes* and fort St. *Julien* being surrendered to him, and *Cascaes* abandoned, the duke marched to *Alcantara*, where *Antonio* was posted with all the men he could draw together; but without officers qualified to command, or soldiers that knew how to obey^k. In this condition his forces, inferior in number and all other respects, were routed *August* the twenty-fifth, when the *Spaniards* pursuing them to *Lisbon*, the city was reduced by capitulation, and saved from plunder^l: but the suburbs, which were much larger and finer than what was inclosed within the walls, and all the neighbouring villages, were sacked for several days together by the soldiers, at which king *Philip* was much offended. He was very desirous the different behaviour of his troops from those of Don *Antonio* should have done honour to his title, and he could not be disappointed without being chagrined.

At the beginning of the rout Don *Antonio* passed through *Don Antonio com-*
Lisbon, without stopping to have a wound dressed, fled to *San-*
taren, and from thence to *Coimbra*. There he once more *pelled to*
 assembled four or five thousand men; but *Sancho de Avila* be- *quit the*
 ing sent against him, received in his march the submission of *kingdom.*
Coimbra, *Monte Mayor*, and *Aveiro*, forced a passage over the
Duero, and, in consequence of that success, took *Porto*^m. *An-*
tonio quitting this last place, fled to *Viana*; but being closely
 pursued by some of the *Spanish* cavalry, took shipping in order
 to retire into *France*. The wind proving contrary, and the
 weather stormy, the *Spaniards* were about to attack the ship;
 so that he was obliged to quit it, and throw himself disguised
 into a little skiff, and get ashore near *Viana*, even in the sight
 of a party of horse; yet he had the good fortune to escape,

¹ JO. ANT. VIPERANI, FERRERAS.^k FARIA Y SOUSA,

CAMPANA.

^l GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO, MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, HERRERA, CAMPANA, CABRERA, FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS, FERRERAS.^m ANTONIO DE HERRERA, MAYERNE TURQUET, VIPERANI.

and

and to be concealed privately in the country. A reward of eighty thousand ducats was put on his head, and all endeavours were used to seize his person, but in vain. He travelled about, and often passed in disguise through the midst of those that were in quest of him, without being known. Some even of his retinue and servants were taken as they were getting provisions for his embarkment at *Lisbon*, and put to death, yet they made no discovery where he was. He continued in the kingdom from *October* to *July*; was at all the ports of the kingdom seeking for a passage, and at *Lisbon* when *Philip* himself was there; but as he could not embark at that place, because his men were taken, he went to *Setuval*, where, with half a dozen of his most faithful friends, he embarked, and landed safely at *Calais* ⁿ. Upon his flight, all the kingdom submitted and owned the king of *Spain*; as did the garrisons in *Barbary*, and all the *Portuguese* settlements on the coasts of *Guinea*, in *Brazil*, the *East-Indies*, and the isle of *St. Michael* ^o; but the rest of the *Madeiras* held for *Antonio* till they were reduced, and the *French* naval army, sent to their relief, beaten and destroyed ^p. We have mentioned this in the history of *Castile*, with some memorable circumstances attending it.

Philip takes possession of the dominions of Portugal, and endeavours to gain the affections of the people.

PHILIP would not seem a conqueror, and therefore did not enter the kingdom till it was entirely reduced; but came to *Elvas*, where he abolished the duties on entry, which were levied upon all merchandize from the one realm to the other, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand ducats a year. He entered *Lisbon* with a kind of sullen pomp, without acclamations ^q. He called an assembly of the states at *Tomar*, in *April*. He confirmed the terms he had offered to the kingdom by his letters: but whereas the duke of *Osuna*, by way of security for those conditions, had promised them a law by way of proviso, that if the king did not observe them, the states should be freed from their oath of obedience, and might defend their rights by the sword, without incurring the re-

^a P. DANIEL Histoire de France, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.
^o HERRERA, CABRERA, CAMPANA, FERRERAS. ^p FARIA Y SOUSA, GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO. ^q FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, La entrada que en el Reyno de Portugal hizo Don Philippe II. Rey de las Espanas y de Portugal assi con su real presencia como con el exercito de su felice campo hecho por ISIDORA VELYZQUEZ, Successi della guerra di Portogallo dall' anna 1578 sino al incoronazione del Re Filippo II. scritti da FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS, dati alla luce por EVANG. ORTENSE.

proach of perjury, or the guilt of treason; this he absolutely refused to ratify. He endeavoured, but with little effect, to reconcile the *Portuguese* to his government, and was so lavish in bestowing honours and gratifications, that the *Spaniards* said he had to his other titles to that crown added that of purchase^r. This, however, did not satisfy every body; for when was that ever done? It was calculated to conciliate the affections of the *Portuguese* to his family, and it failed of doing this; but it had an effect which was not foreseen even by a prince whose foresight was his characteristick; it weakened the power; it absorbed the revenues of the crown; it rendered *Portugal* a province, and a dead weight to his other dominions; and, by putting it out of the power of his successors to be liberal in any proportion, it raised a short-lived gratitude only in a few, and left a multitude of malcontents, to which time was continually adding. The *Portuguese* writers say he did not do enough for the family of *Bragança*. The *Spaniards*, as we have shewn elsewhere, say that he did too much. It is agreed by both that the dutchess was not satisfied; and that the duke and his son did him homage. It is said by the former, that *Philip's* agents had promised the kingdom of *Algarve*, and the privilege of sending an annual ship to the *West-Indies*, which the king would not ratify; and if this was true, it fortified the title of that house, for it shewed that *Philip* had treated for that title, and not giving the equivalent, left it in the same condition in which he found it^s. Here again he failed also in his politics; for he laboured to supply the defects in his gratifications, by testimonies of respect and compliment, which at once fortified the sense of the *Bragança* family of the justice of their own title, and heightened also the good opinion which had been entertained of it, by the wisest people in the nation. He had his views in this; but accidents were too hard for those views, for he who framed these could not command those; but he had other difficulties to struggle with.

THE deputies of the third estate presented a remonstrance on the state of the nation, pressing him to send the prince his son to be educated amongst them; to withdraw the garrisons of *Castilians* and *Italians*, which he had put into the strong places; to abolish certain taxes; to keep *Portugal* independent of *Castile*; and to make some regulations in justice. He agreed to a few of these, and those of the least consequence;

He is not able to effect this; but on the contrary disgusts more than he obliges.

^r CAMPANA, CABRERA, HERRERA, FERRERAS.
RIA Y SOUSA, GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO.

^s FA-

the

the rest were refused or declined^t. The nobility, having never acted against his catholic majesty, thought nothing could be denied them; and therefore demanded, by a deputation, a jurisdiction over their vassals; to annex the principal employments to their body; exclusive of all others; to ennoble none for the future, unless for very great services, and then for life, so that the title should not descend. These, and other articles of a like nature, were rejected; so that they now began to repent they had not acted in concert to oppose his entrance, till they had made their own terms^u. Before the assembly separated, a general indemnity as it was called came abroad; but so full of restrictions, that it by no means deserved the name. Fifty-two persons, of the highest consideration, were excepted; not a monk could have benefit thereby, or indeed any who had ever followed Don Antonio, received any honour, dignity, or gratification from, or had any employment under him. All these were declared incapable of holding, for the future, any office in the state, or of being continued in those that they possessed; so that the Portuguese said, the pardon extended to none but such as had never offended, or had nothing to lose; and were highly exasperated to find themselves so deceived with regard to their expectations in this respect^w. Nor could any intreaty prevail to make the pardon more general; but the excepted persons were summoned and prosecuted, great numbers of men of quality, and others, were imprisoned, put to death, treated with the utmost rigour, or sent prisoners into *Castile*: even the women were not exempted, their goods being confiscated, their persons imprisoned, and some of them taken out of convents sent into *Castile*: none suffered more remarkably than the monks and other religious, of whom he destroyed an incredible number; and not to speak of those who died by hardships, in his prisons, he got in a fit of conscience from the Pope, a brief of pardon for two thousand religious, whom he had put to death in different manners. The carcases of many of these being thrown into the *Tajo*, were there taken up, some in their habits of monks by the fishermen, who thereupon fancying the river to be excommunicated, would not eat of the fish, nor follow their usual occupations, till the archbishop of *Lisbon*, to humour their simplicity, went solemnly, with the accustomed rites, to the river, and absolved it from the supposed excommunication. The king staid there much longer than he originally intended, and at his departure left the car-

^t CABRERA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^u GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO.

^w JO. ANT.

VIPERANI, FARIA Y SOUSA.

dinal arch-duke *Albert* his viceroy, with a good *Portuguese* council about him, and all the exterior marks of power; but with little trust, and less of real authority^x. Thus in the dawn of *Philip's* reign the seeds were unwittingly sowed of universal discontent.

As for *Don Antonio*, who had been proclaimed, and still styled himself king of *Portugal*, he first retired into *France*, and there demanded succours for the recovery of his dominions. He found so much countenance, that with a fleet of near sixty sail, and a good body of troops on board, he made an attempt upon the *Terceras*, where his fleet was beat by the *Spaniards*; and a great number of prisoners being taken, all the officers and gentlemen were beheaded, and a great number of meaner people hanged. *Don Antonio* notwithstanding kept possession of some places, coined money, and did many other acts of regal power; but was at length constrained to retire, and it was with some difficulty that he did this, and returned into *France*^z. He passed from thence into *England*, where he was well received; and many fitted out privateers to cruise against the *Spaniards* under his commission. But after king *Philip* had ruined the naval power of *Portugal*, as well as *Spain*, by equipping the armada, queen *Elizabeth* made no difficulty of owning and assisting *Don Antonio*, and even of sending Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* with a strong fleet, and a great army to restore him. Upon this occasion^z *Don Antonio* sent his son *Don Christopher* a hostage to *Muley Hamet*, king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, who was to lend him two hundred thousand ducats; but king *Philip* prevented this by surrendering *Arxila*; and this disappointment, the unseasonable enterprize upon *Corunna*, and the disputes that arose between *Norris* and *Drake*, rendered that expedition abortive; so that, except carrying the plague into *England*, it was attended with no consequences worthy of notice^a. He remained some time after in *England*; but finding himself little regarded, he withdrew once more to *France*, where he fell into great poverty and distress, and at length dying in the sixty-fourth year of his age, his body was buried in the church of the nuns of *Ave Maria*, with an inscription on his tomb in which he is styled king^b. He left several children behind him,

^x CAMPANA, HERRERA, CABRERA, GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO.

^y FARIA Y SOUSA, FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS, FERRERAS.

^z CABRERA, HERRERA, CAMDENI Annal. Eliz.

^a FARIA Y SOUSA.

^b Memoires de Portugal, Memoires, Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, & Litteraires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE, MAYERNE TURQUET, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.

who, on account of his being a knight of *Malta*, and having made a vow of virginity at his entrance into the order, were looked upon as illegitimate. He preserved even to the day of his death a great interest in *Portugal*, and had drawn from thence, in the course of his life, immense sums of money; which had been squandered in many fruitless negotiations, and attempts to disturb the possessions of king *Philip* in almost all parts of his dominions, and particularly in the *Indies*, where the *Portuguese* were rather more averse to the *Castilian* yoke, or at least testified their aversion more openly than in *Europe*.

*Pretenders
assuming
the name
and title
of Don Se-
bastian
taken and
punished.*

BUT Don *Antonio* was not the only pretender to the crown of *Portugal*; for the people, partly through the love of their prince, and partly from their hatred to the *Castilians*, were continually feeding themselves with the hopes that Don *Sebastian* would appear and deliver them; and in this respect such a spirit of credulity reigned, that it was said proverbially, they would have taken a negro for Don *Sebastian*. This humour put the son of a tyler at *Alcobaza*, who had led a profligate life, and at length turned hermit, to give himself out for that prince; and having with him two companions, one of whom stiled himself Don *Christopher de Tavora*, and the other the bishop of *Guarda*, they began to collect money, and were in a fair way of creating much disturbance, if the cardinal arch-duke had not caused him to be apprehended, and after leading him ignominiously through the streets of *Lisbon*, he who took the name of *Sebastian* was sent to the gallies for life, and the pretended bishop was hanged^c. Not long after *Gonçalo Alvarez*, the son of a mason, gave himself out for the same king, and having promised marriage to the daughter of *Pedro Alonso*, a rich yeoman, whom he created earl of *Torres Novas*, he assembled a body of about eight hundred men, and some blood was spilt before he was apprehended: at length being clearly proved to be an impostor, himself and his intended father-in-law were publicly hanged and quartered at *Lisbon*; which instead of extinguishing this humour rather increased it^d.

THERE was, however, a person who appeared about twenty years after the fatal defeat of *Alcaçar* at *Venice*, who created much more trouble. He assumed the name of Don *Sebastian*, and gave a very distinct account of the manner in which he had passed his time from that fatal defeat. He affirmed, that he had preserved his life and liberty by hiding himself amongst

^c FARIA Y SOUSA.

^d LE CLERE Histoire generale de

Portugal.

the slain : that, after wandering in disguise for some time in *Africa*, he returned with two of his friends into the kingdom of *Algarve* : that he gave notice of this to the king *Don Henry* : that finding his life sought, and being unwilling to disturb the peace of the kingdom, he returned again amongst the *Moors*, and passed freely from one place to another in *Barbary*, in the habit of a penitent : that after this he became a hermit in *Sicily* ; but at length resolved to go to *Rome*, and discover himself to the Pope^c. On the road he was robbed by his domestics, and came almost naked to *Venice*, where he was known, and acknowledged by some *Portuguese*. Complaint being made to the senate, he was obliged to retire to *Padua*. But the governor of that city ordering him also to depart, he not knowing what to do, returned again to *Venice* ; where, at the request of the *Spanish* ambassador, who charged him not only with being an impostor, but also with many black and atrocious crimes, he was seized, and thrown into prison. He underwent twenty-eight examinations before a committee of noble and impartial persons ; in which he not only acquitted himself clearly of all the crimes that had been laid to his charge, but entered also into so minute a detail of the transactions that had passed between himself and the republic, that the commissioners were perfectly satisfied, and shewed no disposition to declare him an impostor, moved more especially by the firmness of his behaviour, his singular modesty, the sobriety of his life, his exemplary piety, and his admirable patience under his afflictions^f. The noise of this was diffused throughout *Europe*, and the enemies of *Spain* endeavoured every where to give it credit.

THE state, however, refused to discuss the great point, whether he was, or was not an impostor, unless they were requested so to do by some prince or state in alliance with them. Upon this the prince of *Orange* sent *Don Christopher*, the son of the late *Don Antonio*, to make that demand, and at his request an examination was made with great solemnity ; but no decision followed, only the senate set him at liberty, and ordered him to depart their dominions in three days^g. He went therefore, by the advice of his friends, to *Padua*, but in the disguise of a monk, and from thence to *Florence* ; where he was arrested by the command of the grand duke, who delivered him to the viceroy of *Naples*. The count de *Lemos*, then in possession of that dignity, died soon after, be-

A very extraordinary person averring himself to be Don Sebastian, appears at Venice.
A. D.
1596.

The Spaniards get him into their hands, declare him an impostor, but spare his life.
A. D.
1602.

^c GRIMSTON'S Continuation of Mayerne Turquet.
CLEDE.

^f LE GRIMSTON'S Continuation of Mayerne Turquet.

fore whom he was first brought, this man asserted, he must know him to be Don *Sebastian*, since he had been twice sent to him from the king of *Spain*^h. He remained prisoner several years in the castle *del Ovo*, where he endured incredible hardships. At length he was brought out, led with infamy through the streets of the city, and declared to be an impostor, who assumed the name of *Sebastian*: at which words, when proclaimed before him, he said gravely, *and so I am*. In the same proclamation it was affirmed, that he was in truth a *Calabrian*, which, as soon as he heard, he said, *it is false*ⁱ. He was next shipped on board a galley as a slave; then carried to *St. Lucar*, where he was some time confined; from thence he was transferred to a castle in the heart of *Castile*, and never heard of more^k. Some persons were executed at *Lisbon* for their endeavours to raise an insurrection on his behalf; but it was thought strange policy, or rather a strange want of policy in the *Spaniards*, to make this affair so public without proofs; and the attempt to silence this objection, by affirming him to be a magician, was justly treated as ridiculous. It is very remarkable that *Faria y Sousa*^l, a very candid and exact writer, who mentions the former impostors with abhorrence, is altogether silent in regard to this man, whose story is very extraordinary in itself, and having so close a connection with the history of *Portugal*, we thought best to insert it here, though a little out of the order of time, to prevent repetitions, and that the several cases being produced together, might illustrate each other.

Errors in Philip's administration, which laid the foundation of the Portuguese dissensions.

THE administration of affairs in *Portugal*, during the reign of *Philip*, was certainly detrimental to the nation, and yet it does not appear that this flowed so much from any ill intention in that monarch, as from errors in judgment. His prodigious preparations for the invasion of *England* impoverished all his *European* dominions; but it absolutely exhausted *Portugal*. The pretensions of Don *Antonio*, and the hopes of despoiling their *Indian* fleets, exposed the *Portuguese* to the resentment of the *English*; from which the king having granted away all his domains, wanted power to defend them. Their clamours were not at all the less loud for their being in some measure without cause. The king, to pacify them, borrowed money from the nobility upon the customs, which were the only sure remedy he had still left; and this was attended with

^h *Memoires de Portugal*, SPONDANUS Annal.

ⁱ GRIMSTON'S Continuation.

^k LE CLEDE, *Memoires de Portugal*, SPONDANUS Annal. GRIMSTON'S Continuation.

^l *Epi-*

tome de las Historias Portuguesas.

fatal

fatal consequences. The branches thus mortgaged became, and continue to this hour, fixed and hereditary ; so that the merchant was oppressed, and the king received nothing. This expedient failing, a tax of three *per cent.* was imposed, in the nature of ship-money, for the defence of the coasts and the commerce, which for some years was properly applied ; but then made a part of the ordinary revenue, and went into the king's exchequer without account. This made way for diverting other appropriated branches ; as for instance, that for the repair of fortifications, the money being strictly levied, and the works suffered to decay, and tumble down ; and that for the maintenance of the conquests in *Africa*, by which the garrisons mouldered away, and the places were lost. Upon the whole, in the space of eighteen years the nation was visibly impoverished, and yet the government of *Philip* was incomparably better than that of his successors ; so that his death was justly regretted, and the *Portuguese* were taught by experience to confess, that of bad masters he was the best ^m. A miserable consolation indeed ! (A)

His

^m GRIMSTON'S Continuation, LE CLEDE.

(A) In the foregoing history of *Spain* we have observed more than once that *Philip* the second treated the people of *Portugal* with more lenity than any of his successors, and in this we follow the *Portuguese* as well as the *Spanish* authors ; but the former assert, that this was merely the effects of his policy, and that he was in reality the author of all the miseries they endured. In support of this they mention, and they produce a certain memorial, which they say was drawn and digested from the instructions which he left behind him, for the use of his son *Philip* the third, by one of his ministers ; and the hints therein contained, as they say, were so many maxims of state, from which

his son and grandson never digressed. It is certain that *Philip* the second did leave a political testament for his son, for which he is commended by some and blamed by other writers (1). It is generally believed that we have this testament as *Philip* wrote it ; and in that we find nothing more said of *Portugal* than that it was the only conquest that remained to him, after spending, in less than thirty-three years, five hundred and ninety-four millions of ducats ; and that he did not look upon himself as very secure in the possession of it. In the close of it, indeed, he mentions some schemes that he had left in a place, of which *Christopher de Moura* had the key, and desires

(1) Ferreras *Historia de España, Memoires, Historiques, & Politiques, par M. Amelot de la Houssaie, Discursio y Sumario de la Guerra de Portugal, &c. por D. Diaz de Vargas.*

His son
Philip's
govern-
ment

serves only
to heighten
this spirit,
and to im-
poverish
the nation.

HIS son *Philip*, the second of *Portugal*, and the third of *Spain*, sat twenty years upon the throne before he made a visit to *Portugal*, where the people, to convince him how soon a little sunshine might banish foul weather, put themselves to a most enormous expence to receive him; for which they received little more than the compliment, that before his entry into *Lisbon* he knew not how great a king he was^a. He held an assembly of the states; in which his son was sworn successor. He having done all that he wanted for himself, acquired a false idea of the riches of the nation from an immoderate and foolish display of them during his short stay at *Lisbon*; and having shewn himself little, and done less, he

^a FARIA Y SOUSA.

him to take care of them immediately, that they might not fall into other hands; it is possible this might be of the number: but let us see what were its contents (2). He first observes, that *Portugal* can be but of little value if not absolutely reduced: he next shews, that prodigious advantages may be drawn from it when it shall be reduced. The way to do this, he says, is not by imposing taxes, increasing the revenue, or invading their privileges; but, on the contrary, treating them gently, and behaving mildly towards them upon all occasions, augmenting their liberties, and gradually introducing *Castilians* into employments, caressing their nobility, and using every method to entice them to *Madrid*, employing them in *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*; and, having thus disarmed the minds of the people, keeping the feuds amongst their great families open, and spies continually on the duke and the lords of the *Bragança* family, they might easily discover the proper time of sapping

one privilege after another, bringing *Castilian* magistrates into towns, marrying the poor nobility of *Castile* to the rich heiresses of *Portugal*; and having found, or created a pretence, seize the person and family of the duke of *Bragança*, confiscate his and his friend's estates, and then applying some popular palliatives to appease the minds of the people, remove all marks of a separate government, and render it in effect, though not in name, a mere province to the crown of *Castile*. Till this could be done, he directs that the government should be ever in the hands of a prince or princess of the blood, but surrounded by ministers who should be alone intrusted with ministerial secrets; and that where they could be trusted, *Portuguese* should be employed, because this would provoke odium, and take from them all connection with or concern for their countrymen. Such were the lessons of this *Solomon* of *Spain*.

(2) *Le Clede Histoire generale de Portugal.*

returned

returned into *Spain*; where he acted the part of a good king upon his death-bed, in deploring bitterly that he never thought of acting it before °. The reign of *Philip* the third and fourth was a series of worse measures, and worse fortune: all his dominions suffered greatly; *Portugal* most of all. The loss of *Ormuz* in the East of *Brazil*, in the *West Indies*, together with the shipwreck of a fleet sent to escorte that from *Goa*, brought the nation incredibly low, and encouraged the conde duke to hope they might be entirely crushed. These are the heads only of the transactions for forty years: to enter in any degree into the particulars is, in other words, to point out the breaches made by the *Spanish* ministers on the conditions granted by king *Philip*; which, with respect to them, was the original contract, and unalterable constitution of *Portugal* while subject to the monarchs of *Castile*; and which, notwithstanding they so often and so flagrantly violated, that one would have imagined they had studied to provoke the wrath of heaven, and insult the patience of men, instead of availing themselves, as they might have done, of the riches, power, and martial spirit of the *Portuguese* people. But having exhibited such a charge as this to the reader's view, we are bound in conscience to exhibit also the evidence, which we shall do as clearly and concisely as it is possible, and then there will be no room left to wonder; that, except a few of the nobility who were meanly content to be great, while the rest of their countrymen were little, united themselves with so much zeal, and at the same time with so much fortitude in their endeavours to shake off a yoke that had already rendered them miserable; and which, with the habit of a few years more, would have sunk into a race of naked and despicable slaves P.

It was the very basis and foundation of their privileges that the kingdom should remain separate and independent, and consequently that *Lisbon* should continue as much its capital as ever, the several supreme councils and courts residing there; so that the natives of this realm might not be obliged to travel in search of justice. So little, or at least so short a time was this observed, that neither promotion nor justice was to be obtained without journeys, and *Madrid* was not more the capital of *Castile* than of *Portugal*. The general assembly of estates was to be held frequently, and they were

Fundamental articles of the convention made with the Portuguese broken.

° GONSALEZ DE CESPEDES Historia del Rey Don Phelipe III.
P LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, Historia de Don Phelipe IV. Rey de las Espanas, por Don GONSALEZ DE CESPEDES Y MENESES, FARIA Y SOUSA.

held thrice in the space of threescore years, and of these twice within the first three. The king was to reside in this realm, as often and as long as possible; in compliance with which *Philip* the first was there but once, *Philip* the second but four months, and *Philip* the third was never there at all. The household establishment was suppressed through all their reigns. The viceroy was to be a native of *Portugal*, or a prince or princess of the blood; yet when any of the royal family bore the title, the power was in reality in the hands of a *Spaniard*. Thus, when the princess of *Mantua* was vice-queen, the marquis de la Puebla was to assist in council, and in all dispatches; and she was to do nothing without his advice. The council of *Portugal*, which was to be composed entirely of natives, was filled with *Castilians*, as the garrisons also were, though the contrary had been promised. The presidents of provinces, or corregidores, were to be natives; but by keeping those offices in his own hands, the king eluded this article. No city, town, or district, were to be given but to *Portuguese*; yet the duke of *Lerma* had *Beja*, *Serpa*, and other parts of the demesnes of the crown, which were formerly appenages of the princes of the blood. None but natives were capable of offices of justice, in the revenue, in the fleet, or of any post civil or military; yet these were given promiscuously to foreigners, or sold to the highest bidder, not excepting the governments of castles, cities, and provinces. The natives were so far from having an equal chance in such cases, that no posts in the presidials were ever given to them, and scarce any in garrisons; and whenever it happened, in the case of a person of extraordinary merit, whose pretensions could not be rejected, he was either removed, or not allowed to exercise his charge, as fell out to the marquis of *Mariakua* and others. The forms of proceeding, the jurisdiction, the ministers, the secretaries, were all changed, in the council of *Portugal*, being reduced from five to three, then to two, and at last to a single person^a.

Their commerce neglected, undermined, and oppressed by the Spanish ministers.

IN points regarding trade, equal alterations were made, of which the consequences were still worse, more especially to the people in general. The *Portuguese* had been assured, that a fleet should be kept off their coast, for the security and for preserving the freedom of their commerce; and, when it was needful, that this should be reinforced with *Castilian* ships: but instead of all this, the fleet of *Portugal* was employed on all occasions, ruined in the *Spanish* service; and the *Portuguese* admiral and general, in all expeditions where they acted to-

^a LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal,

gether,

gether, were obliged to obey the *Castilian*. They had no fleet or galleys to cruise or to escorte vessels, to secure the ports, or scour the coasts: so that the sea was full of pirates, the *Moors* made descents, navigation was unsafe, and commerce daily decaying. The number of *India* ships lessened; and whereas twenty used to go, and scarce one miscarried, the number was reduced to a few in a year, and these indifferently laden, and generally half of them lost or taken, in sight of port, by corsairs; so that above two hundred great galleons, besides other vessels, were lost while *Portugal* was dependant on *Spain*¹. If a fine ship was built at *Lisbon*, it was immediately put into the *Spanish* fleet; so that people were discouraged from building. The arsenals of *Portugal* were emptied of their artillery and arms of all sorts: so that above two thousand pieces of brass, and an infinite quantity of iron cannon were carried away into *Spain*; and in the grand place of *Seville*, there were nine hundred cannon to be seen at a time, marked with the arms of *Portugal*. The *Portuguese* were not admitted to the *West-Indian* commerce, tho' they had been flattered with a promise of indulgence in that respect, whilst the *Flemings* were allowed to trade to the *Portuguese* plantations. How very little the court of *Madrid* had the trade of *Portugal* at heart appears from the truce concluded with *Holland*, which was limited so, that it should not extend to countries beyond the equinoctial², as if on purpose that the *Portuguese* settlements in *Brazil*, *Ethiopia*, and the *East-Indies*, might have no benefit, and all their plantations in those parts be exposed to the attempts of the *Hollanders*. In consequence of which, the *Dutch* were soon enabled to take *Gale*, *Colombo*, and drive them entirely out of the isle of *Ceylon*, and monopolize the cinnamon trade to themselves; and likewise out of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and most of the *Molucca* islands, by which they likewise became masters of cloves, nutmegs, and in a great measure of pepper. These were not the only losses of the *Portuguese*. *Ormuz* was wrested from them by the *Persians*. The ports of *Mina* and *Arguin*, in *Guinea*, with *Fernambuco*, and a great part of *Brazil*, were seized by the *Dutch*, who also took the important fortress of *Malacca*, in the *East-Indies*, after a siege of six months. These losses served for a pretext to raise money, in order to recover those places; but it was still diverted, and the *Portuguese* saw themselves in imminent danger of utter ruin, when in all countries in *Europe*, that were before friends, were made their

¹ GONSALEZ DE CESPEDES, LE CLEDE. ² FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLERC, LE CLEDE, CORP'S Universal Diplomatique.

enemies, merely by this union with *Castile*^t. A circumstance, which in point of honour, the *Spanish* ministers ought to have considered.

The royal revenue diverted gradually, till Portugal becomes only a farm to Castile.

THE revenue of the crown, which was by the concessions of king *Philip* to be spent in *Portugal*, yet was applied to the wants of *Spain*. Pensions were sold to persons there, and then appointed to be paid out of the revenue of *Portugal*, so that six millions of old revenue scarce brought eighty thousand crowns into the king's exchequer. The tax of salt, first imposed by king *Sebastian*, remitted by *Henry*, revived by *Philip*, and raised to more than the value of the commodity, with the annates from graces, bringing in four hundred thousand crowns a year, and the profit of all confiscations of merchandize, were appropriated to the service of *Castile*. The money levied on the clergy of *Portugal*, and the tax on oil, were applied to the same purpose^u. The excise on flesh and wine, to a fourth part of it value, was assigned to the building of the palaces of *Buen Retiro*, and *Galeria*, near *Madrid*. A duty laid by the common council of the city of *Lisbon*, to build a conduit for the use of the inhabitants, was (after being some time managed by the city officers and applied to that purpose) seized by *Philip* the second; and afterwards by *Philip* the third; this practice was extended to all the cities of the kingdom. Every parish was charged with furnishing ball to the soldiers; and the *Castilian* projectors exercised their wits so well, in inventing new subsidies, that out of these alone, from *anno domini* 1626 to 1633, thirty-two millions three hundred and thirty thousand crowns were brought into the king's coffers, and a much greater sum afterwards, from that last year to 1640. Upon the whole, the *Portuguese* writers compute, that from 1584 to 1626, the *Spanish* government cost *Portugal* above one hundred millions of gold, without any advantage to the *grandees* or people; and what was drained from them afterwards was very little less than that sum, which makes two hundred millions, and was more than sufficient to exhaust any country, and which really beggared *Portugal*^w.

THE clergy, exclusive of those grievances which they shared in common with the rest of their countrymen, had some pe-

^t LE CLEDE, Histoire generale de Espagne, LE CLERC, Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, Conquista de las islas Malucas, por el licenciado BARTOLOME LEON DE ARGENSOLA, Histoire de l'isle de Ceylan, par J. RIBEYRO.

^u LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, Histoire generale de Espagne.

^w LE CLEDE.

cutiar to themselves. The first *Philip* had stipulated not to demand from the Pope any bulls to enable him to tax benefices; the last *Philip*, however, imposed and levied the old impositions, without breach of faith in his opinion, or rather in his minister's opinion, because it was done without bull and without law. The priests resented this invasion of their privileges, and complained of the pensions granted out of their livings, and the delays of filling sees and ecclesiastical dignities, that the king might have the profits of the vacancies. All ecclesiastical dignities, and all commanderies of orders, were restrained to natives; yet the *Castilians* enjoyed all the great, and none but the small were left to the *Portuguese*. This affected not only the clergy, but the nobility and gentry, who were likewise uneasy to find they could get no military charges, but what were the leavings of the *Castilians*, being generally given to courtiers and their relations: so that none by distinguishing services could now hope for any recompence; and that emulation, which is the source of brave actions, being destroyed, *Portugal*, so famous in former days for prodigies of valour, lost at once all its reputation. Many of the best families were, for want of employments, reduced to poverty; whilst others, who were not yet sunk so low, had loans proposed to draw their wealth out of their hands, and were ill treated if they declined lending. No fiefs, jurisdictions, or escheats to the crown ought to have been bestowed on any except *Portuguese*; yet great numbers of families were banished purely to introduce *Castilians*, who had also titles granted them, and the richest heiresses of *Portugal* were given to poor gentlemen of *Castile*, that they might find those riches in other countries, which they wanted in their own^x.

THE detestation of the *Spanish* government was become universal, from the comparison made by different ranks of people between their respective grievances; for common misery taught men of all degrees to mingle their complaints. The nobility and gentry were grieved to see their long services so ill repaid, while *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Flemings*, were courted, preferred, and honoured with the *Golden Fleece*, which never fell to the share of a *Portuguese*. They saw, with the utmost sorrow, the order of knighthood with them become contemptible; and even that of *Christ*, cherished and enriched by successive kings, now disgraced by those who

In the midst of these calamities the clergy meet with their share of ill usage.

All ranks and degrees of people conceive a desire of recovering their liberty, by shaking off the yoke.

^x *Historia delle rivoluzioni del regno di Portogallo per le quali la corona e stata trasferita dal Rè di Castiglia al duca di Bragança Giovanni IV. composta da GIO. BATT. BIRAGO AVVOCATO, LE CLEDE.*

wore it; and they bore with impatience the sending their children into *Castile* for education, where they were considered as hostages, rather than men of quality. The clergy felt very sensibly the several methods that had been practised to fleece them; they were mortified at seeing the great benefices in the hands of the princes of the blood, who never judged it expedient to visit *Portugal*: thus, for instance, the cardinal infant Don *Ferdinand* held at once the priory of *Crato*, worth twenty-five thousand crowns, and the abbey of *Alcobaça*, in commendam, which was worth forty thousand crowns a year more; and *Leopold*, the son of the archduke of *Tyrol*, was named bishop of *Viseo*, at three years old, notwithstanding Don *Alexander*, brother of the duke of *Bragança*, was refused the archbishopric of *Evora*, under pretence that he was not a doctor of divinity^y; and what surpassed all other evils, they found no way to rise in preferment so expeditious as that of granting pensions to courtiers. The officers and soldiers employed in the *East Indies* were very indifferently paid, compelled on all occasions to act in subserviency to the *Castilian* interest; and the common people, besides being oppressed by taxes, and scarce left the benefit of the laws, were daily forced into the king's service, and contrary to the most solemn engagements, sent into the most distant parts of his catholic majesty's dominions, with a very scanty subsistence, and no hopes of being ever preferred^z. In this situation the signs of discontent were frequent and loud: an insurrection had been raised in the kingdom of *Algarve*, which might have been attended with very untoward consequences, if the vice-queen *Mary* had not vigorously interposed, and by her care and prudence quieted the minds of the people: notwithstanding which the new tax of five *per cent.* upon lands and merchandize, was, in obedience to the orders of the court, imposed^a.

The situation of Don Juan, duke of Bragança, and his family, at this juncture.

A NATION, when once discontented, naturally seeks a chief; for an established government quickly suppresses popular tumults when they are not conducted by some able head, and to some determined end. They no sooner began to make this enquiry, than the duke of *Bragança* offered himself to their view, and to their mind^b. This prince was in the flower of his age, grandson to *John* duke of *Bragança*, who

^y GONSALO DE CESPEDES Y MENESES *Histoire generale de Portugal.*

^z *Histoire de la Révolution de Portugal ou du rétablissement du Roi Jean IV. sur le trône en 1640, par RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, LE CLEDE.*

^a GIO BATT BRAGO AVOGADRO, LUIZ DE MENESES, CAJETANO PASSERELLO.

^b LE CLEDE *Histoire generale de Portugal.*

had

had been competitor to *Philip*, and himself of the same name. His father, *Don Theodosius*, had been a warm friend to his country, and opposed the first insults of the *Castilians* with great dignity and spirit, which had endeared him exceedingly to the people. He had by his dutchess, the daughter of the duke of *Frias*, this duke, his brother *Don Duarte*, and *Don Alexander*, designed for the church, and who died a young man^c. As for *Don Juan* duke of *Bragança*, he had espoused *Donna Louisa de Guzman*, the sister of the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and it is necessary to set his character in a true light. In the eye of human policy he seemed to be of all men living the most unfit for the great part he acted. He was of a gentle and quiet temper; rather indolent than active; loved hospitality and magnificence; delighted in country sports, was the kindest husband, the most affectionate father, the most generous master, the friendliest neighbour, and the most amiable and companionable man breathing. Providence intending him for the instrument by whom the oppressed *Portuguese* were to be restored to their independency and freedom, gave these virtues a turn proper to produce consequences which the most penetrating human policy would never have suspected. His behaviour reconciled the nobility to his grandeur, as they never saw it exerted but in doing good: it defended him from the jealousies and suspicions of the *Spaniards*, who thought a man of his temper could never give them any trouble. unless he was forced to it; which made them tender and indulgent in their proceedings. It attached to him all his vassals, who looked upon him as their common parent; gained the affections of the populace where-ever he came, and spread a universal desire of being happy under the government of a prince of so much mildness and moderation. He knew his own rights, and he did not want ambition: he saw the misery of his country, and he saw it with compassion: he comprehended perfectly the views of the *Spanish* ministers, and he looked upon them with proper resentment. But he could do all this without discomposing his temper, without altering his conduct, and without discovering the least desire of being greater than he was. In the end, his patience, which some thought pusillanimity, appeared to be consummate prudence; his indolence the most refined policy; and his backwardness in stirring the only effectual method of procuring that unanimity in resolution which so wonderfully and unexpectedly placed him on the throne. His dutchess was of a different frame of

^c GONSALO DE CESPEDES Y MENESES, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

mind :

mind: her temper was lively, vehement, and sincere: her courage manly, and her fortitude heroic. She had the credit of exciting, or at least of confirming her husband in his final resolution; but in reality the duke had taken it before he asked her advice, and that calmness with which he proceeded, received a useful, as well as acceptable colouring from the vivacity of his consort^d.

Spanish
ministers
act as if
determined
to drive the
nation to
despair.

A. D.
1637.

IN some particular places extraordinary severities had forced the people to explain themselves, though to their own hurt. Thus at *Evora* there happened a great sedition, in which the name of the duke of *Bragança* was mentioned, and a deputation sent to acquaint him, that the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants of that city were at his devotion. The best part of the province of *Alentejo* was in motion upon this news; but the duke rejecting the proposal, and stopping the insurrection, availed himself of the credit which this gave him with the court of *Madrid*, to preserve the citizens of *Evora* from destruction^e. But now that rage, which had hitherto been confined, became general; the conduct and scheme of the *Spaniards* driving the whole nation from discontent into despair. A strict survey had been taken of the whole kingdom, as if they had meant to divide it; and from hence it appeared that there were in *Portugal* about two hundred and ten thousand fighting men. In consequence of this came orders for raising six thousand foot, and a great corps of horse, to march against the rebels in *Catalonia*; most of the eminent gentlemen in the several provinces were required to raise their vassals, and to march with them in person^f. The best part of those who complied were seized, with several of the principal nobility, as hostages, and some of them put to ransom; which frightened those who remained at home excessively, and disposed them to run all hazards, though threatened to be declared traitors, and their estates confiscated. The next good effect of this political survey was the project of no fewer than twenty new taxes and inquisitions, to be levied on a people crushed by those under which they laboured already. Some letters of the secretary *Vasconcellos*, whose character has been already given, let the *Portuguese* into the depth of his and his master's designs, and took from them all possibility of hope, in case experience had failed of doing it before. Under such circumstances as these a revolt was certainly to be feared, and

^d GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, LUIZ DE MENESES.

^e LE CLEDE, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

^f GONSALO DE CESPEDES Y MENESES, CAJETANO PASSARELLO, LE CLEDE.

indeed

indeed it was what the *Spaniards* expected : the 'conde duke had taken precautions for suppressing it, and had resolved to make it a pretence for depriving them of that shadow of independency which was still remaining ^g.

THE duke of *Bragança* had for the master of his household and director of his finances, one *Juan Pinto Ribeiro*, a doctor of the civil law ; a man of a bold spirit, extensive genius, and who at once deserved and possessed his master's confidence. He was at *Lisbon*, and with very great address promoted and encouraged that spirit which he saw rising in all ranks and degrees of people. When in company with the nobility, he deplored the dejected and depressed state in which they were held by the *Castilians*. Amongst the priests he admired the learning and abilities conspicuous in men of their order ; and testified his concern, that instead of recommending, this should hinder their preferment. With men in a mercantile way the decay of trade was his constant topic : he pointed out the sources of it, and took care to insinuate that from the nature of them, things must grow daily worse and worse. His discourses gained him credit with those who had the good of their country sincerely at heart : amongst whom the most considerable was Don *Rodrigo da Cunha*, archbishop of *Lisbon* ; a man of great quality and abilities, who was particularly picqued at the *Spaniards*, and at the vice-queen for raising Don *Sebastian de Mattos de Norogno* to the primacy of *Braga*, and bestowing on him all their confidence. The archbishop of *Lisbon* communicated his thoughts to Don *Michael de Almeida*, a nobleman of Roman courage, who was so dissatisfied with the *Spanish* government that he never went to court, Don *Antonio de Almada*, and his son Don *Lewis*, the grand huntsman *Mello*, and Don *George* his brother, Don *Lewis da Cunha*, the archbishop's nephew, *Pedro de Mendoza*, Don *Rodrigo de Saa*, great chamberlain, and some other officers of the crown, who though they retained their pompous titles, had not either appointments or perquisites ^h.

In their first consultations it very naturally occurred, that the first step to be taken was to make choice of a proper person on whose head they might place the crown. Some were for the duke of *Bragança*, others for the marquis de *Villa-real*, and others for the duke of *Aveyro*, all princes of the same house. The archbishop heard all that could be said, and then told them his own sentiments clearly ; which were, that in declaring against the *Spanish* government they could

^g VITTORIO SIRI, GONCALO DE CESPEDES Y MENESES, LE CLEDE. ^h RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

not either hope for justice, or escape the guilt of rebellion, otherwise than by owning the duke of *Bragança*, who was the true heir of the crown : in which they readily acquiesced. He then shewed them that as this was no factious, they had reason to flatter themselves it would prove no fruitless attempt ; but being intended for their benefit, would be abetted by the whole nation : that the *Spanish* forc'd in the kingdom was not great, and the strength and credit of that crown no longer what it was : that the *Dutch* had long ago recovered their liberties : that the *Catalans* had lately followed their example ; and that the *Portuguese* might do the same with great ease, if either the love of liberty, or the sense of injuries, could revive the ancient courage of their nation, and enable them to shake off that reproach thrown upon them by the infidels, that those who stiled themselves the conquerors of the *Indies* were nevertheless slaves at home¹. They applauded this discourse, and promised in their several stations to do all in their power, and to hazard all in their possession for accomplishing so glorious an enterprize, and for restoring that constitution, which while they held it, were a great, and which now they had lost, they were scarce a people. The archbishop recommended to them steadiness and secrecy ; and at the same time desired, that the obstacles which it would be necessary for them to surmount, should be seriously and circumstantially considered.

Obstacles
that were
to be over-
come.

It was observed, that the *Spaniards* and those of their party, were in full possession of the government in all its branches ; that the magistrates, judges, officers civil and military, and in short, all who had either power or influence, were on their side. To this it was answered, that in appearance it was so ; but that very probably it might be otherwise in reality, and if not, the many were every where superior to the few, and the few were no where formidable when they were men of bad characters, and universally detested, which was the case of every man devoted to the *Spanish* interest. It was remarked, that the *Spaniards* had garriisons in three places in the *Algarves* ; that they had a citadel, and several forts in and about *Lisbon* ; and that they had a body of troops in the *Spanish Estremadura*. It was said in return to this, that if all those forces had been together, or so disposed that they might have been suddenly collected, they would have been much more formidable ; that as they were now divided, they might be easily kept for ever separate ; that though a siege

¹ GIO BATT BIRAGO AVVOCADRO, LUIZ DE MENESES, CAJETANO PASSARELLO.

was not, yet a blockade was easily formed; and that if a garrison could not eat they must surrender, though no artillery was brought against them; that of the troops in the field, a third part at least was *Portuguese*; and that it would be no difficult matter to assemble an army strong enough to invite them to come over, and then the business would be done without fighting. It was objected, that after all, *Portugal* was naturally but a part of *Spain*, surrounded on it by three sides, on all which it might be attacked, without any regular forces of its own, and without allies. It was replied to this, that the situation was the same in former times; that the *Castilians* had heretofore claimed *Portugal*, without being able to conquer it; that though the force of *Portugal* was diminished, the strength of *Spain* was likewise declined; that at all events, the *Portuguese* were superior to the *Catalans*, and might therefore venture to do what they had done. Lastly, it was alledged, that the present season was not to be lost; that *Portugal* was destined to destruction by the *Castilians*, as appeared by the letters to *Vasconcellos* from *Madrid*, and therefore they ran no greater risk, for no greater evil could happen than destruction, which they might as well meet as expect; that their enemies were never so much embarrassed as at this juncture; and that as *Spain* had rendered almost all *Europe* her enemies, *Portugal* upon her revolt would have almost all *Europe* either for open or secret friends. The result of all was, that proceeding was less hazardous and more glorious than desisting; and that the recovery of their liberty would depend chiefly upon themselves.

WHEN doctor *Pinto* came to be consulted, he embarked himself roundly, but disclaimed all knowledge of his master's sentiments. He was very clear as to his right to the crown, and he was no less clear as to his love for his country; but he observed that the duke was without ambition; and that he would risk nothing for the sake of his title, being satisfied with the great property he had, and with the opportunities it gave him of doing good; but added, that if the welfare and interest of the nation demanded his service, he was confident there was not a peasant in *Portugal* would risk his cottage sooner than his master would his estates. In fine, that he would do nothing to make himself a king, but would expose himself to any thing for the welfare of the kingdom; and that from what he had said they might account for his past conduct, and to take their measures in the most effectual manner to induce him to alter it. His notions were well received, and it was unanimously determined, when once their

Dr. Pin-
to's pru-
dence as to
his master.
affairs

affairs were ripe, to force the crown upon the duke of *Bragança**.

His own
wise con-
duct
through-
out.

WE have, in the history of *Castile*, shewn on what maxims the conde duke *de Olivarez* acted, and what various methods he practised, that he might amuse the duke of *Bragança*, and engage him to come to court, which if he had done, we have that minister's own authority in his apology to prove, he would never have set foot more in *Portugal*, so that his suspicions in this respect were not in the least unjust. But as great a politician as *Olivarez* was, his artifices not only proved ineffectual, but were really serviceable to the duke. Thus, when he was declared general of the forces, directed to visit the fortresses, it gave him an opportunity he could not otherwise have had, of making a progress through the kingdom, obliged even his rivals and enemies to pay him great respect, and gave even the hispaniolized *Portuguese* an habit of obeying him. It is true, that such of the *Spanish* governors as could be trusted had orders to seize him; but the duke came so well accompanied that it would have been much easier for him to have surprized any of their places with those he had about him, than for them to have arrested him. Where human prudence might have failed, Providence visibly interposed for his preservation: the *Spanish* fleet under admiral *Oso* was ordered upon the coast, in hopes he would have dined on board it, upon an invitation; but a storm dispersed and shattered that fleet, which might otherwise have given him a great deal of trouble. When he came to *Almada*, over-against *Lisbon*, *Pinto* procured an audience for *Antonio Almada*, *Michael Almeida*, and *Pedro Mendoza*: he heard their propositions with a pleasant countenance; and though he did not absolutely engage himself, yet his expressions of gratitude were so strong, and his testimonies of kindness so warm, and so obliging, that they returned well satisfied, and charmed with the thoughts of having so good a prince. He had received instructions from court to wait upon the vice-queen at *Lisbon*, and to treat her with the most profound respect: the design of which was to shew him to the people in the light of a subject, and thereby to weaken those impressions they might otherwise have received. The duke went accordingly; but attended with such a concourse of nobility, and was complimented with such multitudes on his arrival, that the *marquis de Peubla*, who in reality was governor to the vice-queen,

* RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, CAJETANO PASSARELLO,
LE CLERE Histoire generale de Portugal.

could

could not help saying, "This visit does not proceed from respect to you; but is intended to shew you what respect is due to him:" and indeed it left him and his friends no great reason to suspect that the declaration he intended to make would meet with much opposition there. For the expence of this general visit, and for the necessary fortifications, he had forty thousand crowns paid him out of the treasury, and soon after twenty thousand more to facilitate his journey to *Madrid*; which were very convenient supplies at that juncture, and prevented his taking such measures to raise money as might have afforded suspicions¹.

WHEN the plan of the associated lords was so far advanced *He resolves* that little more remained than to fix the time and manner of *to accept the crown.* its execution, they dispatched *Mendoça* to the duke, to obtain his definitive resolution. At this he hesitated a little, and desired some time to consider. *Mendoça* requested that he would not protract time, and that he would forbear asking the advice of his secretary *Antonio Paez Viegas*, a person of great sagacity, but remarkably cautious. The duke readily promised the former; but not the latter. After mature reflection, he thought it expedient to send for *Viegas*, and to lay before him the whole state of the matter. Instead of giving his opinion, the secretary asked him, whether if the lords, in imitation of the states of the United Provinces, had resolved to set up a republic, he would not have sacrificed his own rights to the welfare of his country? "Yes, replied the duke, and my fortunes, and my life, if necessary to her safety." "Why then, said the secretary, should you hesitate at receiving a crown which it is her interest to offer, and to which you have a just title?" Having said this, he knelt and kissed his hand. The duke then communicated it to the dutchess, who, after a little reflection, said, "My lord, a violent death certainly waits you at *Madrid*, and it may be at *Lisbon*; but you will die there a miserable prisoner, and here covered with glory and a king. This is the worst that can happen: we ought rather to confide in the love of the people, your just claim, and the divine protection." The secretary, without speaking, knelt and kissed her hand likewise. The duke sent for *Mendoça*, introduced him to the dutchess, and then told him he might assure those who sent him, that they might dispose of him as they thought fit; and that upon the day fixed he would cause himself to be proclaimed throughout all his own estates, and where-ever he had any influence².

¹ RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, LUIZ DE MENESES.

² GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO.

Measures
taken to
surprize
Lisbon.

ALL these transactions were in the five last months of the year, and the first time mentioned for taking up arms was the month of *March* ensuing; but when they came to examine things more strictly, they found it impossible to put off the attempt so long. *Mendoça* made another turn to consult the duke, who afterwards sent for *Pinto* from *Lisbon*, whom he enjoined to acquaint the lords, to keep punctual to *Saturday* the first of *December*, which was the day they last appointed, and to bend all their endeavours to the seizing of *Lisbon*; for they had some thoughts of attacking *Evora*, which he disapproved. As the time drew nearer they were obliged to take some considerable citizens into their party, and a monk, one father *Nicholas de Maja*, who brought the magistrates to concur with them; so that by this time the design was in the hands of at least five hundred persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages, which made the deferring it more dangerous than the execution. Yet even after this there fell out accidents that were very near compelling them to defer it, and it certainly had been done if the duke of *Bragança* had not constantly insisted that his excuses were all exhausted; and that, if he did not set out for *Madrid*, he had nothing to hope if he remained still a subject in *Porugal*. Doctor *Pinto* held all the associates closely united, and with the utmost hazard, and most indefatigable industry, laboured to adjust every thing so as to have it ready by the time, and in particular engaged the traders, who were embarked, to dismiss numbers of their journeymen and servants, under pretence they could no longer pay or employ them, that discontented, and out of bread, they might be the readier to take arms. Father *Nicholas* also was very useful in promoting, though cautiously, and in very ambiguous terms, that spirit it was so necessary to raise ⁿ.

Is carried
with great
spirit into
execution.

A. D.
1640.

AT length *Saturday* the first of *December* came, when the confederates met early at the houses of *Almeida*, and the other great men, where they were to arm themselves. In all their countenances appeared such confidence as gave hope of victory: all being armed, they repaired to the palace by several ways, and most of them in litters, the better to conceal their number and arms. They were divided into four bodies, and expected the hour of eight, which was the time appointed. As soon as the clock struck eight *Pinto* gave the signal by firing a pistol, and then all parties fell to their respective tasks.

ⁿ Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal, par RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, CAJETANO PASSARELLO, LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal.

Don

Don *Michael de Almeida* fell upon the *German* guard, who being surpris'd, for the most part unarmed, were soon subdued. The grand huntsman, his brother, and Don *Stephen da Cunha*, charged the *Spanish* company before the palace at the place called *The Fort*. Most of the townsmen who knew of the design were in this action, and boldly fell in sword in hand upon the court guard. None amongst them signalized himself more than a priest, who carrying a crucifix in one hand, and a sword in the other, amidst his loud exhortations ceased not to act beyond the most alert. None could stand before him; so that after some small resistance, the *Spanish* officer and his soldiers were forced to surrender, and in order to procure quarter, to cry out, "God save the duke of *Bragança*!" Pinto, having made his way into the palace, headed those that were to attack *Vasconcellos* in his apartment. At the foot of the stairs they met *Francis Soares de Albergaria*, judge of the civil causes, who seeing this tumult, would have interposed his authority to appease them; but hearing all cry, "God save the duke of *Bragança*!" he thinking it the duty of his office, cried "God save the king of *Spain* and *Portugal*!" This cost him his life; for one of the gentlemen in arms shot him, to prevent two cries. *Antonio Correa*, first clerk to the secretary, running out upon the noise, was stabbed by Don *Antonio de Meneses*; yet he turned up his eyes full of revenge, and said, "What! dare you strike me?" All the answer *Meneses* returned, was to stab him till he fell: yet he survived all these wounds, to die some time after by the hand of the hangman. Being quit of this obstacle, the confederates pressed forward towards the secretary's chamber. *James Garcia Paleia*, a captain of foot, was then with him, who seeing so many armed men, and supposing they sought the life of *Vasconcellos*, though he owed no obligation to that minister; yet out of mere generosity endeavoured to keep the door with his sword, till the secretary could make his escape; but being wounded in his right arm, and overpowered by the multitude, he leaped out at a window, and had the good fortune to escape. They immediately broke into the chamber, and not finding the secretary, though they searched all corners, they threatened an old woman with present death, if she did not discover him; and she, to save her life, pointed to the place where he was, being a close cupboard taken out of the thickness of the wall, where they found him covered with papers. Fear prevented his uttering one word, and Don *Roderic de Saa* gave him the first wound with a pistol; after which several of the confederates having struck him, they cast the

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U

body

body out at the window, crying, "The tyrant is dead: let liberty live, and Don *John of Portugal*."

The vice-queen seized, and the Spanish government entirely dissolved.

THE multitude, who had flocked to the palace, gave great shouts of joy at seeing the body cast down. *Pinto* losing no time, hastened to join those who were to seize the vice-queen, and found they were already successful. Those who were to enter that princess's apartment being come to the door, and the enraged multitude crying out, they would set fire to it if not opened, the vice-queen, with her ladies, and the archbishop of *Braga*, appeared in her chamber, believing her presence would appease the nobility, and oblige the commons to retire. At their entrance, advancing some steps towards the confederates, "I confess, gentlemen, said she, that the secretary has justly incurred the hatred of the people, and your indignation by his austerity, and insolent manner of proceeding. His death is a sufficient revenge. I believe that what has hitherto passed may be attributed to the hatred conceived against the secretary; but if you proceed in this manner you cannot avoid being reputed rebels, and you will deprive me of the means of excusing you to the king." Don *Antonio de Meneses* answered, that so many persons of worth were not met to punish a wretch who ought to have died by the hands of the hangman: that they came to do right to the duke of *Bragança*, to whom the crown appertained. She would have replied; but *Almeida* fearing his companions might cool, said, *Portugal* had no king but the duke of *Bragança*; and then all cried out, "God save Don *John king of Portugal*!" The vice-queen seeing them past reclaiming, thought to find more respect in the city; but as she offered to go down Don *Carlos de Noronha* civilly intreated her to retire to her chamber, and not expose herself to the fury of the incensed people. She, in a rage, finding herself detained, cried out, "Why, what can the people do to me?" To which *Noronha* answered, "Nothing, madam, but throw your highness out at the window." The archbishop of *Braga*, inflamed at this, snatched a sword from a soldier, and offered to run at *Noronha*; but Don *Michael de Almeida* laid hold of him, and told him the danger of provoking those who, but for him, had decreed his death. This made him

• GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT. Histoire generale de Portugal. P LUIZ DE MENESSES Discurso gratulatorio sobre o Dia da felice restituicao & aclamação de Rey de Portugal D. Joam IV. por FR. FRANC. BRANDAO, MONGE DE ALCOBAGA, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

curb

curb his passion, in hopes of a more favourable opportunity of revenging himself. The rest of the confederates seized all the *Spaniards* that were in the palace or city. The marquis *de la Puebla*, steward to the vice-queen, *Don Diego Cardenas*, major-general, *Don Hernando de Castro*, intendant of the marine, the marquis *de Baietto*, an *Italian*, master of the horse to the vice-queen, and several sea-officers, were on this occasion made prisoners, which was done with as great ease as if by order of the king of *Spain*. No man stirred to defend them, and they were in no condition to do it, being most of them taken in their beds. This done, and all danger removed, *Antonio de Saldanha* led the people to the courts of judicature, where he made an harangue to them upon the present happiness of *Portugal*, in being delivered from tyranny, and the crown restored to their natural prince. His discourse was received with general applause, and all proceedings for the future ordered to run in the name of *Don John* king of *Portugal*^a. Thus the foreign government was completely dissipated, and their natural prince restored.

In the mean while *Don Gaston Coutinho* released out of prison all who had been committed through the severity of the *Spanish* ministers; and they who were thus delivered formed themselves into a body no less formidable than that of the first confederates. Amidst this general joy *Pinto* and other principal men were not, however, free from care. The *Spaniards* were still possessed of the citadel, and whilst it held out, the king of *Spain* had always an entrance at his command: they conceiving therefore they had done nothing unless they were masters of that place, went to the vice-queen, demanding of her an order for the governor to deliver it up. She rejected this with scorn; but *Almada* swearing desperately if she persisted, he would instantly murder all the *Spaniards* that were taken, for fear of sacrificing so many persons of quality, she signed the order, believing the governor knew his duty too well to obey a command he could not but be convinced was extorted from her. It fell out quite otherwise than she expected; for the *Spanish* governor, *Don Lewis del Campo*, a man of no resolution, seeing all in arms before the citadel, vowing they would put the garrison to the sword unless they surrendered, was glad to depart with so good a pretence as the vice-queen's order to hide his cowardice. The citadel being surrendered, and the confederates now secure on all sides, they dispatched *Mendoça* and the great huntsman to carry the happy news to the duke of *Bragança*, and assure him

A new form settled, with the archbishop of Lisbon at the head of it till the king's arrival.

^a GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO.

there wanted nothing to complete the people's felicity but the presence of their king, yet this was not equally desired by all; the nobility looked upon his exaltation with an envious eye; the gentry, who had no hand in this affair, stood doubtful, as if they knew not whether he would justify those proceedings. The creatures of *Spain* were in a consternation, and only took care to save themselves. The duke's friends, knowing his intention without disclosing it, prosecuted their business: they met at the palace to settle affairs, and unanimously chose the archbishop of *Lisbon* president of the council, and lieutenant of the kingdom. He refused at first, believing there was more need of a general than a person of his character; but soon complied, upon condition the archbishop of *Braga* should be joined in commission with him. This subtle prelate's design was to make the other as guilty in respect to the *Spaniards* as himself if he accepted; or if he refused, to render him as odious to the new king as he was to the people. The primate of *Braga* perceived the snare; but, being wholly devoted to the *Spaniards*, positively refused to have any share in the government. Thus the whole power fell into the hands of the archbishop of *Lisbon*, Don *Michael de Almeida*, *Pedro de Mendonça*, and Don *Antonio de Almada*, who were appointed his counsellors^r (B).

THE

^r Le CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, LUIZ DE MENESES.

(B) This change of government was so sudden, and those who conducted it shewed so much prudence as well as spirit, that in the afternoon of the *Saturday* on which it happened, the shops were opened, and every thing quiet. This had different effects upon different minds; for when they came that night to sing the *Te Deum*, the chapter of *Lisbon* could not be prevailed upon to assist at it, supposing it impossible that a revolution could be produced with so little bustle; and the archbishop of *Lisbon* saw, with regret, that this coolness of theirs was like to operate upon

others. He ordered, therefore, *Te Deum* to be performed the next day with greater solemnity, which was *Sunday*, assembled as many of the nobility as he could at his own palace, and made use of his authority to compel the chapter to be present; upon which they made no difficulty at all, supposing that this mandate of his would justify them in case of any new change (3). After *Te Deum* was sung, this prelate went in procession, with a crucifix carried before him, through the streets; and when he came to the house where *St. Anthony of Padua* was born, he made a stand before a crucifix

(3) O Doutor Joao' Baptista Birago Historia della dez unione del Regno di Portogallo della Corona di Castiglia.

placed

THE president dispatched expresses the same evening to all the provinces to excite the people to give thanks to heaven for the recovery of their liberty; and commanding all magistrates

Don John IV. makes his entry.

placed in a nich there, and kneeling on a low bulk against the side of the house, began a loud prayer, that if what they did was pleasing to God, the image would afford them some token of consent. Upon this, certain persons placed there before, cried out, that the image gave a sign; and others, posted in the rear for the like purpose, roared out, *a miracle! a miracle!* At the close of the procession, the archbishop shewed that the right arm of his own crucifix was detached from the cross, and was extended in a menacing posture. Whether this happened through art or accident is uncertain; but however it happened, it brought out all *Lisbon*. Such as had still expectations from the *Spaniards*, such as were afraid of risking their persons and estates, and even such as were indolently neutral, came abroad upon this occasion, and relieved those who were already hoarse with the cry of "Long live *John* the fourth, the father and deliverer of his country (4)." The very archbishop of *Braga* was forced to join in this cry; and a variety of passions blended their effects into the appearance of that universal loyalty with which such signal and stupendous changes are commonly attended. All that part of the city which lies upon the *Tagus* was covered with

people, who stood there in expectation of seeing their new king; and the archbishop of *Lisbon* sent expresses to hasten him, that his subjects might not be disappointed. They met him half-way to *Lisbon*, in a hurtling equipage, attended by a few of his friends, and hawking carelessly, as if a crown was the least in his thoughts. As soon as he knew the state of things, he pushed directly on to *Lisbon*, passed the river *Tayb*, tho' nine miles broad, in what we stile a pair of oars, landed, and almost without notice, made his way to the theatre that was prepared for his reception (5). There, shewing himself to the archbishop and other great officers of the crown, the people were ravished with amazement; and, to keep up their spirits, the interpretation of certain old prophecies were spread abroad, and those, for the authenticity of which the *Spaniards* themselves had vouched, were now turned against them; so that the people looked upon king *John* as a monarch sent them by heaven (6). If therefore the *Spaniard*, who saw the rejoicing of this night, really meant what he said, when he declared that *John* was truly a fortunate prince, to acquire a kingdom by a bonfire, and that his matter was very unlucky to be driven out of so many fine provinces by an illumination (7),

(4) *M. Fremont d'Ablandcourt Portugal restaurado.*

(5) *Vertot, M. Fremont d'Ablandcourt.*

(6) *Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs, O Lenter Joao Baptista*

Brago Portugal restaurado.

(7) *Vertot.*

gistrates to cause the duke to be proclaimed king, and to secure the *Spaniards*. He in the next place acquainted the vice-queen, that she must withdraw, to make room for the king and his family, and caused an apartment to be furnished for her in the ancient royal palace of *Xabregas*, which is in the suburbs. The vice-queen left the palace with a countenance full of indignation, and without speaking a single word. Only a few of her own servants and the archbishop of *Braga*, with the hazard of his life, attended her. The duke of *Bragança* was all this time in suspense, not knowing how affairs succeeded at *Lisbon*, till *Melo* and *Mendoça* arrived at *Villaviciosa*. By the joy of their countenances, and their casting themselves at his feet, he understood before they spoke, he was king of *Portugal*. He conducted them to the dutches to relate what had happened, and they gave her the title of majesty^{*}. The same day Don *John* was proclaimed king in all the towns that depended on him: *Alonso de Melo* did the same at *Evras*. The new king set forward for *Lisbon* with the very same equipage he had provided to go to the court of *Spain*; he was attended by the marquis de *Ferreira*, his kinsman, the count de *Vimio*, and many other persons of quality. The queen was left at *Villaviciosa* to confirm that province in its obedience by her presence. All the roads, through which he passed were thronged with people, who ran to see him, pouring blessings on him, and curses on the *Spaniards*. All the nobility, officers of the crown, and principal magistrates went out to receive him at a great distance from *Lisbon*, where he made his entry amidst the joyful acclamations of the multitude on the sixth of *December*[†].

* RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT. † LUIZ DE MENESES,
GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT,
FRANC. BRANDAO, LE CLEDE, BATT NANI.

he was not much wiser than the *Indian* who thought he had defined the mechanism of a clock, by saying, there were twelve figures between two circles, and a hand passing from one to the other pointed out the hour, which is the truth indeed, but very far from being the whole truth; for, as we have abun-

dantly shewn, this enterprize ran great hazards, and was not accomplished without many difficulties. On the first reading this history it may excite strange notions, but none will stir without reading it again, and whoever does that will not stir at all.

S E C T.

SECTION VIII.

The Reigns of John the fourth, and his son Alonfo the sixth.

THE new king perceiving with what alacrity his title was received, and how general a satisfaction the people expressed on the throwing off the *Castilian* yoke, and resuming their ancient constitution, resolved without further delay to proceed to his coronation, and then to call an assembly of the states; the only acts that were requisite to authenticate his authority, and to render his person sacred. The ceremony of the coronation was performed on the fifteenth of *December*, with all possible magnificence. The duke of *Aveiro*, the marquis of *Villa-real*, the duke of *Caminha*, his son the count of *Monsanto*, and all the nobility of the kingdom assisted at the ceremony. The archbishop of *Lisbon*, at the head of his clergy, and attended by several other bishops, received the king at the gate of the cathedral, and there all the three estates took the oath of fidelity to him ^a. A few days after the queen came to *Lisbon*, having been received at a distance by the whole court, and the king himself, who upon other occasions, as well as this, testified in the most public manner how much he esteemed the great talents, and how sensible he was of the many services rendered him by his consort ^b. The assembly of the states met on the twenty-eighth of *January*, recognized the king's title, and acknowledged his son Don *Theodosius* in quality of prince of *Portugal*. On the other hand the king acquainted them, that for his civil list he would content himself with his patrimonial estate, and apply the public revenue for the public service. He at the same time consented that all the new taxes and impositions laid upon the people by the *Spaniards* should be extinguished; so that the nation was visibly greater gainers by this revolution than the king, who obtained nothing but his right, while they were freed from the ordinary expences of government, as well as

A. D.
1640.

^a Restauracao de Portugal Prodigiosa, por Don GREGORIO DE ALMEIDA, LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, LUIZ DE MENESES, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, FRANC. BRANDAO, Historia della Republica Veneta di BATT NANI, LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces Unies, P. DANIEL Histoire de France, MAZERAY, Histoire Metallique des Pays Bays, par Monsieur GERARD VANLOON. ^b RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO.

the extraordinary levies to satisfy the avarice of the *Castilians*. We need not wonder therefore that most of the fortresses on the coast of *Africa*, the *Azores* islands, (a single place excepted) the settlements in *Brazil*, and in the *East Indies*, acknowledged this monarch as soon as they had notice of the revolution, or that all the powers in *Europe*, who were not immediately under the influence of the house of *Austria*, readily owned him, and received his ambassadors ^c.

Conspiracy against him by the archbishop of Braga, the inquisitor general, and the Jews.

As the situation of his own affairs hindered the king of *Spain* from attacking *Portugal* immediately with any considerable force, he had recourse to soft measures, and wrote a very pathetic letter to the new king; but without effect ^d. This was followed by some military incursions, by which the *Portuguese* suffered little, or obtained a reasonable satisfaction for their losses in the same way ^e. But in *Portugal* itself there wanted not those, who, disdaining public happiness, incompatible with their private interest, sought to subvert the new establishment before it was well fixed, and plotted against a monarch to whose title they had so lately sworn, to whose conduct they had nothing to object, and to whose councils they were daily admitted. The original author, and principal conductor of this plot was the archbishop of *Braga*, who owed his preferment indeed to the *Spaniards*, and had a great interest with the vice-queen; but had been often insulted by *Vasconcellos*, and might easily have been well with the present government. This man, laying all things together, perceived that how acceptable soever the king might be to the nation, he was envied by the princes of his own blood; and that many of the nobility, conscious that their estates were purloined from the crown, were secretly disaffected. He begun therefore with the marquis of *Villa-real*, the king's near relation, and one to whom he paid the highest respect: he promised him the vice-royalty of *Portugal*, and therefore allured him and his son the duke of *Caminha*, to take part in the scheme: his own nephew, the count de *Armamar*, blindly followed his will; Don *Augustine Manuel*, a person of a very noble family, and great parts, embarked from ambitious motives; the grand inquisitor out of real attachment to the court of *Spain*, and about a hundred other persons of rank, some out of ambition, and others from particular piques; the *Jews* also, or new Christians, upon the promise of toleration, came in, as did some likewise who were actually in the king's service. The design was well laid, and all its branches properly

^c LE CLEDE, GREGORI DE ALMEIDA, generale de Espagne.

^e LE CLEDE.

^d Histoire generale de Portugal, directed.

directed. The *Jews* were to fire the city of *Lisbon* in several places; the conspirators within the palace were to admit their associates from without, who were to dispatch the king, and to secure the rest of the royal family, while the archbishop of *Braga*, and the grand inquisitor, preceded by their crosses; and followed by their clergy and dependants, were to parade the streets, and endeavour to keep the people quiet, till the houses were burnt, and the *Spanish* forces at their gates, ready to chastise them for their late defection, and to put another for ever out of their power^f. Such is the piety of some ecclesiastics!

AUTHORS differ extremely in their accounts of the manner in which this project was discovered: some say, and this very probably was the first account, that a *Portuguese* spy fell accidentally into company on the frontiers with one of his own trade employed by the primate, whom he stabbed, and then taking from him his letters, brought them to *Lisbon*, in consequence of which the whole came out. The second, which is more generally received, gives the discovery to the marquis of *Ayamonte*, who commanded on the *Spanish* frontiers, who was related to the queen of *Portugal*, and who was embarked in an intrigue with the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, to make him king of *Andalusia*. This marquis receiving letters by the canal of one *Baeza*, a rich merchant, secretly a *Jew*; but whose packets came now under the seal of the inquisition, with instructions to forward them to *Olivarez*: he suspecting their contents, broke them open, and finding in them the whole plan of the conspiracy, sent them to king *John*. The third, and the most probable is, that the archbishop of *Braga* understanding that the count of *Vimioso*, who was a prince of the blood, had been removed from his command on the frontiers, tampered with him, and having received some encouragement, communicated to him the whole design, with which he acquainted the king. But in whatever manner the discovery was made it was conducted with great address; for the king took no notice of any thing till the very day preceding the night in which it was to have been executed. This was the ninth of *August*, when the troops in the adjacent villages, under colour of a review, entered *Lisbon* by break of day. The king delivered billets, sealed up, in the morning to many persons in whom he could confide, with instructions to open them at noon, and then to execute their contents with the utmost punctuality. At that very instant the marquis de *Villa real*, and the archbishop of *Braga*, being summoned to

Different accounts of the manner in which this dangerous conspiracy was detected.

^f LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE.

council,

council, were arrested in the king's anti-chamber, the duke *de Caminha* was seized in the great square, and in the space of an hour forty-seven of the principal conspirators were apprehended in virtue of the king's billets; and at the time the business was divulged to the people, all against whom the court intended to proceed were in actual custody^a. By these precautions the public security was thoroughly provided for, and also proper evidence furnished to satisfy public inquiry.

*Manner of
their pu-
nishment;
providen-
tial supply
of the
king's trea-
sury, and
foreign al-
liances.*

THE king summoned a council to consider what should be done with those who were embarked in this treason. He was himself inclined to mercy, more especially as *Don Lewis de Meneses*, marquis of *Villa-Real*, was so nearly allied to him; and this, notwithstanding the ingratitude of the action, was heightened by his being first privy-counsellor appointed by the king after his accession. But the council were clearly and unanimously of another mind; in consequence of which the conspirators were remitted to the ordinary courts of justice. The king did not think fit to disclose the evidence that was in his own possession; and therefore *Baeza* was put to the rack, who confessed the whole. The marquis of *Villa-real* and his son, the archbishop of *Braga* and the inquisitor, confessed without being exposed to the torture. The two former, together with the count *de Armamar*, and *Augustine Manuel*, were beheaded on the twenty-ninth of *August*. *Pedro Baeza*, the secretary of the archbishop of *Braga*, and four others, were hanged. The archbishop himself, and the inquisitor, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; in which the former died, but the latter after some time was set at liberty^b. All their estates were confiscated, and furnished a very large and seasonable fund for the war. The archbishop of *Lisbon*, who thought nothing ought to be denied him, interposed in favour of one of his friends, and asked the queen in pretty strong terms for his life. "I cannot grant your lordship that favour," answered her majesty; but I will grant you a much greater, I will forget you ever desired it^c." When these executions were over, the king declared the rest of the prisoners innocent, and caused them to be discharged; so that he had nothing to fear from their despair. It was not in this instance only, but in many others, that providence visibly favoured this wonderful revolution. A ship from the *East Indies*, with effects to the value of near half a million on board, know-

^a RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO.
^b LE CLEDE, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, GREGORIO DE ALMEIDA, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO. ^c LE CLEDE.

ing nothing of what had happened, came into the port of *Lisbon*, and was seized: the like happened to ten more in the island of *Azores*; so that what the *Spaniards* chiefly relied on, the distress of the new government for want of a settled revenue, was prevented by these almost miraculous supplies^k. On the other hand, the crown of *France* concluded a treaty with *Portugal*, and sent them succours^l. The states-general of the United Provinces entered into a negotiation, which ended in a truce for ten years. The northern powers also gave them all the assistance they could desire; and though the bishop of *Lamego*, who was sent ambassador to *Rome*, was unfortunately betrayed into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who were inclined to have treated him with the utmost severity, yet the inclination that *Olivarez* had to deliver his cousin the marquis *de Puebla*, induced him to consent to an exchange^m. He proceeded in his journey; and though it be true, that for fear of the *Spaniards* the Pope would not suffer him to enter *Rome* in the day, yet he allowed his being introduced by night in the *French* ambassador's coach; and though he would not own his public character, yet he caused the same respect to be paid to him as if it had been owned. Don *John* acted a very different part with regard to the vice-queen, who was also a princess of the blood in *Spain*; for after she had remained ten months a prisoner, he set her at liberty without exchange or ransomⁿ; which had indeed a very good effect, though it did not happen immediately, since, as we have shewn elsewhere, this princess had no inconsiderable share in bringing about the fall of the king's implacable enemy, the conde duke *de Olivarez*.

THE affairs of the kingdom making it requisite, he called an assembly of the states, in which he demanded a supply, not for the maintenance of his court, but for the support of the war, which raged more or less in all parts of his dominions. The states voted him two millions, and left it to him to raise the money in what manner he pleased, sending him blanks which he might fill up with such rates for raising that sum as he judged most expedient. It was a confidence never placed in any king of *Portugal* before, and it appeared to be very well placed now; for the king thanked them for their

A singular instance of royal goodness, and return of popular gratitude.

^k RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, GREGORIO DE ALMEIDA, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, LE CLEDE, LUIZ DE MENESES.

^l P. DANIEL, MEZERAY. CORP'S Universal Diplomatique du droit des Gens, tom. vi. p. 214.

^m Anecdotes du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivarez, LE CLERC Histoire generale de Espagne, LE CLEDE.

ⁿ RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE, P. DANIEL.

votes,

A. D.
1642.

votes, returned them their blanks, adding, that it was for the *Spaniards* to impose and levy taxes; that for his part he would leave all to the good-will of his subjects; in consequence of which he raised four millions instead of two^o. The conde de *Castelmelhor*, who was in *America*, and in the *Spanish* service when the revolution happened, and very ill used, endeavoured at his return to seize the best part of the fleet in the port of *Carthagera*, in both which he had certainly succeeded, if he had not been betrayed by a *Portuguese*, whom he had trusted in the highest degree. Upon this he was condemned to death; but appealing to the court of *Madrid*, gained time. The king Don *John* sent a couple of emissaries to *Carthagera*, so well furnished with money, and a vessel to hover on the coast, that, with the assistance of a captain of a *Dutch* frigate, after making his escape out of the citadel, he got safe into *Portugal*, where the king covered not only him, but all who had any hand in his deliverance, with such favours, as did not a little contribute to his service; and some years after made him governor of *Brazil*^p.

Conde duke
de Oliva-
rez pro-
cures the
ruin of se-
cretary
Lucena by
forgery.

THE war continued all this time with an expence rather of treasure than of blood, the affairs of *Spain*^q being in great perplexity; and much time, and the bringing over of foreign officers, being requisite to render the *Portuguese* troops fit for action, in the way of regular service; and till this could be done the king very wisely declined expeditions of great consequence. In the mean time a very unlucky affair happened at home. The archbishop of *Lisbon*, during his short administration, had promoted *Francisco Lucena*, who had been clerk to *Vasconcelles*, to the post of secretary of state, in which he was continued by the king. He was indisputably a man of great abilities; but he was old and peevish, and had a severity in his temper which raised him a great many enemies, whom he treated with a contempt that sharpened their resentment, and induced them to publish many stories to his prejudice. When the revolt of *Portugal* happened he had a son at *Madrid*, and had intrusted him with some blank papers, to which he had only signed his name, leaving to him to fill them up with letters of recommendation as he should see occasion. Upon advice of the revolution, *Olivarez* caused the

^o LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal; GREGORIO DE ALMEIDA, LUIZ DE MENESES.

^p Historia delle guerre di Portogallo succeduta per l'occasione della seperazione di quel Regno dalla Corona Cattolica descritta da ALESS BRANDANO, LE CLEDE, Histoire generale de Espagne, LUIZ DE MENESES.

^q Histoire generale de Espagne, Anecdotes du Ministere du Comte Duc d'Olivarez.

son to be arrested, and his papers to be examined, to see if he had been acquainted with the conspiracy. Nothing of that kind was discovered, only these blank papers were found. *Olivarez* kept them in his hands, till, finding the mischief *Lucena* did to the *Spanish* affairs, he consulted the marquis of *Montalvan*, and his brother, father *Jeronymo Mascaregnas*, both *Portuguese*, whether he should endeavour to make *Lucena* a friend by an act of generosity, or destroy him as an irreconcilable and dangerous enemy. The priest recommended the former, the marquis advised the latter method, which being most agreeable to *Olivarez's* nature, he approved. He had a *Portuguese* gentleman in his pay at *Lisbon*, who served him for a spy, and gave him good intelligence of the measures and resolutions of the king's council, which he discovered by his money or sagacity. This man was suspected by *Lucena*, and from the secretary's looks, and some marks of his displeasure, began to dread the worst, and to think of flying into *Spain* for refuge. *Olivarez*, to provide for his friend's safety, and effect his enemy's ruin, sent him the blank papers signed by *Lucena*, ordering him whenever he sent his advices to him in the usual private method, to send also at the same time, in a more public way, those very advices in the blanks with *Lucena's* name. These last were intercepted; and the king, strangely surprized, observed carefully the air, manner, and conduct of *Lucena*, but found no grounds for suspicion. Not knowing of himself what to think, he consulted some about him on the subject, who, envious of *Lucena's* credit and power, advised his arrest and punishment. As soon as *Lucena* was seized, *Olivarez's* spy sent others of the blanks with further secret advices, being chiefly copies of letters and instructions to ambassadors abroad, which he had got from the clerks that copied them, and took care at the same time to have forged letters in *Olivarez's* name, wrote as it were in answer to former advices, and relating to secrets formerly discovered to be sent from *Castile*; and these were likewise intercepted. *Lucena* was surprized at the charge, and at seeing his name put to letters he had never wrote or dictated. The thing admitted of no defence but a denial of the fact, which he did with great indignation, and without any sign of fear. He owned it was like his hand; but at the same time asserted he had never wrote or given orders for any such letters, or had ever held any correspondence with *Olivarez*; and insisted that there was some fraud in this matter, which the judges ought with impartiality to examine, and by a due comparison of circumstances discover. His hurry of business had made him forget the blanks he had given
his

A. D.
1643.

his son, and he really thought his name had been counterfeited. Judges, though otherwise regular and just in their proceedings, seldom mind what criminals alledge for themselves; and seeing what seemed to be proofs on one side, and encountered only by denial without evidence on the other, condemned him, and he was presently after too hastily executed, protesting his innocence to the very moment of his execution, which happened a fortnight or three weeks before *Olivarez's* disgrace. The truth was soon known by that minister's triumph on the occasion, and by the declaration of the marquis of *Montalvan's* sons, but there was no calling *Lucena* to life. Thus the king of *Portugal* lost the service of the most capable, industrious, and affectionate minister he had in his service!

The first
battle
fought, and
victory
gained by
the Portu-
guese, by
the count
de Ale-
grette.

THE forces of *Portugal*, in the province of *Estramadura*, were commanded by Don *Matthias Albuquerque*, and consisted of six thousand foot and eleven hundred horse, with which he made an irruption into the *Spanish* province of the same name; but was quickly met by the *Spanish* army, which consisted of six thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse; upon which a battle ensued, and the *Spaniards* having the advantage in the beginning, pursued it with such impetuosity, that *Albuquerque* perceiving their foot uncovered, attacked them with such fury that they were quickly routed, with the loss of between two and three thousand men. An action great in itself, but of prodigious consequence at this juncture; and therefore the king rewarded his general with a pension of four thousand crowns, and the title of *Alegrette*. The *Spaniards*, to repair this, had recourse to their old expedient, and found ways and means to raise strong suspicions of treachery in regard to Don *George de Mascarenhas*, count of *Monte-Albano*, one of the privy-council, and who had other considerable employments; whom the king caused to be arrested and sent prisoner to the castle of *Bellem*, but without any circumstances of resentment or disgrace. Upon a strict enquiry the truth appeared, and the king, by a letter to the states, declared him perfectly innocent, and restored him to his honours and employments. About this time died the archbishop of *Braga*, who, from the time of his condemnation, had behaved with great decency and humility: when he found himself near his end, he sent to desire the king's pardon, and directed that his body should be buried on the outside of some parish-church, without monument, or inscription, oblivion being, in his opinion, the best that could be-

A. D.
1644.

* LE CLEDE.

* LUIZ DE MENESES.

fal

ful a traitor¹. Thus all things went to the king's satisfaction, except in the *Indies*, where, under various pretences, the *Dutch* kept the war alive, and continued to push their advantages, notwithstanding all the expostulations of the *Portuguese* in *Asia* and in *Europe*.

THE next year did not produce any thing extraordinary, if we except the attempt made by the *Spanish* ambassador to assassinate the agent sent by the clergy of *Portugal* to *Rome*; which Pope *Innocent* so far resented as to order the *Spaniard* to leave *Rome* immediately²: and was so gracious as to offer to name bishops in *Portugal*, and to cause them to be consecrated by his own authority; which the king with great spirit rejected, and declared, that he would own no bishop who did not own him, and who were not named by him. In *France* the queen dowager proposed to the count *de Videguira*, that king *Philip* should give his master the kingdom of *Sicily*, in satisfaction of his pretensions. The count answered, that such a proposition might amuse children; but the king of *Portugal* would continue king of *Portugal* till God should be pleased to take him to a better kingdom³. The war now began to languish on both sides, chiefly for want of money, at least in appearance; but in reality both sides were weary of seeing their forces destroyed, and their countries ruined to no purpose; and what added to the trouble of king *John*, there was, generally speaking, such misunderstandings amongst his chief officers, that he ran far greater risks from their quarrels than from the forces of the *Spaniards*: the latter had once more recourse to their old intrigues of both sorts, in hopes that one would support the other; that is, they managed a false and a true plot at the same time. The former consisted in spreading new calumnies of the count *de Monte-Albano*, who was thereupon arrested a second time; and the view was to hinder any attention from being paid to informations relative to the second. They had corrupted one *Dominic Leyte*, a native of *Lisbon*, a man of mean birth, and of the most corrupt morals, who undertook to shoot the king as he passed in solemn procession through the street on the feast of *Corpus Christi*. In order to this he hired several houses in the *Turner's-street*, and made loop-holes, where muskets were placed; so that if one missed another might be instantly fired. This *Dominic* brought with him from *Madrid* a countryman of his, one *Manuel Rocca*, whom he appointed to wait for him at a certain place with horses, making him believe that he was jealous of his

A barbarous conspiracy against the king's life accidentally discovered.

A. D.
1645.

A. D.
1646.

¹ BATT NANI, LE CLEDE.

² LUIZ DE MENESES.

³ LE CLEDE. P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.

wife,

wife, and that he meant to sacrifice her in the midst of her gallants. The interposition of providence prevented the execution of this black design; for though every thing fell out as he expected, yet at the sight of the king the heart of the assassin failed him; notwithstanding which he went to his companion, and taking horse with him returned to *Madrid*. There fresh supplies, and higher promises, engaged him to renew the attempt; which, as they went back to *Portugal*, he communicated to *Rocco*, who commended his contrivance, admired his courage, and applauded the undertaking: but, entering *Lisbon* an hour before him, discovered all he knew to the government; upon which *Dominic Leyte* was arrested, convicted, and executed, acknowledging his crime, and professing his penitence *.

*Death of
the infant
Don Du-
arte, alli-
ance with
France,
and dis-
putes in
Holland.*

THE king thought it now time to form the household of his son *Don Theodosius*, a prince of admirable endowments, who, to his father's affability and generosity, joined his mother's penetration and vivacity. He was not more beloved by his parents than by their subjects, who stiled him the delight of *Portugal*; and he knew so well how to sustain this high reputation, that by degrees a powerful party was formed in *Spain* in his favour from the very fame of his good qualities. This domestic happiness served, in some measure to console the king for the loss of his brother the infant *Don Duarte*, who after a long confinement, in which he was cruelly, as well as unjustly treated, and which he sustained with all possible courage and magnanimity, expired in the citadel of *Milan*, the *Spaniards* say of grief, the *Portuguese* of poison, but as the physicians reported, of a pestilential disease. The king, his brother, had practised every method that could be devised for obtaining his liberty, and expended vast sums of money for that purpose: but without effect; for the *Spaniards* knowing that the prince was an excellent officer, that he was passionately fond of his brother, and that his presence would put an end to the disputes amongst the *Portuguese* generals, were determined to keep him fast (A). The count *de Videguira*, whom

* LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE. Y FRANC. VELASCI DE GOUVEA Perfidia de Alemania y de Castilla en la prision entrega accusacion y processo del Infante de Portugal Don Duarte, LE CLEDE.

(A) The usage which the infant *Don Duarte* received in *Germany* was not only barbarous and unjust, but inexcusably cruel, and that in the highest degree. He had served with the greatest reputation in the armies of the emperor *Ferdinand* the third, where by merit he had obtained the rank of lieutenant-

whom the king had raised to the title of marquis of *Nisa*, had proposed a treaty offensive and defensive with the crown of

nant-general. He had no concern whatever in the revolution of *Portugal*; notwithstanding which, Don *Francisco de Mello*, a *Portuguese* by birth, but amongst the number of those who had raised his private fortune on the ruin of his country, being his catholic majesty's ambassador, solicited strongly that he might be arrested and sent prisoner to some strong fortress (1). The emperor was naturally averse to this, and his brother, the archduke *Leopold*, declaimed against it vehemently; but the emperor's confessor, who was a *Spaniard*, soon brought him round, and he gave orders for securing his person, which was done at *Ratisbon*, with various circumstances of indecency and needless severity. The diet protested, and all *Europe* exclaimed against it; notwithstanding which, he was hurried from place to place, and at length delivered to the *Spaniards*. At parting, he said to the imperial commissary, "Tell your master from me, that he is a tyrant: that it shocks me more to have served him than to be thus sold by him into the hands of my enemies; and tell him farther, that I pray God to revenge my innocent blood upon his posterity, not assuredly more privileged from the common calamities of life for being of the house of *Austria*,

"than I who am descended of the blood royal of *Portugal* (2)." At length he was imprisoned, or rather immured in the castle of *Milan*, and there persecuted without relaxation. After he had been there a long time, and had been obliged to change his confessor as often as they thought fit, the lieutenant of that fortress scandalously deposed, that in a fit of passion he had heard him say he had committed no crime, and that he suffered for his king, his brother, and his country: upon this, and on the testimony of some *Spanish* soldiers, who had heard him drink his brother's health, three *Spanish* commissioners declared him guilty of high treason. He appealed, however, from this sentence, as given by incompetent judges; but in a short space he either went or was sent to prosecute his complaint at the highest tribunal, dying after eight years close confinement, in the forty-fourth year of his age (3). The king his brother had sent one father *Francis Taquet*, a *Jacobin* monk, to *Venice*, with bills to the amount of half a million of crowns, to procure his liberty. He tried first to procure the interposition of the senate; but finding them cold, he entertained some intelligence in the castle of *Milan*: but finding all his designs traversed by the marquis *de Fuentes*, the *Spanish* ambassa-

(1) *Portugal restaurado*, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt.

de Gouvea Portugal restaurado.

(2) *Franc. Velasco de Gouvea*, le *Clede Histoire de Portugal*, *Memoirs d'Ablancourt*, Dr. Goldbach's *Memoirs*.

(3) O Doutor Joao' Baptista, Birago, *Franc.*

of France, in which he was traversed by the queen dowager; but he managed his negociation so ably, that at length cardinal *Mazarine* offered him of his own accord six thousand foot and two thousand horse, in consideration of a large subsidy to be paid by *Portugal*; which the marquis rejected in his turn, and in such a manner that the refusal did the crown of *Portugal* more honour, and perhaps as much service as those succours would have done. The minister the king sent to *Holland*, *Don Francisco de Sousa Coutigno*, managed his affairs, there with extraordinary dexterity, and prevented them from sending a strong fleet in time to *Fernambuco*, by undertaking in his master's name that it should be restored to them; at the same time he wrote to king *John*, "Save your honour, sir, by disavowing me, sacrifice my head, but do not sacrifice that place." After this, finding some attempts made to corrupt his secretary to discover the instructions he received from *Portugal*, he ordered him to take as much money as he could, and the king having confided to him some blanks with his name subscribed, he filled them up with such instructions as he thought most fit for the *Dutch* statesmen to see. In process of time, this being discovered, a message was sent him that they would confer with him no more, nor acknowledge him in quality of ambassador; to which he answered with great firmness, that the first was in their power, and what he could not help; but that his character depended solely upon the king his master. However, as he could be no longer of use there, he was soon after withdrawn, and replaced by *Sousa de Macedo*, then the king's ambassador in *England*.

A. D.
1649.

² LUIZ DE MENESES, P. DANIEL.

² LE CLEDE.

dor, he hired a couple of bravo's to dispatch him; which design he communicated to the president *de Grimonville*, the *French* ambassador, who, though the crowns were then at war, apprized as became him the *Spaniard* of his danger (4). The true reason why the *Spaniards* were so inexorable in regard to this prince, was their fear of his military capacity; and some, as we shall see hereafter, alledge that the queen of *Portugal* was

not very desirous of seeing him at liberty, having been informed some of the *Portuguese* nobility were inclined to have preferred him to his brother (5). But these are arrows shot in the dark, unaccompanied with proofs, and therefore unworthy of credit. We know how ready the *Portuguese* were to entertain suspicions of their queen dowagers, more especially when they were also *Castilians*.

(4) *Memoires de Portugal*.

(5) *Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs of Portugal*,

IN the progress of the campaigns that were made this year, *The king Don Juan de Acosta, Andrew Albuquerque, and Sancho Manuel, declines an distinguished themselves extremely ; yet the king thought the offensive triumphs of these predatory expeditions a poor recompence war, pro- for the great expence, the licentiousness that prevailed among tects the troops, and the interruption of agriculture^b. The two princes Ru- princes palatine, Rupert and Maurice, having retired into the per and river of Lisbon, with a small squadron of English ships, they Maurice, were pursued by Blake, who very peremptorily demanded them. and differs [It was by no means the interest of Portugal to quarrel with the with his son. new republic ; and some of the king's council both thought and said as much. Don John acknowledged the force of their A. D. reasons ; but rejected their propositions, ordered his own ships 1650. to join the squadron of the princes, and to give the English battle, which the weather put out of their power, and Blake had besides the good luck to have fifteen sail of the Brazil fleet fall in with his, by whom they were all taken^c. However, this drawing him from the coast, gave the two princes an opportunity of putting to sea. The troops of Portugal and Spain being this year very inactive, prince Theodosius withdrew from court in the beginning of November, by the advice of some young people about him, and soon after appeared at Elvas. The king was extremely offended, but dissembled it ; sent some great lords to attend him, and his secretary, with an order to return to Lisbon ; which, as he obeyed with reluctance, and chiefly through want of money, the king received him coldly ; and in reality this breach was never made up^d. Don Francisco de Sousa Coutigno was now at the court of France ; where, though he was able to make but little progress in his negotiation, yet he gained a perfect knowledge of the court, and prevented his master from having any reliance upon it : while Don Antonio Sousa de Macedo practised the same arts he had done in regard to the states, who complained that they changed the men but not the ministers^e.*

In order to prevent his son from visiting any of the provinces, he gave him the pompous title of generalissimo of all Great and his forces, but he was no longer summoned to council ; and general dis- the people of Portugal in general believed that the king was satisfaction with the king's mea- jealous of him, and, as is commonly the case, they admired the sures, tho' spirit and genius of the youth, and censured the king's con- perfectly duct, which they did not understand^f. It was indeed ex- just and tremely prudent.

^b LUIZ DE MENESES.

Rebellion, Life of Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector.

DE MENESES.

DE MENESES.

^c CLARENDON'S History of the^d LUIZ^e P. DANIEL, LE CLEDE.^f LUIZ

tremely remote from their way of thinking ; but Don John was nevertheless steady : he suffered them to find fault with his measures ; but nothing could ever bring him to alter or to explain them. He found the charges of an offensive war too heavy for the kingdom : he perceived that his cavalry were inferior to the *Castilians*, and that it required some time to remedy this defect : he might have had money from the states upon the least intimation ; but never was any monarch more greedy than he was modest in this particular : he found a pretence for selling some of his own land, and with the money purchased horses : he perceived that justice was very much decayed ; and that the magistrates of towns made no scruple of diverting the revenue arising from them into their own pockets : he redressed these grievances effectually : he heard that many of the governors on the frontiers were arbitrary and avaricious : he sent for several of them out of different provinces, and cashiered them at once, rejecting all applications and submissions. Some time after he sent for and told them, “ It was for your faults I broke you ; and as I remember your past services, you are restored.” But the great secret of his government was his correspondence in Spain. He saw how hard they were pushed by the *French* and *Catalans* : he knew the king’s obstinate temper, and the maxims on which he governed, and therefore would take no advantage of him in his distress, that he might not rouse him to a resolution of shaking off his distresses, by making peace with his numerous enemies, and turning his whole force upon *Portugal*. His views, therefore, were to divert this as long as possible, and to be provided against it when it could be no longer diverted ; a scheme of policy prudent in itself, but not to be divulged either to a warm youth, or to all who had a seat in his council. But the prince, not comprehending this, and mortified with his father’s behaviour, fell into a lingering disease, which filled the whole kingdom with sorrow ^g.

A. D.
1652.

*The death
of prince
Don The-
odosius,
their appa-
rent and
the delight
of Portu-
gal.*

In the spring of the ensuing year the prince’s health grew so bad, that he was by degrees obliged to keep his bed. Public prayers were made for his recovery, but in vain ; for on the fifteenth of *May* he expired, when he was but just entered into the twentieth year of his age. The king lost also his elder daughter, the infant Donna *Joanna* ; but these misfortunes, and his own infirmities, he bore with great fortitude ^h. The states being assembled, gave him a tenth of every man’s estate ; promised him a fourth in case the *Spaniards*

^g ALESS BRANDANO, LE CLEDE.

^h LUIZ DE MENESES.

besieged any town of note; and resolved that the king might take what he pleased if they invaded his dominions with an army. The king thanked them, but told them he hoped he should take nothing, and he was as good as his word¹. All this time the war of excursion was going on, with various success on both sides; but the *Portuguese* troops were forming, part of the militia entering every year into the field, and another part into the garrisons, where they were mixed with invalids, that the vigour of one might be directed by the skill and diligence of the other. The *German*, *French*, and *Dutch* officers formed the cavalry; so that they became daily better than they had been, less afraid of artillery, and infinitely more capable of changing their disposition, or rallying, as occasioned required, to the great surprize of the *Spaniards*, who had beheld them before with a sort of contempt, which piqued a nation naturally brave, and very susceptible of offence.

A. D.
1653.

AMONGST other persons whom the king employed as spies in *Spain*, there was one father *Antonio de Andrada*, who reported at his return that Don *Sebastian de Meneses*, and his brother Don *Diego*, an ecclesiastic, had a treasonable correspondence with his catholic majesty's ministers; upon which they were both seized. As Don *Sebastian* was a man of great learning and probity, his misfortune occasioned a general murmur, more especially as *Andrada* had been his domestic, or at least his creature; but the king thought there was no harm in being safe². He had been obliged to send an ambassador into *England*, who returned this year, but very disconsolate, though he had succeeded in his commission; for *Cromwell* caused his brother, Don *Pantaleon Sda*, to be executed³ on *Tower-Hill*, for a riot and murder in the *New Exchange*, which he looked upon as a breach of the law of nations, as if that had been superior to the divine law, which requires that murder should be expiated by the blood of the offender. The *Dutch* were this year driven out of *Brazil*^m, and the *Portuguese* out of the island of *Ceylon*ⁿ, which was chiefly owing to the contempt of the king's authority in the *East Indies*, which he bore with his accustomed calmness; but would

Some suspicions of new plots and intelligences of the Spaniards in Portugal.

A. D.
1654.¹ LE CLEDE.

Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector, Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion.

² LUIZ DE MENESES.³ BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies,

tom. i. p. 362.

ⁿ Voiages aux Indes Orientes, tom. vii.

p. 29. Voyage de Schauten, Voyez la Description, Hist. du Gouvernement, p. 124 and 133. LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces Unies.

certainly have punished it if he had lived. The king being informed that his cavalry was now grown numerous, recalled the orders that he had given for suspending hostilities; and the incursions that followed were so much in favour of his subjects, that the people began to discern the rectitude of the king's politics, and acknowledged that what they took to be indolence was highly advantageous to the state. Their praises affected him as little as their censures: he was content with the applause of his own heart; and continued to pursue the public good with great constancy, and without the least ostentation; but his health daily declining, filled the whole nation with apprehensions, more especially when they saw the queen introduced into the council, which they attributed to its true motive, his majesty's feeling himself draw towards his end.

When the king's ends were answered by a defensive war, he changes his measures.

At the opening of the spring the king sent his orders to the generals and governors on the frontiers to alter their conduct, and to make incursions into the *Spanish* territories; which, however, was but indifferently obeyed, for though the mob at *Lisbon* were extremely fond of military exploits that furnished them with news; yet the inhabitants near the frontiers, who began to taste the sweets of peace, and were become infinitely easier in their circumstances than at the beginning of this reign, were far from being disposed to run the risks of renewing hostilities. This change of orders was not owing to any inconstancy in the king's temper, or to his giving way to popular clamour. It was, on the contrary, the effects of the same refined policy which had been so long conspicuous in his conduct. The court of *France* fed him with hopes of considerable supplies, as well as of continuing the war; but at the same time expostulated very warmly his inactivity against the common enemy. It was therefore to silence these complaints that the king issued such orders; and it was from his own great humanity, and sincere tenderness for his subjects, that though he repeated them, he manifested no displeasure at the dilatoriness with which they were carried into execution^o. At this juncture died Pope *Innocent* the tenth; upon whom all the intreaties of the *Portuguese* and *French* clergy could make no impression, or procure the least relaxation of that severity he had expressed in favour of the house of *Austria*. His successor, *Alexander* the seventh, affected to appear a pontiff of a very different character: he declared cardinal *Ursins* protector of the *Portuguese* nation, and gave the king hopes, not to say assurances, of seeing himself reconciled to the see of *Rome* before his death^p. In Eng-

^o LUIZ DE MENESES,

^p LE CLEDE.

land things went intirely to the king's satisfaction, not only as the peace continued to be exactly observed¹ between the two nations; but as the war with the *Dutch* proved a very seasonable diversion in favour of his subjects, and secured to them the important settlement of *Brazil*, which with so much hazard and difficulty they had recovered.

THE same orders were issued at the beginning of the next year, for the same reasons, and had pretty near the same effect. Don *Francisco de Sousa Coutigno* left *Paris* to repair to *Rome*, where he was acknowledged as ambassador from the crown of *Portugal*, treated with great civility and respect, but could not obtain an audience from the Pope, and found himself embarrassed by all the artful delays which constitute the very essence of *Italian* politics. *Antonio Raposo* had better success at the *Hague*. The conquest of *Ceylon* had put the states into better temper, and disposed them to forget the expulsion of their subjects from *Brazil*. This minister was not a man of great family or fortune; and the archduke *Leopold*, who then governed the Low Countries, conceived he might be tempted by great offers to betray the secrets of his master. *Raposo* did not discover any distaste on the first overtures, which encouraged the archduke to write him a letter full of magnificent promises, which the *Portuguese* minister immediately transmitted to his master, as a convincing proof of his own integrity, and of the mean unprinciply arts of his enemies². This monarch's health, which had been failing for several years, though he concealed it all he could, and continued to hunt as often as the weather would permit, sunk all at once in the autumn. His stomach, which had an unnatural craving, lost all power of digestion: his physicians were at a loss about the nature of his distemper; but they very soon perceived, from the great decay of his strength, that his departure was at hand. He received this news with the same steady calmness which had ever distinguished his character. He applied himself with great piety to make his peace with his Creator. He embraced his children with much tenderness; gave the queen ample instructions as to her conduct in the regency; admonished his ministers and generals to be faithful to their country, and to his family; sent for some of the nobility of the first rank, whom he had imprisoned for quarrels amongst themselves, and caused them to be reconciled in his presence. In fine, he breathed his last with all the constancy of a christian hero, on the sixth of *November*, in the fifty-

A. D.
1655.

The generous and christian death of John IV. surnamed the Fortunate.

A. D.
1656.

¹ CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion, Life of Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector.

² LE CLERE.

third year of his age, having borne the title of duke of *Barcelos* twenty-six, of *Bragança* ten, and worn the crown of *Portugal* sixteen years, abating a month. He was justly stiled the *Fortunate*; and might with equal propriety have been named the *Beneficent*, or the *Good* (B). His corpse, by his own directions, was interred in the church of *St. Vincent*.

As

* LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

(B) This prince was born at *Villa-viciosa*, on *March* the thirteenth, 1605. In 1630 he succeeded his father in the title of *Bragança*. About three years after he espoused *Donna Louisa de Guzman*, the eldest daughter of *Don Juan Manuel Perez de Guzman*, duke of *Medina Sidonia*, by whom he had *Don Theodosius*, born *February* the eighth, 1634; *Donna Maria*, born *September* the eighteenth, 1636; and *Donna Catalina*, born *September* the twenty-fifth, 1638. His two surviving sons were born after his accession to the throne (6). In his person he was middle-sized, and not extremely well shaped; his hair was light; his complexion ruddy; his eyes sparkling; and upon the whole there was something very pleasing and captivating in his countenance, and in his deportment. He was courteous, and conversed freely with the gentlemen of his court; but was very grave, and reserved towards the grandees. He did not distinguish himself by a fiery and active courage; but gave, upon many occasions, proofs of solid intrepidity. He was certainly a very refined politician; and this to such a degree, that till the very decline of his life, most of

his subjects thought him no politician at all. He never promoted *Dr. Pinto*, who managed the whole affair of what the *Portuguese* call his acclamation; but he rewarded him to his satisfaction: he never made him either minister or privy-counsellor; but he did nothing without his advice: he was never taken for a favourite at court; and yet he had his master's confidence from first to last. It is difficult to say whether the prudence of the one, or the modesty of the other, was most to be admired (7). He was so totally void of ambition, or at least of a criminal ambition, that he never formed any designs against *Spain*; but, rejecting all projects of conquest, declared his plan to be keeping his own. This, which appeared at first sight neither conformable to the rules of the cabinet, nor to his circumstances, appeared in its consequences a wise and well adapted measure. It abated the edge of the *Spanish* resentment, and left him at leisure to settle his domestic affairs. Once when things went a little amiss in the province of *Alentejo*, and the inhabitants of *Lisbon* appeared dejected, the king suddenly passed the *Tagus* in a small boat; and

(6) *Memoires de Portugal.*

(7) *Portugal restaurado, Vertot Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal, M. Fremont d'Abancourt.*

when

As the death of this monarch spread a deep and general consternation throughout all *Portugal*, so it might be in some measure

when those about him asked his majesty's intentions, he answered calmly, "Those that love me will follow me;" and on his arrival in the army it quickly became so numerous, that the enemy found it prudent to retreat (8). He had so good correspondence at *Madrid*, that he was early apprized of all their designs; of which after blaming his indolence loudly, and rising almost in rebellion, his subjects were fully convinced by seeing all the preparations that so much alarmed him, turned another way. His firmness was mistaken for obstinacy, and there was so much secrecy in his designs, that few of them were known till after his decease. He was blamed for his harsh usage to his son *Don Theodosius*; and he was suspected to be jealous of his martial genius. This suspicion was well founded, and yet it was unjust; the king did not care he should distinguish himself against the *Spaniards*, and the reason was, that he had a secret treaty with some of the *Spanish* nobility for reuniting *Portugal* to the *Castiles*, by placing *Don Theodosius* upon the throne, and transferring the seat of empire to *Lisbon*, which had been once the design of *Philip* the second, and would have been attended with consequences that we have not room to mention (9). In respect to his own desires he was so moderate, that almost the only saying recorded

of him is this, "That if a man had cloaths it was no great matter of what they were made; and that no dish was bad of which a man could make a good dinner." His piety was of the same stamp with his politics: he had a high respect for the church; but then this led him to expect that his churchmen should have some religion. He had a high veneration for the inquisition, and accepted of the confiscations they gave him; but then the goods of private men, becoming his property, he thought it became him as a good king to grant them back to their families. This satisfied every body but the inquisition; and there are some strange stories told of their resentment; but in this, as in other things, he was firm: he judged for himself; and out of what he thought right he could not either be frightened or persuaded (1). His distemper was a general decay, which terminated in a suppression of urine. His exhortations on his death-bed, more especially to the judge and magistrates of *Lisbon*, had a great effect; and many attributed to them two things: first, the steady affection they expressed for his family till they disagreed amongst themselves; and next, the authority which they assumed in respect even to the highest affairs, in consequence, as they asserted of the trust and confidence reposed in them by their king in

(8) *Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs, M. Fremont d'Abancourt.*

(1) *Le Clede, M. Fremont d'Abancourt.*

(9) *Dr. Cole-*

his

Precautions taken by the queen dowager at the entrance of her regency. measure said to fix the attention of all Europe. It is not easy to conceive a kingdom left in more perilous circumstances than this was. The king *Don Alonso Enriquez*, a child little more than thirteen years of age, reputed of no very sound constitution either in body or mind; the regency in a woman, and that woman a *Castilian*; the nation involved in a war, and this respecting the title to the crown; the nobility, some of them secretly disaffected to the reigning family, and almost all of them embarked in feuds and contentions with each other; so that the queen scarce knew who to trust, or how she should be obeyed. The *Spaniards* expressed a very indecent kind of joy at this event, as if the decease of the king must have been attended with the dissolution of government; but they had made no preparations, as they might have done, to take any immediate advantage of the surprize it occasioned; and the firmness, vivacity, and great abilities of the queen very soon changed the face of affairs in that respect. The nobility were many of them inclined to have treated her as the

his last moments. We may form some idea of his disposition towards, and dependance upon, this common council of *Lisbon*, from a familiar instance. It was thought towards the middle of his reign that he spent a little too much of his time in hunting; the judge, therefore, threw himself in his way as he was going out of the city; and, after a profound reverence, took his horse by the bridle, and conducted it back to the palace, which the king was very far from resenting. Upon the attachment of these people he relied in his life-time; and to their fidelity he consigned his queen and children (2). The conde *Vimioso* being killed in a fray, and some persons of the first quality being embarked in it, he made them sensible of his displeasure, but would not leave them under it at his decease.

These were the conde *de Castelmalhor*, the conde *de St. Lorenzo*, *Don Miguel de Portugal*, the conde *de St. Juan*, and *Hernando d'Almada* (3). As soon as king *John* was dead, it is positively asserted that the inquisition acquainted the queen regent, that by restoring the effects of persons condemned by their tribunal, he had incurred the sentence of excommunication; from which, however, they charitably offered to absolve him; and accordingly in the presence of the queen, her sons *Don Antonio* and *Don Pedro*, with other persons of high rank, they came, and with many solemn or rather ridiculous ceremonies, absolved the body of their deceased king, not a little pleased no doubt to triumph over the remains of him dead, whom, though very unwillingly, they had been constrained to obey while living (4).

(2) *Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs, Inquisition.*

(3) *D'Abancourt.*

(4) *Hist. de*

queen

queen dowager *Katherine* had been treated on the accession of *Don Sebastian*; but it was not in their power. She appointed *Don Francisco de Faro*, count of *Odemira*, of the house of *Bragança*, governor of the king, and one of her principal ministers of state; and she made choice of *Don Antonio Lewis de Meneses*, count of *Castanheda*, to be his coadjutor. The former was a person advanced in years, possessed of a great estate, revered by the nobility, in great credit with the people, and entirely devoted to her interests, and those of the royal family: the latter was also a man in years, but not at all infirm, singular in point of talents, being equally capable of presiding in the cabinet, or of commanding in the field. These ministers sometimes differed with each other, but without prejudice to the queen's affairs; for as they both meant well, and as their differences arose purely from their sincerity, they united heartily whenever others attempted to undermine the queen's authority. The two secretaries, *Pedro Veira* and *Gaspar de Faria*, were honest and able men.

A. D.
1657.

THE first step of importance taken by her after she was established in the regency was sending orders to the count *de San-Lorenzo*, who commanded on the frontiers, to act offensively; and though he was not fortunate in his attempt, yet the measure being right in itself was attended with good effects. However, the duke *de St. Germain*, an Italian in the service of *Spain*, and a very good officer, entered *Portugal*, besieged and took *Oliviença*, and the little castle of *Moron*, for which the governor of the former was first imprisoned, and then banished for life; and the general, who was certainly a man of a confused head, and who wanted experience, though he had been in great favour with the queen, and had a considerable party at court, was removed. He was replaced by *Juan Mendez de Vasconcellos*, a popular man, and in great favour with the troops. He undertook to act offensively the next campaign, and to besiege *Badajoz*, which he did; but he was obliged to raise it upon the approach of *Don Lewis de Haro*, with the whole forces of *Spain*, for which he was arrested, and in some danger of being punished: but the boldness and simplicity of his defence saved him. He said, "That he undertook the siege in obedience to the queen's orders, and for the honour of the nation, and that he had raised it without orders for the preservation of the army: that he knew the hazard he run when he did it; but that it gave him pleasure to think that at the hazard, or even the loss, of his reputation and life, the troops of *Portugal*

The war vigorously carried on, and the battle of Elvas gained by the marquis de Marialva.

LE CLEDE. LUIZ DE MENESES, ALESS BRANDANO.

" had

A. D.
1658.

“ had been saved, which, under a more fortunate general, “ had now raised the siege of *Elvas*, and forced the enemy to “ retire with shame, who had entered in triumph.” The council of war declared him innocent, and worthy of the queen’s favour^v. Don *Sancho Manuel* had commanded in *Elvas*, and defended it with equal spirit and conduct; but it was the count *de Castanbada* who raised that siege, and forced the army of *Spain* in their lines; in which he shewed himself an officer of a consummate judgment, as well as by hazarding nothing more when he had performed the service, upon which the very being of the state depended. This memorable action gained him deservedly great reputation; but it raised also, tho’ unjustly, much envy and many enemies.

Count de
Soura acts
with great
conduct
and spirit
at the court
of France.

THE two next years there passed nothing in the field that deserves a place; but the reason of this was very extraordinary. *Spain* was intent upon the war in *Flanders* and the peace she was negotiating with *France*; and in *Portugal* the country was fairly exhausted: they were unable to recruit the army that had gained the late victory. In this situation the queen sent Don *Juan Lewis de Costa*, count of *Soura*, into *France*, with the title of ambassador; a man of much courage and integrity, and whom she had not used so well as he deserved. He acted with great spirit, spoke his mind in very plain terms to cardinal *Mazarine*, procured the count *de Schomberg*, and the earl of *Inchequin*, to be sent into *Portugal*; and published a manifesto that had like to have revived the troubles in *France*. The cardinal sent to desire he would suppress it. The count answered, “ That he had indeed printed “ a large impression, of which there remained no more than “ eight in his hands, and if it would oblige his eminence “ he would burn those.” The cardinal complained of this to the queen regent, who wrote him for answer, “ That she “ was glad to learn in so authentic a manner that the count “ *de Soura* had done his duty^x.” He followed the cardinal to the *Pyrenees*, where he engaged the duke of *Lorrain*, the duke of *Guise*, and the duke *de Harcourt*, in the interests of *Portugal*; but *Mazarine*, to please the *Spaniards*, compelled them to desist^v. He next communicated some propositions from the *Spanish* minister to the count, who rejected them with disdain. *Mazarine* told him they might meet with a better reception at *Lisbon*: in which, however, he was mistaken; for these terms being no other than, that things should be restored to the state in which they were at the revolution,

A. D.
1659.

^v Histoire generale de Espagne, LUIZ DE MENESES, LE
CLEDE.

^x RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

and

and that the dukes of *Bragança* should be hereditary viceroy, under the guaranty of *France*, the count *de Castanbeda* asked the cardinal's agent if he had any thing more to say; and upon his replying in the negative, "We are sorry," "sir," added the count, that you should make so long a journey to say nothing." The peace of the *Pyrenees* produced some effects that were favourable, and some that were not only disagreeable but dangerous to *Portugal*. We may reckon among the first, the setting at liberty a great number of good officers, who willingly accepted the count *de Soura*'s offers, and to the number of some hundreds repaired on board *English* and *Dutch* ships to *Lisbon*. Amongst the latter we may account the desertion of the duke *de Aveyro*; who, retiring out of *Portugal* into *France*, passed from thence into *Spain*; as well as *Don Ferdinand de Tellez*, the *Portuguese* minister at the *Hague*, who acted the like dishonourable part, for which he was degraded, declared infamous, and executed in effigy at *Lisbon*².

A. D.
1660.

THE *Spanish* minister at *Paris* exerted all his influence to prevent the departure of the officers who were to accompany count *Schomberg*; and to procure a flat denial of an audience of leave to the count *de Soura*. He failed in both; the viscount *de Turenne* interposed in respect to the former, and the king and the cardinal would not hear of the latter: on the contrary, they paid the count *de Soura* extraordinary honours, and still more extraordinary respect. Both the king and the cardinal made him large presents; and the latter told him, "That how much soever he had crossed his measures as a minister, he had ever had the highest esteem for his merit." The famous cardinal *de Retz* coming about that time to *Paris*, *Mazarine* asked him if he had seen the ambassador of *Portugal*; and upon his telling him he had not, "Go then," returned he, and make him a visit; you great men ought "to be acquainted with each other³." *Don Francisco de Melo* in *England*, and the count *de Miranda* in *Holland*, were alike successful in their negotiations; and though the actions of this campaign were not very considerable, yet such as they were they were every where in favour of the *Portuguese*. It was, however, apprehended that the war would be carried on for the future at another rate, since the command of the *Castilian* army was given to *Don John of Austria*; who, besides being the king's son, was in reality a person of great me-

Count de Schomberg, and earl of Inchequin, go with many officers to Portugal.

¹ LE CLEDE. ² Histoire generale de Espagne, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, P. DANIEL. ³ LE CLEDE.

rit,

tit, as well as an officer who had seen more service than most of the *Portuguese* generals ^b.

The progress and conclusion of the war by the glorious victory of Montejclaros.

THE queen regent finished in a manner her administration, with the marriage of her only daughter the princess *Katherine*, once intended for *Lewis* the fourteenth, with *Charles* the second, king of *Great-Britain*^c; one of the most fortunate events that ever happened for *Portugal*, since it immediately procured them the protection of the *English* fleets, reinforcements of some thousands of horse and foot, besides adding much reputation to their affairs throughout *Europe*, which was the reason that the *Spanish* court had opposed it with so much heat, or rather passion. The command of the *Portuguese* army was given to the marquis de *Mariakva*, who was at this time sole minister, by the death of the count de *Mariakva*; but his conduct was by no means equal to what it had formerly been, the battle of *Elvas* having given him a contempt for the *Spaniards*, which induced him to act rashly, notwithstanding his age and experience^d. Don *John* took advantage of this, seized several places, insulted the *Portuguese* in their lines, out of which the marquis would have marched, in order to give the *Spaniards* battle, if count *Schomberg* had not shewn the folly of this, and if some other general officers had not vigorously opposed it. If we could entirely trust a *French* historian^e, we must look upon all the *Portuguese* generals as cyphers, who were only honoured with titles, while the command rested simply and only with *Schomberg*: but in this no doubt he was misinformed, since that able officer found it a great deal easier to triumph over the *Castilian* courage, than over the envy of the *Portuguese*. The next campaign the command was given to the king, or rather to his minister the count de *Castelmelhor*, to Don *Sancho Manuel*, now created count de *Villafior*, with whom *Schomberg* lived in a good correspondence. Don *John*, however, having a numerous army carried all before him, and at length besieged the city of *Evora*, which occasioned a very dangerous insurrection at *Lisbon*, and orders to be sent to *Villafior* to relieve the place at all events; but these orders came too late, the place being surrendered. However, it produced a battle, in which, chiefly through the skill of count *Schomberg*, and the valour of the *English* troops, the *Spanish* army was entirely

^b Histoire generale de Espagne. ^c RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, KENNEDY's Historical Register, HEATH's Chronicle, ECHARD's History of England. ^d LE CLEDE. ^e RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

defeated, with the loss of between seven and eight thousand men, most of their artillery and baggage, which was one of the most important victories ever gained by the *Portuguese*. As the measures of the court were far from being settled at this time, the marquis *de Villafior*, after all he had done, was removed from his command, and the marquis *de Marialva* placed once more at the head of the army. He acted offensively, besieged and took *Valencia de Alcantara*, and gaining other advantages against count *Marsin*, who commanded the armies of *Spain*, recovered that reputation which had been before upon the decline. He commanded the next year again, when the *Spaniards*, under the command of the marquis *de Carracena*, entered *Portugal* with a greater army than they had ever had before in the course of the war. *Carracena* besieged *Villa-viciosa*, the favourite seat of the house of *Bragança*, and one of the most beautiful places in the kingdom. The marquis *de Marialva* advanced to its relief: upon which a battle ensued, in which the *Portuguese* gained a complete victory^f, which was the sixth and last in the course of twenty-eight years war; and the visible effects of the protection of Providence, since it was chiefly owing to unforeseen accidents, to the great abilities of *Schomberg*, and other strangers, and to the determined courage of the foreign troops. This victory of *Montesclaros* fixed the fate of the kingdom, though not of the king of *Portugal*; for at this time the intrigues of the court ran so high, that the most intelligent people saw the king would, sooner or later, be certainly deposed. But in order to set these affairs in a distinct and proper light, it is necessary to enter into a full detail of them, without the intermixture of any other subject, which was the reason of our going briefly through the whole story of the war before we entered upon these domestic intrigues, which come therefore to be next examined.

THE king Don *Alonso Enriquez*, having been struck with a palsy while an infant, was afterwards, on account of his weak state of health, treated with great indulgence; so that as he grew up his want of parts, and the defects in his education, were very perceptible. Some say, and possibly it may be true, that the queen his mother had a much stronger affection for the infant Don *Pedro*, and endeavoured to feel the pulse of some great men about preferring him to his elder

A. D.
1665.

Character
of Don A-
lonso VI.
and his
fierce and
intractable
temper.

^f LE CLEDE, Histoire generale de Espagne, BASNAGE, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal depuis le traité des Pirenees de 1659 jusqu'a 'en 1668, ALESS BRANDANO.

brother,

brother, at the time their father died; but the privy-council of *Portugal* were not at all inclined to make a breach in that succession for the support of which they were in arms; and besides, they could not comprehend how any could pronounce, with certainty, either as to the impuissance or incapacity of a child^s. The queen readily yielded to these reasons, and took the best measures she could to render him worthy of that crown, that his birth entitled him to wear. The count *de Odemira* found it a very difficult task to manage this young prince, who had no inclination to letters, and who was prone only to those delights that he saw employed the minds of children of his own age, without considering the difference between their rank and his. The count *de Odemira* struggled with this a little while, and even ventured to take some pretty strong steps, but he found it was to no purpose. Don *Alphonso*, though not very sharp in other things, was quick enough in perceiving that he was a king; and this was fatal to him. Such as had an opportunity of approaching his person, complied with every thing he desired, and commended every thing he did. Such as had no dependance upon the court declaimed against this with the utmost vehemence; and because he was guilty of some childish, and it may be, ill-natured actions, they ascribed to him all the foolish and cruel accidents that fell out about *Lisbon*, which are generally speaking not a few. In some things they certainly did him wrong; for they gave out that he was still paralytic on one side, though there appeared no marks of it, except the contraction of his right hand, and that consequently he was feeble and inactive: whereas, the errors of which he was really guilty, and which were magnified likewise, prove the direct contrary, since fighting of dogs, scowering the streets, and encountering three men alone, running at a bull, and other things of this sort, were no indications either of want of strength or of courage.

AMONGST the companions, or rather amongst the directors of the king's follies and debauches, there were two sons of a Genoese pedlar, *Antonio* and *Juan Conti*, called from the place of his birth *de Vintimiglia*. These, but especially *Antonio*, had an entire ascendancy over the king's affections, gained by subtle flattery, and fawning complaisance^h. The count *de Odemira* once banished them, so that for a time he only saw them privately; but as he grew up he threw off all restraint, sent for them back to court, and made *Antonio* a knight of the order of *Christ*, which offended the nobility highly, who

^s RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.
of Portugal.

^h Account of the Court

considered this as a prostitution of the order. Yet by degrees they began to court this unworthy favourite, and even the queen-mother stooped to make use of his interest; but *Antonio*, to whom cunning and artifice was natural, saw through this, and resolved to stand upon his own feet. It was with this view that he engaged the king to discard the old, and bring the young nobility into employments; and this he did, because he found it no difficult matter to gain and keep an influence over them, by the very same methods that made him so much master of the king. This created great jealousies and heart-burnings; and as the infant *Don Pedro* was of a milder and graver disposition, sufficiently addicted to study, and very capable of receiving and taking advice, many applied themselves to him, which raised a dislike in his brother, who wanted not penetration enough to discern how much higher he stood in the queen's good graces, and how readily he received and practised the lessons she gave him, to render himself esteemed by the nobility, and at the same time popular. In respect to the *Conti's*, the infant was reserved and civil; but neither suffered their intimacy, nor ever made any use of their influence; which, as it grew daily stronger, and wrought more and more powerfully, so it gained them a number of dependants; and *Antonio*, who did not want ambition, set himself up for a kind of minister, affected to give law, and to treat those who did not pay him the respect he thought due to him, with a degree of haughtiness that his enemies termed insolence. In this he was supported by the young noblemen he had introduced to power; and in a very short space of time he raised a faction strong enough to give umbrage to those, who, but a few years before, would have despised him, not only as their inferior but as a person altogether below their notice¹.

THE court was divided, some siding with the king, others with the queen, and a considerable party adhering to neither. *Conti* made it his chief aim to persuade the king to take upon himself the government, urging that some former kings took upon them the administration sooner than he. The king was more swayed by his counsels, because his mother falling sick, in that interval all application was made to him, which inflamed him with a desire of absolute command. The queen recovering and resuming the government, found the king more intractable than before, and perceived he was bent upon wresting the power from her by force, if she should refuse to resign. This was intolerable to her ambitious spirit, who

The king grows impatient to exercise the reins of government without restraint.

¹ LE CLIDE, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT.

abhorred the thoughts of falling from that height in which she had sat for so many years; nor could she be without some concern for the kingdom, if left at the disposal of a hasty and injudicious youth, beset with dangerous and unexperienced favourites and counsellors. Being perplexed with these thoughts, she resolved to set up her younger son Don *Pedro* against the king, that in hopes of attaining the crown through her means, he might be wholly at her devotion, and *Alonso*, fearing to lose his crown, might be kept in awe. To prepare the infant, who of himself was willing enough for this design, she persuaded him he ought to be declared prince and heir to the crown, insinuating that his brother was impotent, and consequently the regal dignity must devolve to him. For the better executing this plan, she addressed herself to all the nobility, intending to call the cortes, or assembly of the states, to confirm her resolution; but finding greater difficulty than she expected, most of the lords being averse to setting up as it were two kings, to rend the kingdom and destroy themselves, and thinking it unjust to consider *Alonso* as impotent, before any proofs were made of his ability, she desisted from this method of proceeding, but not from the design. Her next contrivance was to adorn and dress the infant in the most costly and splendid apparel; to give frequent opportunities of shewing himself to the people; to form him a separate household, composed of such as were disaffected to his brother; and to procure him the best palace in *Lisbon*, built by *Christopher de Moura*, marquis of *Castel Rodrigo*. The infant thus engaged, in opposition to his brother, and secured to herself, her next artifice was to counterfeit a desire of quitting the regency, and retiring into a monastery. She drew up with this view a very plausible and specious writing, intimating her pretended design; and so framed this memorial, that the great men and principal ministers to whom she sent it, soon saw into the concealed intention, which was, that she desired to be constrained to continue in the exercise of the regency, and to be induced to condescend to this, by the removal of *Conti* and the rest of his party from about the king^k.

THOSE to whom this extraordinary writing was communicated being her creatures, and fearing if she abandoned the government, they should be deprived by the king of the preferments they enjoyed, resolved not to forsake her. In answer to her memorial, therefore, they gave her to understand,

^k Catastrophe de Portugal na deposicao del Rey D. Alfonso VI. & Subrogao do principe D. Pedro escrita para justificação dos Portugueses, por LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA.

that however inclined to lay down the administration, it was not expedient to do it till she had removed from the person of the king those that seduced and led him into ill, or at least idle courses. Nothing could be more pleasing to the queen than this answer, which fulfilled all her wishes without obliging her to express them. But that all might appear to be transacted by the advice of the council, knowing they were resolved to execute her will, she would have nothing done but what was discussed by them, and given under their hands. The council met accordingly, and tho' some of the gravest among them opposed the design, as too visible an affront to the king, yet it was carried that *Conti* and his adherents should be seized, and sent into banishment. In pursuance of this resolution, the queen having secured the king in her lodgings, under pretence of business, the duke of *Cardaval* with his party entered the king's apartment, where *Conti* was. He suspecting some danger locked himself in; but the duke, without any respect to the place, or to the remonstrances of the count *de Castelmelhor*, who would have diverted him from that action, offered to break open the door; upon which *Conti*, seeing no hopes of escaping, and the count not able to relieve him, or acquaint the king, surrendered himself on promise of life. At the same time some others of *Conti's* party were secured in the palace, and in the town, all which were immediately put on board a ship that lay ready to sail in the river, and sent away to *Brazil*¹. The queen being informed that what she had in effect commanded was put in execution, led the king into the great hall, whither she had previously summoned all the nobility, ministers of state, and magistrates of the city, the better to appease and imprint an awe upon the king. In order to this, a remonstrance was made to him in the name of the kingdom, full of grievous complaints against his own conduct, and still higher against his favourites; and at the close they acquainted him, that to prevent any farther ill consequences they had been obliged to send them into banishment: this done, they kissed his hand and departed.

THIS high wrought scheme of policy which the queen had contrived to perpetuate her regency, was the very cause of her falling from it. The count of *Castelmelhor*, a man above exception for his birth and parts, succeeded in the king's favour in the place of *Conti*, and began to encourage him in the resolution of taking upon him the government. Besides

¹ BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

Don Alon- this, which had as strong an influence, a young lady belonging
so having to the queen, for whom the king had an affection, made
got a new him the more earnest, discovering to him all his mother's
favourite, private discourses. The king, big with this design, prolong-
breaks ed the time of the count's waiting, that he might have his
thro' all advice and assistance. He then retired according to custom
his mo- to *Alcantara*, a palace near *Lisbon*, carrying with him his
ther's con- brother and a great retinue. He returned the same day to
trivances. *Lisbon*, and visited the queen, to whom he behaved so kindly,
 that all resentment seemed to be past; but on a sudden, with-
 out acquainting her, he returned to *Alcantara*, accompanied
 only by the count *de Castelmulhor*, and the count *de Atouguia*;
 from thence he dispatched letters into all parts of the king-
 dom, to the officers of the army and governors of towns, ac-
 quainting them, that being now at full age he had taken upon
 him the government of his dominions. Then he ordered all
 the nobility and ministers of state, that were at *Lisbon*, to re-
 pair to him at *Alcantara*. The queen, astonished at this news,
 assembled the council of state, where it was resolved, that
Emanuel Pacheco should be placed upon the road to stop all
 those that should offer to repair to the king; that the queen
 should write a letter to him in the softest terms, desiring him ei-
 ther to delay for some time his taking the government upon him,
 at least to admit her to bear a part with him; and that in case
 persuasion failed, she should use force to constrain him. Accord-
 ingly *Pacheco* turned back those that were going to *Alcantara*:
 the guards, and all the queen's adherents were ordered to
 be in readiness to support her; and a letter was sent to the
 king from her, full of gentle and persuasive expressions; but
 before the letter could possibly be dispatched, the people of
Lisbon, perceiving the court armed against the king, began
 to run into arms also for his defence, fearing some violence
 might be offered him. This zeal of the multitude quickly
 and effectually humbled the queen, who, seeing no hope of
 prevailing by open force, had recourse to intreaty, and there-
 fore sent a submissive letter by the bishop of *Targa*. In this
 letter, among other things, the queen pressed the holding the
 cortes, or assembly of the states, that she might there resign
 the government; but the king and count perceiving this was
 a contrivance to gain time, thought it best to send her an an-
 swer by the bishop, importing, that the king, considering the
 great burthen that attended the government, was willing to
 ease the queen his mother, who had long laboured under it,
 of that toil, and to take it entirely upon himself. The queen,
 perceiving there was no hope either by force or address of re-
 taining the government, resolved to quit it with an air of sa-
 tisfaction.

tisfaction. She desired, therefore, the king would return to *Lisbon*; and that the ceremony might be performed in the palace. The king delayed this: but at length, finding himself secure, and the queen's interest declining, since the people of *Lisbon* had declared for him, repaired to the palace; where, in the presence of the nobility, ministers of state, and magistrates of the city, the queen delivered up the seals into his hands, which is the usual ceremony in *Portugal* when a king takes upon him the government^m.

THE queen-mother after this began to talk of retiring from the world, but in such a manner that no body believed she had any such intention; for sometimes she proposed building a new monastery, but could never find out a convenient situation; then of erecting an apartment for herself near some of the old ones, but none of them cared to admit her; and this it was believed was only done to protract time, and to continue in the palace till some emergency should oblige her son to call her once more to the governmentⁿ. But now all the duty, reverence, and submission was made to the king. The nobility attended him, the clergy paid their court, and there wanted not crowds of sycophants to fawn on him. His principal ministers were the counts of *Castelmelhor* and *Atouguia*, and *Don Sebastian Caesar de Meneses*. The partizans of the old government knowing this, gave out confidently, that being himself void of sense he only spoke such words as they put into his mouth. Count *Castelmelhor*, endeavouring to establish himself absolutely in the king's favour, eased him as much as possible of public affairs, indulging his inclination to horses, arms, and even to women, but without any public scandal. At this juncture the count delivered out of prison *Henry de Miranda*, who had been confined by the queen-mother; and being brought to court he quickly became one of the king's greatest favourites, and yet there never happened the least jealousy between the count *Castelmelhor* and him; but it was otherwise with the count of *Atouguia* and *Caesar de Meneses*; but not thinking himself yet thoroughly established he would not attempt so soon to remove them. At length, having gained the sole ascendant over the king, and having all things at his disposal, he lodged himself in the apartment that had belonged to prince *Theodosius*, the king's eldest brother. The only object of ambition remaining was the having some employment that might always keep him about the king's per-

New intrigues at court by the fresh favourites which the king encouraged about him.

^m LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal. ⁿ LEANDRO DORÉA CACERES E FARIA, BASNAGE Annales de Provinces Unies, Memoires d'ARLANCOURT.

son; and there being none vacant he thought of one that had been suppressed, stiled in *Portuguese, Escrivão Prividade*; that is, the private secretary. This he begged of the king, who readily granted it; and though the secretary of state disputed it as being become a branch of his office, yet he caused him immediately to be settled in the possession of it. By this charge he also obtained the right to a seat in the council of state: but as prosperity commonly blinds favourites, so the prudence of the count having raised him so high, seemed to leave him, and he began to bestow preferments without measure upon all his friends and adherents; and at the same time omitted not to crush and to destroy his enemies, that the power of one party, and the fate of the other, might be the sure basis of his greatness^o. In the next place, he advised the king to shew some resentment for the several affronts done to his person, during the queen's regency, and particularly in forcing *Conti* out of his apartment, and other like insolences, which if not punished might draw him into contempt. In pursuance of this advice the duke of *Cadaval*, *Garcia*, and *Emanuel de Melo*; the counts of *Soret*, *Pombeiro*, and *Pedro Vieira*, secretary of state, who had often reproved the king, and some others, were sent into banishment, that some respect might be recovered to the crown.

The queen
dowager
places all
her hopes
in her
younger son
Don
Pedro.

THIS proceeding against so many persons of note, gave occasion to their partizans to revile the king and his government; and now the queen dowager, seeing herself excluded from public affairs, laboured all she could to strengthen the party of the infant, and to hold frequent consultations with him; wherein it was always repeated that the king was stupid and unfit to rule. Count *Castelmelhor*, who was not ignorant of their intrigues, contrived all the methods he could to separate them, but in vain: for the infant, building upon the notion of his brother's incapacity, thought it better to be a king than be next to a king. The count, seeing he could not prevail upon him to desist from his cabals, persuaded the king in the first place to change all his brother's servants, putting in their room such as he could confide in, that for the future he might have the less opportunity of carrying on his designs. The next thing was to compel the dowager to retire from court, as she pretended to desire, tho' by her proceedings it plainly appeared nothing was more distasteful to her than the thoughts of leading a private life. Yet upon seeing the king so inclinable to have her remove, she had re-

° LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal, LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA.

course

course to her former dissimulation, and asked leave to withdraw to some private house, because the apartment she had begun to build was not yet finished. The king's answer was, that it became not her grandeur to quit the palace for a private house; but that she might cause more diligence to be used in finishing her structure, which till then had gone on very slowly. Yet not long after, the king being informed that his mother made use of all the arts imaginable to advance his brother Don *Pedro* to the throne, he sent an absolute order for her to depart the palace. Upon this, on the seventeenth of *March*, she withdrew to the new apartment she had built at a small distance from *Lisbon*, being attended thither by the king, the infant, and all the nobility. The queen mother thus removed, the infant seemed now wholly devoted to the king, except in one thing, which he knew to be offensive to him, and that was in frequently visiting his mother, and holding private discourses with her, nor was she wanting, often in public, to warn him of the danger of this tender affection and duty towards her; but whether she really meant it as a caution to him, or rather did it artificially to make the king more odious, and procure themselves the greater commiseration, is not easily determined^p.

A. D.
1663.

THE king Don *Alonso*, to whom his mother's presence had been a curb, being delivered from that restraint, ran into all the vices of youth. Count *Castelmelhor*, fearing a disorderly life might hasten his fall, in whose ruin he must himself be involved, studied various means to reclaim him, or when that could not be done, to conceal his extravagancies; but it is a work of great difficulty to correct the vicious inclinations of youth, especially where the person to be reformed looks on himself as above controul. In short, his vices were too visible to be excused; for the king giving a loose to his passions, the whole burthen of the government devolved in a manner upon the counts of *Castelmelhor*, *Atouguia*, and *Caspar de Meneses*: the former had long meditated to overturn the other two; but as long as the queen continued at court, he durst not attempt it, for fear that having lost the king they should incline to go over and strengthen her party. But when she was expelled, he quickly circumvented the count *de Atouguia*, caused him first to be removed, and then banished. But *Meneses*, warned by his example, in order to support himself, persuaded the king to recal *Antonio Conti* from *Brazil*, hoping that he being restored to his former post, would in

*All power
engrossed by
the count
de Castelmelhor,
who undetermines
his competitors.*

^p Account of the Court of Portugal, BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT.

gratitude stand by the person to whom he owed this favour. The count being apprized of this, so immediately wrought upon his easy master, that *Meneses* was banished before *Conti* arrived to support him. On the return of *Antonia* from *Brazil*, the ship that brought him was received into the port of *Lisbon* with the sound of trumpets, firing of cannon, and all other demonstrations of joy, as if it had been for the reception of some sovereign prince. Yet all this was but fantastic joy; for count *Castelmelhor*, having persuaded the king that as it was a vindication of his authority to recal him from banishment, so to entertain him at court would provoke the nobility, to whom his name was odious: for these reasons, without suffering him to land, he was sent into the country, with express command not to come near the court⁹. To shew, however, this exile was not the effect of jealousy, but of his care for the safety of the king, he failed not to care for him at a distance, sending him frequent presents; and a considerable employment falling, he conferred it upon him though absent, and bestowed a rich benefice upon *John Conti* his brother.

Antonio
Conti en-
deavours
to circum-
vent him,
and is
caught by
the count
in his own
contri-
vance.

CONTI, not satisfied with this, used all his endeavours to obtain an interview with the king; and such industry was used to compass this design, that at length he had a private meeting with *Alonso* at *Alcantara*, the count being then absent from court. At this conference the king's affection was so revived that he offered to carry him immediately to *Lisbon*; but *Conti*, fearing his sudden return might prove dangerous, desired it might be postponed, and intreated the king to recal those noblemen who had been exiled for adhering to his mother. This interview, and the proposal which attended it, being known to the count, he discovered that *Conti*'s design was to make a party to ruin him; to prevent his enemy and turn that destruction upon himself, he employed several spies, and at length found out that *Conti* had conspired with those noblemen to restore the queen to the regency, leaving the king nothing but the empty title without power or authority. Having got witnesses to prove the plot, he acquainted the king, who appointed judges to examine the matter. Upon a full hearing several were convicted, but not one suffered death, only *Don Theodosius de Melo*, brother to the duke of *Cadaval*, was banished five leagues from *Lisbon*, *Sebastian Caesar de Meneses* into *Algarve*, and *Conti* to *O Petre*. The depositions in these proceedings involved the queen mother; a secretary was sent to examine

⁹ LEANDRO DORRA CACERES E FARIA, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

her,

her, but she refusing to answer, the king let that fall^r. Count *Castelmelhor*, elated with this success, removed from the apartment he was in before to another nearer the king, where it being observed that more court was made to him than to the king himself, his name was rendered odious, and he began soon after to decline.

Don Simon Vasconcellos, brother to count *Castelmelhor*, after serving in the army several years with great reputation, coming about this time to court, gained such an ascendant over the infant, that it was observed as very remarkable to see the royal brothers, so differing otherwise in inclinations, and yet so addicted to these two brothers that they seemed incapable of acting without them. The infant falling sick, *Vasconcellos* attended him with such diligence, that he not only rose higher in his favour, but incurred the ill-will of all his other servants; who upon this quitted the infant, but in a very few days they were recalled by the king, except the count *de Ercera*. The king also made *Vasconcellos* not only gentleman of the bed-chamber to his brother, but also master of his household. This displeasing the whole family, they all quitted their employments, and others were put into their places, for the most part creatures of count *Castelmelhor*, and therefore not acceptable to the infant; who, thinking himself beset with so many spies, resolved to alter his course of life, in order at once to become less suspicious to his brother, and at the same time more popular. Nothing could be more fit for his views than devotion; he therefore seemed wholly addicted to prayers, visiting churches, reading pious books, and conversing with religious persons. Thus taken up he seldom visited the king; and some judged this change of life to proceed from *Augustin de Ceuta's* dropping dead at his and the king's feet; but those who pretended to see farther, thought it only a device to gain the good-will of the populace^r. Whilst these things were in agitation, arrived at *Lisbon* the marquis *de Sande* from *France*, where he had concluded a match for the king, with the princess of *Nemours*; and by the infant's orders had made overtures on his behalf to the duke of *Bouillon's* daughter, which also had taken effect, though the articles were not signed. This marriage was proposed in order to secure the succession of the crown, in case the king, as had been surmised, should be incapable of getting children. But the infant having changed his mind, upon what account is

The queen mother dies, little regretted by the king, but much so by Don Pedro.

^r LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal. ^r BAS-
NAGE, Annales de Provinces Unies, M. FREMONT D'ABLAN-
COURT, Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal.

uncertain,

uncertain, could by no persuasions be prevailed upon to consent to this marriage, although the king himself pressed it. This match thus broke, the marquis *de Sande* enquired whether the reports that went of the king's impotency were true; and was assured by the count *de Castelmelhor* that the king had several illegitimate children, which was sufficient evidence to refute that imputation. All things being then disposed for the reception of the queen, the marquis returned to *France*, in order to conduct her to *Lisbon*. On the twenty-fifth of *February* the queen mother falling sick, and perceiving her end approach, sent to both her sons, who were then hunting at *Salvaterra*, to take their last farewell; but they did not return till the third day, when, having kissed her hand and received her blessing, they departed, and within an hour after she expired^t. She was a princess of wonderful resolution, a great soul, and singular wisdom, which appeared in the administration of the government in peace and war. It was she, as some say, that determined her husband to assume the crown; she helped, beyond all doubt, to keep it on his head; and she, by her industry and care, secured it to his posterity. Her skill in government was above the capacity of a woman; and she was so sensible of the danger of discord between brothers, that she is believed to have obstructed Don *Duarte* from making his escape when confined, lest returning home he should envy the greatness of the king his brother. But what appeared most rare in her was, that being a *Spaniard*, a name odious to the *Portuguese*, yet she so carried herself that she gained the love and esteem of the whole nation.

The infant Don Pedro ill treated, and becomes thereupon an avowed malcontent.

THE queen dowager being dead, the king believed himself more safe; and the infant, deprived of her support, thought himself more exposed. Count *Castelmelhor*, who till then stood in some awe of that young prince, acted now with more freedom. The infant growing more discontented, the king became the more jealous of his reservedness, and averse to those he saw in his favour. Some of the infant's servants quitted him, and others were removed, so that his retinue was much below his dignity. He bore with this till the news of the queen's being set forward obliged him to press the king, that he might make a suitable figure at her arrival^u. But this was disputed and delayed till the second of *August*, when the fleet which brought the queen entered the river of *Lisbon*;

^t RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, Account of the Court of Portugal, LE CLEDE, BASNAGE, LE CLERC. ^u M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT, LE CLEDE, BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

of which the news being brought to the king he received it without the least demonstration of joy, which was looked upon as an ill omen of that marriage. The infant being highly incensed against count *Castelmelhor*, as the only man that had obstructed his having those servants he desired, forbore not openly to threaten him when occasion should offer, which *Vasconcellos*, the count's brother, who was present, resenting, quitted his service. So now there remained but two servants of his rank about him; which led him to send to the king to desire he would give him leave to retire from court. Nothing could have more incensed the king than this message; inso-much that count *Castelmelhor*, fearing the flame of discord should rise too high, used all his interest to obtain for the infant those servants he desired, yet could never prevail. The infant perceiving the king was not to be overcome by the intreaties of the count, withdrew to *Quelas*, a league and a half from the city, accompanied only by *Roderic de Meneses*. Fame, upon this, divulged a report that all things were preparing for a civil war. At *Lisbon* Don *Pedro's* faction was more numerous than *Alonso's*: the virtues of the former were extolled, and the vices of the latter exaggerated; but after all, the affection of the one, and the aversion of the other, to count *Castelmelhor*, weighed more than any thing with the people, who bore him an implacable hatred. The nobility interposed to pacify the brothers, tho' without effect; and when all other means failed, the queen prevailed that he should not depart the court, and should leave that affair to her management, which he could not refuse, being, as it was believed, not indifferent to her from the first sight. At length, by the queen's mediation, the prince chose new servants, and the king allowed * of them. Yet the grudges betwixt them were of a higher nature than to be so easily forgot; but Don *Pedro* discovered them with deep dissimulation: *Alonso* had little of that art, and threatened much more than he would perform.

In order to render himself in some degree independant by acquiring a post, the functions of which might be supported by legal authority, he desired the king would create him constable of *Portugal*. The minister, much alarmed at this, and suspecting that the conde de *las Torres*, and the conde de *St. Juan*, two officers of great distinction and merit, were those who put this project in the infant's head, advised the king not only to give him a flat denial, but to order them imme-

He first drives the secretary, and then the minister and favourite from court.

* LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal, LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA.

diately

diately to their posts. Don *Pedro* dissembled, and the officers obeyed; but this interval of quiet did not last long. A *Frenchman*, servant to the queen, was murdered, and the assassin taking shelter in a church, could not be brought to justice. The queen was much provoked at this, and the infant Don *Pedro* seemed more so. Both of them inveighed bitterly against the minister; but at length *Antonio Sousa de Macedo*, who was secretary of state, became the victim, and the council ordered that he should leave the court. In such times of intrigues as these, plots, true or false, are very necessary instruments: the minister acquainted the king his master, that the infant had framed a project to seize his person, as the grand obstructor of his designs, to transport him out of the kingdom, and in case of resistance to put him to death; which his majesty ordered should be enquired into. Upon this the infant retired to his house at *Quelas*; but at the same time declared, that it was not on account of this pretended design against the minister, but because he had himself discovered the count had been endeavouring to suborn some of his servants to poison him: upon which the storm rose so high, that after offering, though to no purpose, to beg the infant's pardon upon his knees, the count *de Castelmelhor* was compelled to quit the court, and to retire into a monastery*. The king, equally offended and suspicious, persisted in the pursuit of his minister's measures, doubled his guards, and caused some new raised companies to be rendered complete for the security of his person, and of those who still adhered to him; which alarmed the city of *Lisbon*, and increased the general discontent.

The king becomes sensible of his danger, and tries in vain to bring his old friends back.

ON the other hand the infant resolved to root out all the minister's party about the king; for though the count himself was removed, yet his creatures remained at court, and nothing of moment was transacted without his advice. Before the infant could put his design in practice, he was said to be advertised by the queen of words the king daily let fall against him, and perhaps of more than ever had been spoken. This obliged him to hasten the execution of his projects. The principal men at that time remaining near the king of the count's faction were *Henry Enriquez de Miranda*, *Manuel Antunez*, and *Antonio Sousa de Macedo*, secretary of state. Of these the chief was *Miranda*, whom therefore Don *Pedro* first attacked, and to that end sent some pretended friends privately to give him notice to depart the court before he involved him-

* RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT, BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies.

self in greater danger. He was so frightened at this, that, considering the expulsion of the count, and other alarming accidents, he attempted to kill himself; but being prevented fled, fearing to be torn to pieces by the rabble. Count *Castelmor* instantly advised the king to be more circumspect in his words and actions; for that it was easier by fair means to defeat the measures of his brother, than to crush him by open force. His advice being approved by the king, he summoned his brother to appear in council, where some important matters were to be debated; but no kind of letters were of any force to move him till the queen sent for him, when he appeared with a great train of followers, and conducted himself prudently.¹ The king received him less coldly than before; but being no master of the art, could not so well hide his just displeasure as the other. The king, who was not used to that continual weight of business, resolved to rest it upon *Antonio Sousa de Macedo*, one of the count's creatures, who, for some words spoken to the queen, had been ordered into banishment; but lay still concealed at court. In order to raise him to the honour of prime minister, the king begged of the queen that she would forgive him, and consent to his return; but notwithstanding his repeated, and submissive intreaties, she remained implacable.² *Alonso*, to conquer her obstinacy, put into her hands the order of council for his banishment, wherein it was expressed, rather to satisfy her resentment than for his fault, they had for some days thought fit to send him into exile. This so enraged her, that after venting her fury without any regard to the king's presence, she flung into another room, from whence she sent a billet to him, demanding to have *Sousa* severely punished.³ The king, in hopes her passion would subside, concealed this billet; but he soon found his mistake, for their animosity daily encreasing, the court was almost empty, few caring to hear the king's complaints, and she in secret studying revenge. *Antonio de Sousa*, in the mean time, appeared more openly in the palace, being well attended, to prevent danger. Upon this a report prevailed, that he threatened the city in case of his banishment, he would repair to the army, with which he would return to punish their rebellion, as it deserved, with fire and sword. Many such rumours were confidently framed, and given out on purpose to incense the people against the king, and turn their eyes on Don *Pedro*, as their deliverer from tyranny and oppression.

¹ LE CLEDE, *Memoirs d'ABLANCOURT*.
² RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, LEANDRO DORCA CACERES E FARIA.
³ BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies*, LE CLEDE.

WHEN

*Refuses to
summon a
cortes, sus-
pecting an
intention to
depose him,
but is com-
pelled to it.*

WHEN things were thus disposed, the infant resolved by open force to expel *Antonio de Sousa* from court, and in order thereto went from his house to the palace, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and the whole city following in a most tumultuous manner. When he arrived at the palace, he staid till the counsellors of state, summoned the day before, were come, and then, followed by them, entered the king's bed-chamber before he was awake; who no sooner opened his eyes than he was told by the infant, that his crown and person were in extreme danger, the multitude being in arms, demanding *Antonio de Sousa* should receive condign punishment for the affront he had given the queen. To these words he added more threats in the name of the people; but the king in a rage interrupted him, calling aloud for his sword. The infant, according to his cool and equal temper, offered him his; which the king would not accept. The noise of the multitude filling the palace, brought the queen to the king's apartment, where she found him in a violent passion; and enquiring, as if she had not known what the matter was; he told her, that *Antonio de Sousa* in despite of his authority had been murdered; and that now they came to force him to pardon the murderers. But she, who knew better, replied, that *Sousa* was living; which the king would not believe, till the duke of *Cadaval* brought him into his presence. At the sight of the secretary he was appeased, and then the queen, infant, and the rest of their followers left him. When they were gone the king said, he forgave those who had so indecently urged the expulsion of *Antonio de Sousa*: to which the count *de Sabugal* answered, "They stood in no need of pardon, but deserved praise;" and this he repeated till the king told him, "He would bestow his pardon and his praise where, in his own opinion, each was requisite^b." *Antonio de Sousa* continued still in the palace, which the infant observing, consulted with his friends what was next to be done. One warmer than the rest said, "The next thing was to assume the crown, whilst the people's affections stood for him;" but he took him up very short, being unwilling to have the secrets of his heart pryed into, as fearing an action done in so tumultuous a manner could not be long esteemed legal. It was resolved, therefore, that *Antonio de Sousa*, and *Emanuel Antunes*, should be threatened with death, unless they quitted the palace. They perceiving no power left in the king or their friends to protect them, retreated by night, without acquainting the king, to prevent becoming

^b Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal.

viçima.

victims^c. The king ordered search to be made for them the next day, but in vain, for his orders were now neglected. In this condition, forsaken by his friends and oppressed by his enemies, he knew not which way to turn himself, or of whom to ask advice. His council took part with the infant; his queen favoured him; the people followed him; and the nobility adhered to him. Things being in this extreme confusion, even the most moderate began to think no way was left to restore tranquillity but assembling the parliament, or states. The magistrates of *Lisbon*, and the common-council, were the first who petitioned the king; but he, being sensible the only design was to dethrone him, put them off from day to day, without any positive answer. Upon this they ventured to write to all the principal towns of the kingdom, exhorting them by petitioning in the same manner to extort the king's consent^d. A few days after, the council of state, the queen and the infant being present, unanimously made application to him to the same effect; but he, convinced it was a design against his person, became more obstinate in refusing, so that nothing was done that day. But the next, the council meeting again, and sending him a remonstrance full of invectives against his conduct, and urging the necessity of assembling the three estates; and not only the magistrates and multitude of *Lisbon*, but generally, of the whole country, pressing upon him with threats, he was at last constrained to comply with their demand; for it was equally dangerous to refuse, or to call the cortes: however, yielding to necessity, he sent out writs of summons for the first of *January*^e. The king, finding himself in imminent danger, resolved to retire into the province of *Alentejo*, causing horses to be provided, and boats to be got ready on the river for that purpose; but his brother, who wanted no intelligence, discovered, and prevented the design. At length not knowing what other step to take, and having scarce any to consult with, he ordered the writs, or letters of convocation to be drawn, and when they were drawn, refused to sign them. His pretence was, that the time of meeting was fixed in them to the first of *January*, whereas his intention was, that the states should not assemble till the first of *February*; believing it his interest to gain time. In

^c LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

^d Account of the Court of Portugal, LE CLEDE, Memoirs d'ABLANCOURT.

^e Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal, LE CLEDE, Memoirs d'ABLANCOURT.

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the end he was constrained to comply, and to subscribe in the manner that was demanded of him^f.

The queen retires to a convent; the infant espouses her quarrel; and the king forced to resign.

It seems that hitherto the queen's presence was necessary at court; but this great step once gained, she either grew weary of the uneasy life she led, apprehended some greater mischief than she had hitherto met with, or held an elopement necessary to the accomplishment of her designs. But whatever the motive might be, the fact is certain that on the twenty-first of November she quitted the palace, and retiring to a convent, wrote from thence a letter to the king; in which she represented, that she had left her family and her country, and had converted her estates into money, with a view of rendering herself acceptable to his majesty: that the usage she had received was insupportable: that he knew she had no reason to consider herself as his wife: that she desired to return on board the *French Squadron* in the river; and to this she desired his consent^g. The king was exceedingly enraged upon receiving this letter, and went immediately, followed by a great train of attendants, to the convent of *St. Glara*, where he demanded entrance, and when it was refused, threatened to have the doors broke open; but the infant coming, with many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, prevailed upon the king to return to the palace. The next day there was a great consultation held at the convent; and the queen applied herself by letter to the chapter of the cathedral church of *Lisbon*, desiring that they would enquire into the evidence of the impuissance of the king, and for the honour of the nation render her justice^h. In the mean time the infant *Don Pedro*, and the council, considering the state of public affairs, the great danger the kingdom was in, and the little hopes there were of seeing these evils redressed by *Don Alonso*, resolved, that he should be desired, for the sake of the public safety, his own, and that of his family, to resign in favour of the infant *Don Pedro* his brother. This resolution was executed the next day, the marquis de *Cascaes* going, at the head of the council, to the palace in the morning to propose it. The king was in bed, and fast asleep: the marquis ordered him to be awakened, and knocked himself violently at the door for that purpose; and when he had obtained admission, is said to have upbraided him in very

^f Account of the Court of Portugal, LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA. ^g LE CLEDE. ^h BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 818, 819, 820. RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, Memoirs d'ABLANCOURT.

coarse terms with his laziness, and want of attention to public affairs, at so critical a conjuncture ; adding, that since he must be sensible he wanted abilities to govern a kingdom, the wisest thing he could do was to resign it to the infant his brother. The king roundly and absolutely refused to consent ; but not long after the infant came to the palace, caused him to be put under confinement in his apartment, where one of his favourites making him believe that he would be immediately restored to his liberty, persuaded him to sign a short act of renunciation in favour of his brother Don *Pedro*, and his lawful issue, reserving one hundred thousand crowns out of the revenue of the crown, together with the house of *Bragança* and its dependencies¹. At the same time a paper was offered him containing an acknowledgment that his marriage was null for want of consummation ; which he said he could not sign till he had the advice of some divines, and which, when he had some time after consulted them, he did sign^k.

As the prince had now carried his point, the council and nobility who concurred with him, and indeed it does not appear that there were any who opposed it, thought it expedient to proclaim him immediately in the palace, with all the solemnity that could authenticate such an act. In the resignation of Don *Alonso*, it is said, that he renounces of his own proper will, and in virtue of his royal and absolute power, his kingdoms in the same manner they were possessed by him, in favour of his brother ; but notwithstanding this, it was held improper for the infant to assume immediately the regal title : he was therefore proclaimed regent governor of the kingdom of *Portugal*^l, of the arms and justice thereof, which seems to have been the stile of the duke of *Coimbra* while he governed the kingdom during the minority of *Alonso* the fifth. As soon as this proclamation was made, the people expressed their joy by the loudest acclamations ; and it is said that in the midst of their transports not a few cried, “ Long live the king Don *Pedro* ! ” which is probable enough ; but as to what some have affirmed, that the infant himself sought that title, it is by no means proved ; nor can there be any reason assigned why if this was truly his intention, he did not take the title of king in virtue of Don *Alonso*’s resignation.

¹ Supplement au Corps Universelle Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. ii. p. i. p. 381.

^k RENE D’AUBERT DE VERTOT, LE CLEDE, LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA.

^l Account of the Court of Portugal, BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies.

^m Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal, LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal.

A. D.
1667.

In respect to what others have asserted, that the queen had this more at heart, as having already in view her marriage with the infant, and being unwilling to return to the palace with a title inferior to that with which she left it, it is, tho' much more plausible, yet not altogether free from objection. As for the infant, as a *French* historianⁿ and politician has well observed, he might easily see it to be his interest rather to assume the title of regent than of king; because it was more suitable to the constitution, more consistent with the honour of a monarchy, and infinitely more compatible with the pretences on which this very extraordinary proceeding was founded. It took nothing from his power; he had the full administration; and though the stile of his brother was used, yet it was used by him, and not by his brother. Without the title of king he was enabled to do all that a king could do; and with the title of a king *Alonso* remained a prisoner, and could do nothing. Besides, it was more consistent with his character, with that modesty and moderation he had shewn in all his actions: now if this was his real disposition, his conduct was perfectly just and natural; but if this modesty and moderation was affected, then this very affectation tied him to act as he did; for if he had immediately taken the title of king, it would have been a very impolitic discovery of his ambition; and would have rendered it manifest to the whole world, that he had hitherto only acted a part: again, as to the queen, tho' the vanity of her sex, and the vivacity of her country, might prompt her strongly to aim at preserving this title; yet the same prudence that induced her to lay it aside the moment she entered the convent, might prevail upon her to wave it during the life of Don *Alonso*, that she might seem to have lost by the exchange both her title and her fortune. The enemies of this princess affirm her to have been a very artful woman, and at the same time deny her the use of this art in this instance, where it was of the greatest importance to her. The reader will think for himself; but whatever opinion he forms of this transaction, he will see, that after gratifying their ambition and their inclinations, the prince Don *Pedro*, and the princess of *Savoy*, had no temptation to deny themselves the small merit of declining to accept a title, and a title, which if they had accepted, must have been ridiculous, since distressed and deposed as he was, Don *Alonso*, so long as he lived, would still have been considered as a king; and their quality, instead of being heightened, would in reality have been lessened by a stile to which they could have no just pretensions.

ⁿ Memoires, Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, & Litteraires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE, tom. i. p. 531.

S E C T.

SECTION IX.

The Regency and Reign of Don Pedro II. and of Don John V. to the Treaty of Utrecht.

IT is certainly most proper to commence the regency of the infant Don *Pedro* from the time of his proclamation, since otherwise there would be no government at all in Portugal till the meeting of the states, which, however, was far from being the case, the regent acting all that time, at least as far as he thought proper to act, with the same authority as he afterwards held. At this time Don *Pedro* was in the twentieth year of his age, a young prince, very agreeable in his person, a strong well-made man, rendered very robust by constant exercise, and of a capacity and character, which, if assisted by a proper education, would have rendered him, even young as he was, one of the most accomplished princes of the age; but this he wanted, tho' time, experience, and application, gradually supplied all defects^a. In the conduct of this business he was assisted, or to speak with the freedom of an historian, he was directed by other heads. At the time his brother Don *Alonso* was seized, that unhappy king scarce perceived it; but as the evening drew on, and every body left him, he found he was a prisoner: upon which he sent to desire his brother to let him have *John*, who managed his dog-kennel, to keep him company. Some say he did this with design: be that as it will, when the message was delivered, the infant Don *Pedro* lost his usual calmness, and burst into a violent passion of tears, and immediately gave orders that some who were agreeable to him should remain in his apartment^b. In this situation things continued till the meeting of the states. One would have imagined that the new government must have been extremely insecure, and subject to many disturbances both at home and abroad, whereas it happened quite otherwise. The conde de *Castelmelhor* no sooner heard the infant proclaimed regent, than he judged it most expedient for him to quit the kingdom, which he did in disguise, retiring first to *Turin*, from thence into *France*, and lastly to *Great Britain*, where he was kindly received, and had a good pension given

Upon the king's confinement Don Pedro assumes the administration.

^a Relation de la Cour de Portugal, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT, Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal, chap. i.

^b Relation de la

Cour de Portugal, COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal.

A. D.
1668.

*The states
establish the
regency.*

him^c. *Henry Enriquez*, who was generally hated, was sent to prison and detained there; but as for *Antonio Sousa de Macedo*, he retired to his own house in the country, and betaking himself to his studies, not only remained undisturbed but received marks of favour and countenance^d. The count *de Schomberg*, who had now the command of the troops without controul, kept the *Spaniards* in awe, and were themselves so weakened by intestine disputes and the war with *France*, which was then breaking out, that they were in no condition to stir; on the contrary, they regretted the troubles in *Portugal*, as it seemed highly probable they might retard the peace^e.

THE states of the kingdom met in the month of *January*, and without any difficulty took an oath to the infant *Don Pedro*, in quality of prince of *Portugal*; a title which implies as much as heir-apparent, and which, therefore, the king would never give to his brother, or to suffer him assume it. Upon mature consideration of the state of public affairs, of the king's resignation however obtained, and of the state of his understanding and health, they voted that the administration should remain to the prince *Don Pedro*^f. The deputies of the commons were very earnest to give him the title of king, which the clergy would have approved; but the nobility, in support as they alledged of his royal highness's modest behaviour, declared in favour of the title of regent; but invested him with the royal authority, with which there is reason to believe he was fully satisfied^g. The states also rectified many abuses that were crept into the government, took proper measures for augmenting the public revenue, and in all other respects complied with the prince's desires, who had by this time the principal nobility, ministers of state, and general officers about him^h. He recalled old *Pedro Viera* to the post of secretary, who had held it in his father's reign, and in his mother's regency. He recalled many whom the late ministry banished; and adopted in most respects such measures as he thought would render him popular. In this his endeavours met with all the success he could desire. In one thing only he was thought blameable, that he supported and relied upon

^c D'ABLANCOURT Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^d Catastrophe de Portugal, por LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

^e D'ABLANCOURT Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters.

^f Catastrophe de Portugal, por LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

^g D'ABLANCOURT Memoires.

^h Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

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the power of the commons, which was but too great before his accession to the government¹.

THE business of the marriage was next to be concluded; and to trace this mysterious intrigue from the beginning to the end would require a pretty considerable volume; and it would be no very easy task to settle things clearly, and to explain them satisfactorily, even within that compass. To speak of this matter sincerely, as well as succinctly, the princess of *Aumaule* as she is called by some, the princess of *Savoy* as she is generally stiled by others, and the consort of the deposed monarch, was the real author of this singular transaction^k. She was the youngest daughter of the duke of *Nemours*, by the daughter of the duke of *Vendosme*, and was herself consequently great granddaughter to *Henry* the fourth of *France*. She was originally designed for the infant *Don Pedro*, and her elder sister for the king; but that match not taking effect, the count *de Castelmelhor* determined the king should marry her^l. She had not been long queen before she found cause to repent of becoming so. She saw the infant as ill used as herself, and she affected to express a great concern for this. *Don Pedro* was young and very gallant; he was struck with the beauty, and caught by the arts of a princess somewhat older, and infinitely more capable of political intrigues than himself. Their two confessors acted as their prime ministers in this business; and it was chiefly by their contrivances that all things were conducted to a point, and the king and his favourites were driven from the government step by step, with much clamour, some violence, but no effusion of blood^m. At this time she pushed her divorce warmly before the chapter of *Lisbon*, and spoke of nothing but procuring the restitution of her fortune, and her returning to *France*, as if that had been her real intention: yet, while the cause was depending, a dispensation was procured from the cardinal of *Vendosme*, the uncle of this princess, whom the Pope had appointed his legate at the *French* court, upon an extraordinary occasion, from whence he was supposed to derive the power of granting this instrument, by which his niece was permitted to marry the prince regentⁿ.

The prince regent falls in love with his brother's queen.

¹ Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters, Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal.

^k Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^l D'ABLANCOURT Memoirs, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^m Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters, Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal, D'ABLANCOURT Memoirs.

ⁿ Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs, D'ABLANCOURT Memoirs.

The scheme was well laid, and managed with great address; but the date was a little unlucky, since that was the thirteenth of *March*, and the sentence of nullity, by the chapter, did not bear date till the twenty-fourth of the same month; but tho' slow in coming it was remarkably clear and full, which will appear the less wonderful when the reader is told that *Don Alonso* acknowledged the truth of what the princess suggested under his hand, gave no opposition to their proceedings, or ever attempted an appeal^o.

Don Pedro, with the consent of the states, publicly marries that princess. THE sentence of nullity having passed, and the states being acquainted with the intention of the princess to return into *France*, sent a solemn deputation to intreat her not to abandon them; but to stay and marry the prince, since they were not either able or willing to restore her fortune. The queen did not return them a direct answer. However, they next applied themselves to the prince, intreating him to espouse the late queen, as the most effectual means to preserve the nation; adding, that they would never approve his choice of any other woman. The prince regent told them they had his consent if they could procure the queen's; upon which they returned in a body to the convent, and prevailed upon her at length to be as complaisant as the prince^p. Accordingly, on the *Wednesday* in *Passion Week* they were married by proxy, and on *Easter Monday* the prince went in state to the convent to fetch his bride, whom he conducted to *Alcantara*, where the marriage was consummated. Upon this occasion there were, as might be expected, very great rejoicings throughout *Lisbon*, and amongst the rest ringing of bells and firing of guns were of the number. The royal prisoner could not help enquiring what fortunate event excited these marks of public satisfaction. Being told what it was he appeared, as he very well might, not a little dull; but those who were about him could not help being surprized when he expressed the occasion of it; when, instead of lamenting the indignity offered to himself, he testified great concern for his poor brother, who he said would soon have enough of the *French* woman, and repent, as heartily as he had done, that he had every any thing to do with her^q. But upon reflection, however, he thought fit to send them his compliments upon their nuptials to *Alcantara*, with which strange circumstance we

^o Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^p Catastrophe de Portugal, por LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA, VERTOT Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal, D'ABLANCOURT Memoires.

^q Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

will

will conclude for the present what we have to say of this singular marriage, which we judged it best to go thro' without breaking the thread of the narration.

THE next point of importance brought upon the carpet was that of a peace with *Spain*, never more needed, never more wished for than at present; yet there was a party who strongly opposed it. This was composed of general officers, who were gainers by it; of some who were secretly piqued against the marquis de *Marialva* and his brother, who had been for many years the prince's confident; and of the *French* faction in general^r; for when *Lewis* the fourteenth invaded the *Spanish Low Countries*, under colour of his wife's title, he had entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with *Portugal*, and had sent over the abbe de *St. Romaine*, to reside at *Lisbon* as his ambassador. On the other side were all the true patriots, and that stiled the *English* party, who, upon this occasion (tho' indeed it has not often happened) outwitted and got the better of the *French*^s. Sir *Richard Fanshawe*, his *Britannic* majesty's minister at *Madrid*, had some years before entered into a negotiation with that nation, for terminating their differences with *Portugal*; and with much trouble and difficulty settled with them the draught of a treaty, favourable enough for *Portugal*; notwithstanding which, it was rejected by the count de *Castelmelbor* upon a punctilio, and the *French* party took all imaginable pains to prevent its being revived^t. But Sir *Robert Southwell*, the *English* minister then at *Lisbon*, contrived to bring it about in a manner which they never so much as suspected. He insinuated to Don *Gaspar de Haro Guzman y Arragon*,^u marquis del *Carpio*, son to the famous minister Don *Lewis*, and heir both to him and the conde duke de *Olivarez*, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of *Evora*, that the only way to obtain his liberty, was to procure full powers from *Madrid* for negotiating a peace; and the marquis readily closing with this proposal, he found means to convey his letters safely to *Madrid*, and to procure answers, which in a little time brought him as full powers as he could desire^v. The *French* party, who by this time had intelligence of what they were doing, exerted their utmost force to raise an opposition, but without effect, for Sir *Robert* applied himself to the judge of the people, who at the first word declared that peace was a good thing; and

Peace with Spain brought about by the judicious conduct of the English ministers.

^r Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs, D'ABLANCOURT Memoires.

^s BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^t Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters.

^u Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

this being ecchoed by the magistrates and commons of *Lisbon*, the same sentiments spread itself thro' the states, so that the court was in a little time forced to acquiesce^w.

Earl of Sandwich concludes the peace, inquality of mediator, and Great Britain guaranties it. THE arrival of the earl of *Sandwich*, with the title of his Britannic majesty's ambassador, and all the necessary authority and instructions from *Madrid*, gave the last stroke to this great affair, and produced the signing a treaty under the mediation of his *Britannic* majesty; which was as fortunate, and as honourable for the *Portuguese* nation as they could desire. The partizans of *France*, however, made a great noise, insinuating, that this peace was made when the *Portuguese* had most to hope from the continuance of the war: that it deprived them of the advantages they had reason expect from their close engagements with *France*; and that the terms of their last treaty considered, it drew upon them the imputation of a breach of faith. To these it was answered in a paper, said to be drawn by the marquis *del Carpio*, that the war had lasted twenty-seven years, and that both nations had suffered sufficiently, and declined greatly in their figure and commerce; while some of their neighbours looked on very coolly, and were ready now and then to throw in what they stiled reasons and motives for continuing a war, by which, without all doubt, both nations would continue to suffer and decline. As to the second, it was alledged, that none but military advantages could be drawn from the *French* alliance; and that these, if the great points aimed at by the war, could be obtained by a negotiation, they had much better be without, since they consisted only in ruinous victories, by which the country was depopled, and the nation impoverished. And to the last it was said, that the treaty of the *Pyrenees* was such a precedent as they had good reason to copy: since in that treaty *France* had abandoned *Portugal*, and had actually sent a minister to *Lisbon* to persuade the queen dowager to abandon herself and her family, and submit to the mercy of *Spain*. The states, entirely satisfied with these reasons, expressed great gratitude to the *British* nation, pressed the conclusion of the treaty without delay; to which the court consented^x. It was generally believed, that the prince regent himself was as well pleased with the peace as any of his subjects; and some have suspected, that though his consort opposed it with an appearance of vigour, yet this was no more than an appearance, that she might not lose her credit in, or the support that

^w D'ABLANCOURT Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal.

^x Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal.

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she derived from *France*¹. Soon after a *French* fleet arrived in the river of *Lisbon*, on board which count *Schomberg*, and the auxiliary troops embarked, loaded with honours; but in other respects neither very well satisfied or well treated.

ONE of the first good effects the peace produced was giving such a turn to the affairs at *Rome*, which perhaps they would never otherwise have taken. Cardinal *Rospigliosi*, very lately advanced to the papal throne by the name of *Clement* the ninth, had received an account of the queen's marriage by a dispensation from the cardinal of *Vendosme*, and of all the unusual circumstances that had attended it; and as the world reported, was by no means edified with the conduct of his legate in *France*². The cardinal *de Vendosme* excused himself with great humility; and amongst other things said, that he wrote a fair state of the case to his holiness when the dispensation was first applied for: which was strictly true; but the *French* secretary of state, who was intrusted to send it by his courier, kept it very safe in his office, upon a supposition that the dispensation might go on as well without it³. These dark clouds at *Rome* began to disperse upon the news of the peace with *Spain*; and upon the arrival of the marquis *de las Minas*, to render obedience, in his master's name, to the holy see, the sky grew perfectly clear; insomuch, that the queen's confessor, who came to submit her cause to the Pope, was very kindly received. However, according to the custom of the see of *Rome*, the whole cause was to be begun a-fresh: in consequence of which a bull was directed to the dean of the inquisitors at *Lisbon*, to hear and determine the case of the first marriage; and this being done, though not with so much care and caution as before, a sentence of nullity was again pronounced, which, together with the dispensation, and second marriage, the Pope confirmed by his bull, assuring the prince, that he had done for him all that was in his power⁴. The great affair of bishops was next to be adjusted; and in that there was no longer any difficulty, as *Spain* gave no opposition, and as his holiness was to be a great gainer by the vast sums of money extorted under different pretences from every bishop. The regent, to express his sense of these favours, appointed the count *de Prado* his ambassador; but he did not arrive till cardinal *Altieri* was elected on

¹ D'ABLANCOURT *Memoires*, Portugal restaurada, Dr. COLEBATCH's *Memoirs of Portugal*.

² Relation de la Cour de Portugal, D'ABLANCOURT *Memoires*.

³ Dr. COLEBATCH's *Memoirs*, D'ABLANCOURT *Memoires*.

⁴ Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens Supplement, tom. ii. p. i. p. 388.

Dr. COLEBATCH's *Memoirs of Portugal*.

the death of *Clement* the ninth, and assumed the name of *Clement* the tenth, who was still more indulgent to *Portugal* than his predecessor^c. Interest directed this conduct, and there was now no danger attended it.

The king is sent prisoner into the island of Tercera, after the rising of the states.

AT the rising of the states it was determined, that in the present situation of things it was not consistent either with the safety of the prince regent, or the tranquillity of the nation, to set the king at liberty; and as to the manner of his confinement they thought it indecent to offer any thing to the prince regent, considering that they were brothers^d. But notwithstanding this, the confining him at *Lisbon* was attended with difficulties; and with circumstances disagreeable enough in their nature to both of them. The prince regent at last resolved to put an end to these, by sending his brother to a place with which he might be better pleased, and yet remain in equal safety^e. A vessel was accordingly provided for him, and a squadron under the command of the count *de Prado*, ordered to escort him. Some persons of distinction were likewise appointed to accompany him; but the place where he was to spend his days was kept a secret^f. This gave a check to the people's curiosity, upon which they affected to be alarmed. They went so far as to give out, for in those days they talked very freely in *Lisbon*, that the loss of his crown and his wife were afflictions sufficient; and that it was going beyond all bounds to carry a king of *Portugal* to *Guinea*, and consigning him there perhaps to the custody of negroes^g. The prince regent, who never intended any such thing, was very much piqued at these rumours; but having written a circular letter to foreign courts upon this subject, he suffered copies to be taken; and when the people once knew that he was to be sent no further than *Tercera*, and was to be allowed the whole island for his prison, they were very quiet, and in general seemed to approve the regent's choice (A).

THESE

^c Histoire des Papes, COLEBATCH's Memoirs. ^d D'ABLANCOURT Memoires, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.
^e BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies. ^f D'ABLANCOURT Memoires.
^g Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal, D'ABLANCOURT Memoires, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

(A) The prince regent's letter, mentioned in the text, was dated May the 25th, 1669, and conceived in the following terms (1). " Having a strong
 " desire to procure my brother
 " more liberty and greater ease
 " than the assembly of the three

(1) M. Fremont d'Abancourt Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, p. 376.

THESE necessary steps being taken, the prince applied himself with all possible vigour and vigilance to the dispatch of business, and to qualify himself for administering the government with abilities and reputation. The duke *de Cadaval*, who

estates thought fit to give him, and knowing also how ardently he wishes to be in a place where he may take exercise, and enjoy all the pleasures of the country, without trouble and without constraint; I was at the same time obliged to reflect, that if I sent him into any distant part of the kingdom, he would infallibly give occasion for renewing those complaints that were made in the beginning of his reign; and that his temper considered, his life and authority would be every moment exposed. Being willing to find an expedient, by which without risking either his person or his dignity, he might enjoy those pleasures in which he naturally delights, I have resolved, to the extreme satisfaction of my brother, that he shall go and pass his time in the island of *Tercera*, as well because it is in the same climate as that in which we live, as because the physicians have given their opinion that the air may be very beneficial to him in regard to his natural infirmities. Besides all this, the island in itself is a most agreeable place, very proper for hunting, and abounding not only with necessities, but also with all the conveniences and delicacies of life, leaving to the choice of the lords who accompany, and the domestics who attend him, to fix his residence in

“ the borough of *Praya*, in the
 “ city of *Angra*, or in the royal
 “ fortress of *St. Philip*, provided
 “ the place of which they make
 “ choice be likewise agreeable
 “ to him, and convenient for
 “ his diversions; and that this
 “ voyage may be made with all
 “ possible honour and security,
 “ we have directed the count *de*
 “ *Prado*, our ambassador extra-
 “ ordinary at *Rome*, to escorte
 “ him with a squadron, assisted
 “ by the count *de Atalaja*, Don
 “ *Juan de Sousa*, master of our
 “ household, Don *Lewis de Sil-*
 “ *veira*, *Miguel Carlos de Tav-*
 “ *ira*, and several other lords,
 “ officers, and gentlemen, with
 “ the common consent and uni-
 “ versal applause of the whole
 “ nation, of which we thought
 “ fit to give you an account,
 “ that being informed of my
 “ resolution, and of the sincerity
 “ of my procedure, you
 “ may communicate it at the
 “ court where you reside; and
 “ that in the public gazettes,
 “ and other relations, this mat-
 “ ter may be treated with de-
 “ cency and truth. Given at
 “ *Lisbon*, May the 24th, 1669.”
 This letter had a great effect at home as well as abroad, and procured that approbation for this measure, which it is artfully suggested had been already expressed. There has been, however, some difference in opinions as to this transaction; many believing that an island, in which there were various outlaws, was not the properest residence for

Zeal and public spirit expressed by Don Pedro, in the management of public affairs.

who had a great share in establishing his regency, and was also a prince of his blood, had his ear from the beginning, and enjoyed his confidence as long as he lived^b. He shewed the like steadiness with regard to the rest of his counsellors, and paid great deference to their opinions. At first this might be, and very probably was, highly requisite; but by degrees it became less so. As he studied assiduously, and with a good will, his subjects would have been very well pleased, as they knew that none understood the state of the kingdom better, had he relied more upon his own lights, and trusted in most cases to his own opinion. He found that midnight diversions were far from ceasing with his brother's deposition and confinement: but he thought it very unjust that persons of any rank should commit with impunity offences that had cost his brother his liberty and his crown¹. He did not take his measures hastily; but suffered for a time these adventures to continue the talk of the court, by which he came to discern the shortest and best methods of correcting them, which he prosecuted with such spirit, that they were effectually cured, and in this he made no distinctions; so that the friars, who were as much addicted to these amusements as the young nobility, were constrained to abandon them, and to pass their evenings in a manner more suitable to their character. He lessened the expences of government as much as possible, disbanded a great part of the troops, put his finances into the best order possible, and gave in his own person, and in the management of his court, an example of that frugality which he thought requisite for his subjects to imitate, that they might in some measure repair the mischiefs and miseries brought upon them by living so long under a foreign yoke, and by that tedious, tho' necessary war, which had been carried on in order to compleat their deliverance. He renewed the treaties subsisting with most of the powers of Europe, particularly with *Great Britain and Holland*; but was so

^b COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.
Portogallo, Portugal restaurado,

¹ Mémoire Historique del
D'ABLANCOURT.

a king (2); yet, taking in all circumstances, it will be difficult to find where he could have been placed with greater propriety; or how, when the resolution was taken of sending him there, it could have been better or more plausibly excused (3).

(2) *Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal, Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs of Portugal, Mémoires de Portugal.*
(3) *Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Vertôt Histoire de la Révolution de Portugal, Histoire générale de Portugal, par le Cledé.*

circumspect,

circumspect in all he did, as to avoid contracting any engagements that might oblige him to take part in any of the broils which disturbed the tranquility of Christendom; for as he had no ambitious views of his own, he would not be made the dupe of his neighbours projects^k.

IN the course of a long peace one would have imagined, that these wise and moderate measures might have restored the public affairs of *Portugal*, at least in a considerable degree, and yet this did not happen. The fault certainly was not in the king, but in the genius of the nation. There was nothing so necessary as to bring in a fresh recruit of people, some considerable tracts of land, even in so small a country, being become utterly desert: this, however, was impossible without tempering in some degree that religious zeal, or rather fury, which generally prevailed; and as no step of this kind was, or could be taken, no foreigners came, or at least remained in *Portugal*, except it may be a very few *French*, and even these were scarce considered as catholics^l. It was as necessary to give the people some ease in their impositions and taxes; but that was equally impracticable. The *Spanish* kings had granted most of these to noble families, from whom it was not expedient, or even safe, for the house of *Bragança* to take them; so that trade was oppressed, and industry discouraged, while the crown was in real necessity. But what bore hardest on the whole nation, and was a grievance equally extensive and insupportable, was the prodigious sums annually raised, and carried out of the kingdom to *Rome* by the agents and emissaries of the Pope, under pretences which in other *Roman* catholic countries would have been treated with ridicule and contempt^m. Here, however, they were supported not only by ecclesiastical censures, but by the civil authority, and that for political reasons; which it is to be feared will always have too great weight, and which, by keeping this drain open, rendered all endeavours in any other way to bring wealth and prosperity into this country altogether ineffectualⁿ. The interest of the *Portuguese* in *India* was continually sinking; and the navigation of the kingdom so much reduced, that the registered seamen did not exceed three hundred.

THE *French* court, at the time of making war upon the states, which it was foreseen would bring *Spain* and Ger-

A long peace, and a good administration, which after all only hinder things from growing worse.

^k Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

^l GEDDES's Miscel-

laneous Tracts. ^m Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal.

ⁿ GEDDES's Miscellaneous Tracts, Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal.

many

Differences with the Court of Spain, and bringing back Don Alonso. many into the quarrel, were very desirous of prevailing on the prince regent to facilitate their designs by breaking with Spain, and making a formidable diversion; for which many plausible pretences were suggested, and prodigious promises were made. Don Pedro was almost left to himself in the debates on this subject; for his queen, and the greater part of his ministry, were in the interest of his most christian majesty: and which is more extraordinary, national antipathy began to revive; so that however unreasonable or impolitic it might have been, this would have been a popular measure.

A. D.
1672.

But Don Pedro remained firm, tho' he gave soft answers, and laboured all that he could to keep measures with so great a king; yet he could not be brought to risk a new war, while his people so sensibly felt that weakness into which they were brought by the last ^o. This was fortunate for the Spaniards, who made notwithstanding a very ill return; for in the month of September following, while the court was at the baths of Obidos, a very base and black conspiracy was discovered: the design, or at least the pretence to which was to restore Don Alonso; and in order to this the regent, his consort, and the

A. D.
1674.

infanta were to be murdered. Don Francisca de Mendonça and Don Antonio de Covida, with some of their accomplices were executed, and very strong suspicions fell upon the Spanish ambassador, which occasioned a great coldness between the two courts ^p. It was not long after that the marquis of Gouvea, the Portuguese minister at Madrid, was grossly insulted in his own house; of which ill usage having complained to little purpose, he judged it most expedient to retire which he did, and returned home ^q. The regent bore this without suffering any strong marks of resentment to escape, but he began to alter his conduct, to repair the strong place on his frontiers, and to reinforce their garrisons. He took

A. D.
1675.

likewise another necessary precaution, and under pretence of some idle stories diffused amongst the people as to the usage of his brother in the island of *Tercera*, he sent a squadron to bring him back to Portugal; and upon his arrival directed he should be carried to the castle of Cintra, not far from Lisbon, where he spent the remainder of his days in close confinement ^r.

AFTER all the indignities that had been offered to the court of Lisbon, notwithstanding Don Pedro de Meneses ha

^o Histoire de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. par MARIENIERE.

^p BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, & CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal.

^q BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 730.

^r D'ABLANCOUR Memoires, LE CLEDE, Memoires de Portugal.

the title given him of duke of *Caminha* at *Madrid*; and notwithstanding that it had been asserted there publicly, and even in print, that the treaty made by the queen regent with the crown of *Portugal* was void; and that it was not in her power, as guardian to her son, to give away a great kingdom to the prejudice not only of that prince, but of his posterity, the prince regent offered his mediation to facilitate the conclusion of a peace at *Niméguen*: a measure in itself well intended, and flowing from a generosity of mind truly worthy of a great prince. It was accepted in appearance; but in effect declined, or rather refused by *France*: in which the politics of *Lewis* the fourteenth failed him; for discovering upon this occasion something of contempt either of the regent, or of the crown, the affairs of which he administered, it occasioned his sending orders to his ambassador at *Paris* to meddle with that point no more; but to leave the most christian king, when he stood in need of a mediation, to seek it at *Lisbon*: but this was not at all. It sunk so deep into his breast that he never forgot it; and some say the remembrance of it cost the crown of *France* as dear as any error in the cabinet during that whole reign. In *Spain* it was also but indifferently received; on which *Don Pedro* expressed himself in so quick terms, that the *Spanish* ministry being afraid that a rupture on this side, might change the general face of affairs, and being sufficiently sensible of their own weakness, dropped their haughtiness at once, disavowed having any hand whatever in the conspiracy, gave full satisfaction for the abuse of the *Portuguese* minister, and the strongest assurances to the regent that his catholic majesty had nothing more at heart than to cultivate a sincere friendship, and to maintain a constant good correspondence with the crown of *Portugal*. The regent received these marks of kindness very obligingly, and afforded them just the degree of credit they deserved. He acted with the like spirit in regard to the dispute which happened between the subjects of the two crowns in the *Rio de la Plata* (B).

The dispute about the new colony in the Rio de la Plata compromised.

A. D.
1677.

THE

* Histoire de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. Memoires de Portugal. Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs of Portugal, LE CLEDE, Memorie Historiche del Portogallo.

(B) This dispute, though often laid asleep, continues undecided at this day; there having been, as the reader will see in the course of this history, several treaties made; which, because they were governed by reason of state, and not the reason of things, have never had any proper effect; but instead of extinguishing, have nourished and kept alive the jealousies and

THE next point of importance brought upon the carpet of *Lisbon* was the marriage of the infanta; which, if we take in the whole compass of the negotiation, as well as the issue of it

and feuds subsisting between the two nations. It is, however, of consequence to set this matter in a true light, inasmuch as it is one of the most intricate points regarding the modern system of politics in *Europe*. The crown of *Portugal* holds the great country of *Brazil*, on the north; and the crown of *Spain* is in possession of *Paraguay*, or at least so much of that vast country as stretches along the south side of the *Rio de la Plata*, on the south. The *Spaniards* say, that their right to both sides of the river is out of question, and in the space of two centuries was never contested. On the other hand, the *Portuguese* justify their proceeding, and affirm, that in the course of this business they did nothing but what by the law of nations they had a right to do (4). In point of facts, Don *Emanuel de Lobo*, governor of *Rio de Janeiro*, sent a small body of *Portuguese* to take possession of a convenient spot of ground behind the island of St. *Gabriel*, almost opposite to the great *Spanish* settlement of *Buenos Ayres*, in the month of *January*, 1680; and to the little hamlet that was built there, he gave the name of St. *Sacrament*. The *Spanish* governor of *Buenos Ayres*, being a man of spirit, and having perhaps no great opinion for the firmness of his own court, resolved to take the step that in

his own judgment he thought right, without waiting for any instructions; and accordingly in the month of *August*, in the same year, dispossessed the *Portuguese* of their new settlement, destroyed the place, and made the garrison prisoners of war, and treated them but indifferently. On the arrival of this news in *Europe*, Don *Pedro*, as we have shewn in the text, and in another part of our work, acted very cavalierly, and compelled the court of *Madrid* to repair the brisk conduct of their governor, by a deportment of quite a different kind. In short, the court of *Spain* found itself so pushed by the prince regent of *Portugal's* recalling his ambassador, with a protest, that if within the space of twenty days, reckoning that for one on which the protest was made, the *Spaniards* did not make full reparation for this insult, it should be understood that a war was declared without any other formality, that they were forced to send an ambassador immediately to *Lisbon*, to give such satisfaction as should be insisted upon (5). This minister was fairly worth an army; it was the famous duke of *Giovinnazzo*, who had baffled all the *French* arts in *Italy*, and who did all the *Spanish* ministers could possibly expect from him here; for he so mollified the prince regent, that

(4) Notice & Justification du Titre & bonne foi avec laquelle on a etabli la nouvelle Colonie du Sacrament de St. Vincent, p. 98. (5) Dr. Colebatch's *Memoirs of Portugal, Histoire de Portugal, par M. de la Clede, Memoirs de Portugal,*

it, it will appear as singular as any that happened in the last *Project of* age in *Europe*. The dutchess dowager of *Savoy* was the elder *marrying* sister of her who had been once queen, and was now consort *the infanta* to the prince regent of *Portugal*, and she judged it would be *and heiress* a very advantageous match for her son *Victor Amadeus*, if she *of the* could procure him the *infanta*, who was the sworn heiress of *crown to* the crown. On the other hand the consort of the regent, *the duke of* who had always a great influence over her husband, flattered *Savoy*.

LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, Memorie Historique del Portogallo.

in the end he prevailed upon him to conclude the provisional treaty, dated at *Lisbon*, May the 7th, 1681, by which, though ample satisfaction was given to the crown of *Portugal*, by stipulating the restitution of the place, the release of the garrison, the power of resettling it, the title to fortifications equivalent to those demolished, and the punishment of the governor of *Buenos Ayres*, yet the decision of the main point was reserved, and the free and undisturbed possession of the *Portuguese* was to continue only till the right should be amicably determined by commissioners, to be appointed by the two crowns (6). This was a point of very great importance; for though at that time the common opinion was rather in favour of the *Spaniards*, yet was there very little to doubt that if the prince regent had been as peremptory at *Lisbon*, as his minister was at *Madrid*, he must have carried his point, and secured the new colony for ever. The prince Don *Pedro* was himself sensible of this, and could not help saying, "That tho' he understood very well

" what the duke *de Giovinaxizo*
 " aimed at by his commendations of his royal highness's
 " modesty, moderation, and
 " equity, yet he could not
 " help being affected by them,
 " nor had the power of preferring interest of state to the
 " inclination he had to deserve
 " the high character which this
 " able minister had so artfully
 " given him (7)." To remove this obstacle, and to redress the mistake made in this provisional treaty, we shall find no less than three new treaties made within the compass of this section; and all of them, though clear and strong in appearance, yet ineffectual at the bottom, as leaving everlastingly to the court of *Madrid*, the power of proposing an equivalent for this contested spot, of which the *Spaniards* cannot be more covetous than the *Portuguese* tenacious (8), so that possibly after a hundred years dispute, this affair may be at length determined by force of arms (9). It had, therefore, been for the interest of both crowns if, in pursuance of this treaty, commissioners had met and determined the point.

(6) *Supplement au Corps Universelle Diplomatique du Droit des Cens*, tom. ii. p. i. p. 406. (7) *Dr. Colbatch's Memoirs of Portugal*. (8) *Memoires de Portugal*. (9) See the article of *Portugal* in the conclusion.

A. D.
1678.

That
scheme un-
accountably
defeated
when on
the point of
being ac-
complished.

herself with vast advantages from the marriage of her daughter with her nephew. The *French* court went likewise very heartily into this scheme, which was warmly promoted by her creatures at the court of *Lisbon*. An affair of this importance, however, could not be carried on precipitately; more especially as there was one great obstacle in the way, which was its being directly in the teeth of the constitution. Yet the prince was so much beloved by his subjects in general, and his influence over the states was so strong, that upon an application to them even this seemingly invincible obstacle was got over; inasmuch that they gave their consent, that for this time, and without creating any precedent for the future, the infanta might marry a foreign prince without prejudicing her right to the crown^w. This point once carried, the marriage treaty was quickly adjusted, and there remained nothing more than to make the preparations necessary for the celebration of this wedding, with a magnificence suitable to the distinguished rank of the parties, and the genius of a people who delight in nothing more than in such solemnities.

THE preparations were long in making, and well they might. A squadron of twelve men of war was equipped at an inconceivable expence. The ships in general of which was composed were gilt and painted; but above all the admiral was gilt from stem to stern; the poop and prow down to the surface of the water, and the sides down to the gunwale. The great cabin was painted by the best masters in *Lisbon*, and the floor laid in squares of ebony and ivory. The bed was most superb, and the royal standard all of cloth of tissue, with the arms of *Portugal* in the highest raised embroidery: in short, the splendor of this ship was such as seemed to justify the name bestowed upon her *Monte de Ouro*. The duke of *Cadaval* was declared admiral, with whom went the flower of the young nobility; and *Portugal* being in no condition to furnish them, foreign seamen were hired to man this squadron, at a vast charge. The design was to fetch the duke of *Savoy*, who, as he was to obtain a crown by the marriage, could not think so short a voyage any hardship to procure him such a wife; and part of his equipage was actually arrived at *Lisbon* before the squadron was in readiness. At length it sailed, and arrived very safely at *Villa-franca* but by this time things were much altered in the court of *Sa-*

^w Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal, *Memorie Historiche del Portogallo*.

^x BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies, Memorie Historiche del Portogallo*.

^y Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs, *Memorie Historiche del Portogallo*, LE CLEDE.

, where some of the wisest of the nobility undertook to demonstrate, that their young prince was cheated, and was on point of throwing away a certainty for an uncertainty: they meant by this, that *France* would infallibly seize *Savoy* and *Piedmont* in his absence; and that it was not impossible the possessor of the crown of *Portugal* might have issued her by this, or some other prince. Full of these notions, as said, they put a force upon the duke and upon his mother; while others are persuaded that they made the dutchess dowager see she had been in this affair duped throughout by *France*; and that if the marriage proceeded, instead of remaining regent of a sovereignty, she would speedily become the governess of a *French* province; and that being persuaded of the truth of this, she was herself a party to that contrivance which, in consequence of the treaty she had concluded, kept her son at home: however this might be, it is very certain, that under pretence of sickness, the duke did not appear in public; and the king returned to *Portugal*, with great displeasure to the court for outrageous an affront, and to the universal distaste of the people at the useless waste of so great a treasure at a time when their circumstances could so little bear it. But by degrees the storm, which at first swelled very high, subsided of itself.

It is on all hands agreed, that the queen (as she was still supported, without any visible appearance of regret, of the death of her son) suffered a terrible disappointment; but it is thought it would have been better if her great spirit had permitted her to have given vent to that concern which proved fatal to her in the end, which might perhaps have been dissipated if it had been more freely expressed. As for the prince regent the equality of his temper defended him from such dangers; and perhaps it led not a little to his consort's chagrin, that at this very time he gave as many instances of his infidelity as ever, and that it was some consolation that, except a single *French* woman of the queen's own family, his mistresses were of the same race as the people. While things were in this situation at court, where parties were very nicely ballanced, the unfortunate *Don Alonso* died suddenly in the castle of *Cintra*, on the twelfth of *September*, when he had borne the title of king just twenty-seven, had lived above forty, and had been a monarch almost fifteen years. It is reported, that he should in his last agonies, "I am now going, but it will not be long before the queen shall follow me, to give an account

The death of the deceased king Don Alonso, which is soon after followed by that of the queen.

A. D.
1683:

Memoires de Portugal, LE CLEDE, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.
LE CLEDE. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

A 2 2

" at

“ at the most awful tribunal of the wrongs she has done me.” It is not impossible that this story was framed after the queen’s death, since declarations of this kind are seldom made by persons who die of an apoplexy. Be that as it will, after a long and excruciating illness of more than six months, which she bore with heroic firmness, his and his brother’s queen departed this life on the 17th of *December*^d. The king appeared inconsolable upon her death, and the clergy took a great deal of pains to persuade the people that she was a saint; but the king *Don Pedro*, who had reason to know her full as well as they, was content to call her the wisest and most prudent of her sex^e; and some believe he did not give her this character so much on account of the advice she gave him in public, as often as he consulted her, which was commonly in all points of great importance, but for those private hints by which he really governed himself, and which were not always agreeable to her public opinions.

Several marriages proposed for the infanta, which prove all abortive.

It was not long after the death of the queen that the French ministers began to lose their credit at court, which was commonly attributed to that event; but was at least as much owing to the king’s dislike of a faint attempt made by *Leuis* the fourteenth to enter into a treaty of marriage with the infanta; which, according to the usual warmth of the nation, the mob of *Lisbon* improved into so furious a passion as exposed him to the danger of seeing that princess ravished from him by force of arms. The king knew it to be quite otherwise, and believing it intended to amuse and flatter him, declined giving any direct answer; and placed this to the account that had been opened on the rejecting of his mediation. He was still labouring to restore the prosperity of his subjects by every method that he could devise, and tho’ it might not answer his purpose, yet it was certainly with this view that he raised his money twenty *per cent.* which, if it had no other good effect, saved the nation something in her annual tribute to *Rome*; of which that court became quickly sensible, and the nuncio received orders to expostulate with the court of *Lisbon*, but to no purpose^g. The king would willingly have done more, but there was nothing more to be done; for if he moved this way he had the church directly against him, if that the inquisition opposed his measures; some

^c LE CLEDE, *Memoires de Portugal*, COLEBATCH’s *Memoirs*.

^d *Memoires de Portugal*, COLEBATCH’s *Memoirs*. ^e *De* COLEBATCH’s *Memoirs*.

^f LE CLEDE *Histoire generale de Portugal*, COLEBATCH’s *Memoirs*.

^g *Memoires de Portugal*, COLEBATCH’s *Memoirs*.

useful steps to reformation clashed with the interests of the nobility; others were repugnant to the humour of the people; so that he still found his cares limited to this old object, of keeping things from growing worse. A treaty of marriage proposed between the infanta and the hereditary grand prince of *Tuscany*, was for some time upon the carpet; and it is thought would actually have taken place if the grand duke had not positively insisted, that his own *Italian* dominions should belong to his second son prince *John Gaston*, in case the hereditary prince became king of *Portugal*, of which Don *Pedro* would by no means hear; and some very able politicians have thought that in this he was wanting to his own and his subjects interests, since if the succession took place he gained a king to *Portugal*, and if it did not, his daughter and her posterity were to enjoy the noblest dutchy in *Italy* without controul^h.

THE people of *Portugal* saw with regret their king a widower in the very flower of his age, and when themselves were exposed to dismal apprehensions in case of his decease without issue male. It is believed that some of the *Portuguese* clergy insinuated their fears to Pope *Innocent* the eleventh; who wrote to the king in such strong terms, that at length he consented to a second marriage; and sent his great minister the count *de Villar-Major* to demand the princess *Mary Sophia* of *Newburgh*, in which he acquitted himself so well, and carried the honour of the crown of *Portugal* so high, that at his return he was created marquis of *Alegrette*ⁱ. On the second of *July* he espoused that princess by proxy at *Heidelberg*, and in the succeeding month she arrived safely in *Portugal* on board an *English* squadron, commanded by the duke of *Grafton*, to the great joy of the king, and of all his subjects. She was a princess beautiful in her person, affable in her behaviour, pious in the way of the *Portuguese*, extremely affectionate to the king, and without the least tincture of that governing spirit which had been so conspicuous in the deceased queen^k.

The king is prevailed on to marry.

A. D.
1687.

IT was generally expected, and the event answered the expectation, that this marriage would change the whole face of affairs in *Portugal*, where the queen quickly became pregnant, and the jesuits thereupon boldly undertook that she should bring forth a son: in which they guessed right; but when they ventured to go farther, and to prophecy what mighty

His issue, and death of the infanta.

^h LE CLEDE, *Memoires de Portugal*.

Memoirs, Mercure Historique & Politique l'ann. 1687.

^k LE CLEDE, *Mercure Historique & Politique*.

ⁱ COLEBATCH'S

^k LE

things would be done in the future reign of this young prince, they rendered themselves altogether ridiculous, since he did not survive to be three weeks old. Upon this a stranger thing came into the head of the populace of that country, and was from thence propagated all over *Europe*; which was, that all the king's issue should be short-lived, and the succession remain to the infanta. This conceit procured that princess a very strong party in the council at *Madrid* upon the demise of the queen of *Spain*; but the queen dowager and her party carried it at length for the reigning queen of *Portugal's* sister, and thereupon count *Mansfeldt* was sent into *Germany* to negotiate that marriage, and was ordered to take shipping at *Lisbon*¹. He was extremely well received by Don *Pedro*, who ordered a frigate to be prepared for him: of which *Lewis* the fourteenth being informed, he ordered his minister to expostulate with Don *Pedro*, and to let him know, that as count *Mansfeldt* was a general in the service of his Imperial majesty, it was not impossible his passage might be cut short by the *French* men of war. The depth of this reasoning was quickly understood by the king, who desisted from his design; but at the same time placed this menace to the account before-mentioned. About this time a negotiation was commenced for marrying the infanta to the electoral prince, brother to the reigning queen; which treaty, when it was pretty far advanced, was discontinued by the *Portuguese* ministers, for reasons that were never made public, and with which the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, who was the queen's second brother, was so much offended, that he would not prosecute his journey into *Portugal* from *Madrid*, as he at first intended, or so much as receive the presents that the king of *Portugal* sent him^m. Some attributed these events, and the king's discovering a new propensity to *France*, notwithstanding he had acknowledged the prince and princess of *Orange* for king and queen of *England*, to the dauphin's becoming a widower, and some propositions being made on his behalf in respect to the infanta, to whom he had been the earliest pretender, or rather the king his father in his behalf, even before that princess was marriageable. It is said, she shewed but very little regard to this proposition when made to her in her last illness, which, instead of a bridal bed, conducted her to her grave on the twenty-second of *October*, in the twenty-first year of her age. The *French* gave new, and greater offence than ever to the king her father, by publishing a ground-

A. D.
1690.

¹ Memoires de Portugal, Mercure Historique & Politique.
^m COLEBATCH's Memoirs, Mercure Historique & Politique.

less and malicious story, that she was removed by poison, to make way for heirs attached to the house of *Austria* ⁿ.

As the conde de *Castelmelhor* had passed many years abroad, tho' from time to time he made excursions into *Portugal*, which were connived at, yet hitherto he had never appeared in public, or been received at court. He was entirely in the interest of the allies, had acquired a general insight into affairs, and was rather more capable of filling the post of prime minister than any other nobleman in *Portugal*. At the request of the emperor, it is said, the queen was prevailed upon, contrary to the whole tenor of her conduct, to interpose in his favour: but it was to no purpose; for either the king had so fixed an aversion to this great man as hindered his desiring ever to see him seated in his cabinet, or was diffident of a subject who was under so many obligations to foreign princes, or which, after all, perhaps may be nearest the truth, those great men who had procured his fall had such an interest in their master, or were so useful to him, that he was unwilling to mortify them by a step of this nature ^o. It is perhaps no inconsiderable argument of the truth of this conjecture, that a great lady very unexpectedly made her appearance in the palace, and from her very entrance had a high influence there, and was applauded for the charms both of her person and mind even by the greatest. This was Donna *Louisa*, the king's natural daughter, who, at the very time she was owned, was also legitimated, and had the title given her of royal highness. The *French* ambassador alone declined taking any step of this nature till he had orders from his court; but when they arrived, he laboured to excel in complaisance all who had gone before him ^p. This lady the duke de *Cadaval* demanded for his eldest son; to whom she was married about four years after: the nobility so much envying this honour, that few of them would be present at the diversions that attended it ^q. Another circumstance might probably prevent the count's coming again into credit, and that was the earnestness with which the allies pressed the king to come into the war against *France*; to which he had no inclination, because his subjects reaped great benefit from an open trade, and because no immediate advantages was proposed to balance the expence and the hazards with which it might be attended ^r.

Endeavours used to engage the king to alter his conduct, which are all ineffectual.

A. D.
1691.

A. D.
1692.

ⁿ COLEBATCH's Memoirs, *Mercurie Historique & Politique*.

^o COLEBATCH's Memoirs, *Memoires de Portugal*.

Mercurie Historique & Politique, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^p *Memoires de Portugal*, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^q *Mercurie Historique & Politique*, LE CLEDE.

^r *Mercurie*

A. D.
1693.

At length he gave out commissions, and directed levies to be made through his dominions; which at another time would have alarmed, but was now very welcome news at *Madrid*; where, to the amazement of all the old politicians, some of the young ones talked very confidently of demanding a body of auxiliaries against the rebel *Catalans* *. To confirm Don *Pedro* in these sentiments *Katherine* queen dowager of *England*, and his sister, returned into *Portugal*, taking her journey through *Spain*, where all possible honours were paid her. At *Lisbon* she had a palace of her own; where, except upon particular occasions, there was nothing of splendor seen, but rather the silence and frugality of a private life. At length, when the land forces of *Portugal* were in some measure complete, the king sent the marquis de *Aranha* his ambassador to *Vienna*, and the marquis de *Cascaes* with the like character to *Paris*, to make a tender of his good offices, which were now received with much more respect than at the close of the last war. To gratify the bigotry of his subjects, he permitted the inquisition at *Coimbra* to make an *Auto de Fe*, which was performed with great ceremony; and, to shew his own piety, he received kindly, and granted pensions to several *Moor*s and negroes of distinction, who retired into *Portugal*, besought his protection, and became converts to the Christian faith †.

A. D.
1694.

As the *French* privateers frequently took ships upon the coasts of *Portugal*, and carried them into the river of *Lisbon*, the marquis de *Cascaes* had orders to complain of this, and to threaten, in case no redress could be obtained, the making reprisals; which was a language little expected at *Paris* from Don *Pedro*'s minister, and yet in compliance with his interests at that juncture, *Lewis* the fourteenth bore these complaints with temper, and promised satisfaction †. On the other hand, the *Spanish* minister was in singular credit at *Lisbon*, paid his court assiduously to the king, and gave an opera in his own palace, on every anniversary of the prince's birthday: the like complaisance was shewn to the court of *Madrid*, and it was no secret that Don *Pedro* thought he had as good or better claim to the crown of *Castile* than any other pretender, since he was descended in a direct line from the infant *Donna Maria*, daughter to their catholic majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; and if the position could have been made out that was laid down by the *Portuguese* lawyers, that no stranger was capable of the succession in that kingdom un-

* COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

† Mercure Historique & Po-

litique. † Memoires de Portugal, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

els by the consent of the states previously obtained, Don *Pedro's* right was better than either the *French* or the *Austrian* candidates^w. It is not improbable that he was encouraged in these sentiments by some of the allies, who saw with great satisfaction the levies he was making in order to give weight to his pretensions. To defray the expences of this armament, and to keep on foot the forces he had raised, the king was obliged to have recourse to the cortes, or assembly of the states, who voted him an additional revenue of six hundred thousand crowns; but after sitting six months to consider of ways and means, they at length broke up, and referred the manner of raising it to his majesty's pleasure, and he laid it upon tobacco^x. The *French* king was so little satisfied with the state of this court, that he sent the president *Rouille*, with the character of his ambassador, to penetrate the designs of Don *Pedro*; and, to accommodate himself to the humour of the nation, he made a most splendid entry. The queen of *Portugal* being attacked by a fever, accompanied with an erisipilis, died after a short illness, on the fourth of *August*. The king expressed his affection for her by remaining all the time of her sickness in her chamber, taking his repose on a piece of cork laid by her bedside: she had been his wife twelve years and seven months, and left him six children^y. There arrived in the autumn a fleet from *Brazil*, with about a ton and a half of gold on board, which was the first considerable quantity of that precious metal the *Portuguese* had received from a colony so long in their possession, and which it is said they owed to a considerable body of outlaws, who had fixed themselves in a distant and desert part of the country, and who, after finding these rich mines, voluntarily submitted themselves to the crown of *Portugal*, and agreed to pay the king a fifth part of their produce. The *French* minister presently delivered a memorial to assert his master's claim to the river of *Amazons*, and to some of the islands in it, which, however, did not meet with much regard^z (C). AT

^w LE CLEDE, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^y *Mercur*e Historique & Politique, COLEBATCH's Memoirs, p. 123.^z *Mercur*e Historique & Politique.

(C) The colony of *Brazil* had been brought from thence. hitherto produced vast wealth to Some short space of time before *Portugal*, from sugar and other this of which we are treating, rich commodities; though no some very understanding persons had acquainted Don *Pedro*, that but very little gold had ever from the expulsion of the *Dutch* they

AT *Madrid* a point of ceremony occasioned the *Portuguese* envoy to decline going to court; and tho' the order which had

they had taken very wrong measures for the improvement of this fine country; that in reality the bay of *All-Saints* was of all others the least fit for such improvements; and that all efforts of this sort should be made either in the northern or southern extremities of *Brazil*. This advice was followed, and followed with great success, notwithstanding it was attended with disputes with the *French* on one side, and the *Spaniards* on the other. The latter were particularly disturbed with the new colony at *Santos*, which grew daily in numbers and in wealth, from their intercourse with the neighbouring Indians, who furnished them with some gold; and, which was still of higher consequence, furnished them with good grounds to believe that the countries from which they came, abounded in that precious metal (1). When it was once known that so much wealth was to be had in these hitherto uncultivated regions, there began very soon to resort thither abundance of adventurers of all countries, and of all characters. When we say of all countries, we mean *Spaniards* as well as *Portuguese*, free Negroes, Mulattoes, and all the different mixtures that are to be met with in *Brazil*, down to the *Caribbos*, who are the offspring of *Brazilian* savages, by Negro women; and by different characters, we mean monks as well as laymen, soldiers, mechanics, broken planters, and in short,

all that sort of men who are ready to go any where, or to do any thing to get a living. As these were quite a different race from those of the new colony before-mentioned, it is not to be supposed that they could dwell together, more especially as the former were the quietest and most simple, the latter the most riotous and turbulent people in the world. These adventurers, therefore, took care to look out for a new settlement, and they found one of the properest places in the world for their reception, at no great distance. This was the thick and vast forest of *Parnabaccaba*, which overspread all the mountains at the back of this captainship, and in which hitherto none but wild beasts took up their dwelling. They soon cleared a part of this wilderness for their habitation, in which they established not only a new town, which they called *San-Paulo*, but a new republic also, in which they lived after the manner they liked best. At first this was overlooked, because the country was judged of no great value, and the adjacent captainships were very well pleased to be rid of those sort of folk who resorted thither. In the space, however, of a very few years they grew too strong to be dealt with; for receiving as they did all sorts of people, they quickly increased from two or three hundred, to as many thousand men; and being a bold, hardy, enterprising, and daring crew, the

(1) *Voyages de Cheval, de Beaumont.*

governors

had occasioned this difference was revoked, that minister refused to appear there till he had received satisfaction. In the mean time, his catholic majesty died on the first of *November*, the news of which occasioned great concern at the court of *Lisbon*. The king had indeed an army on foot, and some of his frontier places were garrisoned; but he found no respect paid to his claim, and he was in no condition to enforce it. He knew that whether a prince of the house of *Austria*, or that of *Bourbon*, succeeded *Charles* the second, he would become at the same time heir to *Philip* the second, who had possessed *Portugal*, and he could not help foreseeing the con-

*In great
embarrass-
ment on the
death of
his catho-
lic majesty
Charles
II.*

governors knew not how to deal with them. In the first place they took care to fortify the avenues to their territory, which were naturally strong; and they seldom ventured abroad but in bodies of eighty or one hundred men; and in such parties they frequently traversed the whole extent of *Brazil*. These were the people who first discovered and wrought the gold mines, which must be excessively rich, since they were able to obtain such vast quantities of metal, without any of those assistances which the *Spaniards* have in their settlements in *Chili*. As this required, however, a great number of hands, they seized upon all the straggling Indians and Negroes they could meet with, and compelled them to undergo such fatigues as they thought proper. This new and extraordinary commonwealth was denominated, from the place of their denomination, *Paulists*, and they would not suffer any of the *Portuguese* officers to enter their territories; yet they acknowledged the sove-

reignty of the crown of *Portugal*, and paid regularly what they said was the fifth of the gold they obtained, which in the year 1691, amounted to one thousand marks, or eight thousand ounces; which shews that at that time they drew annually from the rivers and mountains in their possession forty thousand ounces of gold. They took care, however, every time they paid the tribute to declare, they did it freely and of their own accord, out of respect to the crown of *Portugal*, and not from any sort of fear or sense of obligation (2). These people in process of time, notwithstanding, were brought to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the crown of *Portugal*, chiefly thro' their desire to farm and work other rich mines that were discovered without the extent of of their territory; but the town of *St. Paul* is, notwithstanding, regarded as the capital of the mines, and a strong garrison is maintained in it for their security (3).

(2) *Voyage of Fran. Correal.*

(3) *Histoire de Portugal*, p. 395.

sequences.

A. D.
1700.

sequences^a. The prospect did not at all clear on the accession of the duke of *Anjou*; but, on the contrary, *Philip* the fifth, either to please the *Spaniards*, or from some other motive, was said to have assumed the arms of *Portugal*, which at *Lisbon* was immediately understood to be a direct violation of the treaty subsisting between the two crowns; so that with all his prudence, and all his precautions the king found himself every day more and more embarrassed, more especially when he saw *Philip* take possession of the whole *Spanish* monarchy, without opposition^b.

Concludes,
under these
circum-
stances, a
treaty with
France
and Spain.

THESE perplexities were not a little increased by the information the king received from *Pacheco*, his envoy to the States General, who informed him of a treaty between *France* and *Spain*, by which the former engaged to enable the latter to conquer *Portugal*, which was to be an equivalent for the Low Countries, that were in that case to be at the disposition of *France*. Upon this, overtures were made to the allies, and with them a declaration, that in case they were not accepted, his *Portuguese* majesty would find himself under a necessity of closing with the two crowns; and accordingly such a treaty was soon afterwards set on foot^c. In the month of *June* an alliance was concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal*, by which king *Philip* renewed the treaty between the two crowns, particularly those made by *Don Sebastian* and with the late *Don Alonso* the sixth; promised full satisfaction to the *Portuguese* company, which had been established for supplying the *Spanish* settlements with negroes, which was accordingly given by a separate treaty, concluded about the same time. *Philip* likewise renounced all his pretensions to the island of *St. Gabriel*, and promised that upon any scarcity of provision in *Portugal*, he would permit the sending corn thither from any part of his dominions. On the other side, *Don Pedro* guaranteed the testament of *Charles* the second, declared himself an enemy to such as should make war on *Philip* on the score of that succession, and both kings reciprocally undertook not to give shelter to rebels or criminals that fled from the justice

^a *Memoires de la Torre*, tom. ii. p. 133. *Memoires, Historiques, & Chronologiques*, BURNET's History of his own Times, COLEBATCH's Memoirs, part ii. p. 52. ^b *Mercurie Historique & Politique*, QUINCY Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET's History of his own Times. ^c *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du xviii Siecle*, par Monsieur de LAMBERTY, tom. i. p. 416.

of either state. His most christian majesty became the guaranty of this treaty^d. The true design of Don *Pedro* in making it, was to establish a neutrality for the present, and to be entitled to as good or better terms in case he was either inclined or obliged to change sides. Upon the first news of the death of *James* the second of *Great-Britain*, the court of *Portugal* went into mourning, which was to avoid a notification in form; and, therefore, when the *French* ambassador pressed him to follow his master's example, in respect to the succession in that kingdom, he refused to hear of it upon any terms. In pursuance of the treaty before-mentioned, and upon the approach of the *English* fleet, the king ordered the duke *de Cadaval* to assemble forces for the security of the coasts, while the king himself went to *Salvaterra*, in order to avoid the persecution to which he was exposed from the memorials of the Imperial and *French* ministers, count *Waldstein* and the president *Rouille*^e.

A. D.
1701.

In *America* his majesty of *Portugal* took care to avail himself of the concessions made him by the *French*, who, upon his demolishing two or three little ports of no consequence, admitted his right to both sides of the river of *Amazon*, and quitted their own pretensions to the island of *Maranon*; for by this time the importance of his friendship was so well understood at *Versailles* and *Madrid*, that whatever he insisted upon was immediately complied with^f. This in some measure consoled him for the very different usage he had met with in the former part of his reign. Sir *Stafford Fairbone*, with an *English* fleet being upon his coast, the king demanded a maritime force from *France*, capable of affording him security; and the ambassador of that crown having fairly told him that the thing was impossible, Don *Pedro* replied, he must then have recourse to a neutrality, and ordered his minister at *Madrid* to make the like declaration. To which cardinal *Portocarrero* answered, "That nothing better was to be expected from the rebel duke of *Bragança*." This angry speech, and the *Spanish* minister's giving the king a hint at *Lisbon* that he must chuse his side, for that a neutrality would never be admitted, left him much more at liberty, insomuch that he received the prince of *Hesse-Darmstadt* with much civility, and the admiral of *Castile* with all possible respect,

But finds himself obliged to take new measures, and declares a neutrality.

A. D.
1703.^d Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. viii. p. i. p. 31.^e Mercure Historique & Politique, QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Lettres Historiques.^f Mercure Historique & Politique.

which events were in the nature of signals that he would take the *Spanish* minister's advice, and make choice of his party sooner than those who gave him that hint expected. In the mean time malcontents of all ranks fled from *Spain* into *Portugal*, and carried with them large sums of money, together with jewels and plate to an immense value^z. The first of many advantages accruing to the court of *Lisbon* by these disturbances in *Spain*.

Concludes
a treaty
with the
allies.

As affairs advanced with his new friends, the king found it requisite to send an ambassador to the court of *Vienna*, and accordingly fixed upon the marquis of *Gouvea*, who lost no time in setting out for that court. New levies being made, some magazines raised on the frontiers, and the artillery ordered thither that had been removed to the coast, the *Spanish* minister began to take umbrage; and having demanded an audience, talked to the king in a very high stile. To which Don *Pedro* answered calmly, "That his own behaviour was the cause of these measures, since it plainly betrayed an alteration in his master's sentiments, against which it was but natural for him to secure himself in the best way he could." By degrees the treaty, that had been long upon the carpet, was at length brought to bear, and was actually concluded and signed on the sixteenth of *May*, by the duke de *Cadaval*, the marquis de *Alegrette*, the count de *Alvor*, Don *Roquo Montero Paim*, and Don *Joseph de Faria*: on the part of his Imperial majesty, by the count de *Waldstein*: on the behalf of the queen of *Great-Britain*, by Mr. *Methuen*: and on the part of the states-general of the United Provinces, by the sieur *Schonenburgh*^h. By this treaty the emperor declared the archduke *Charles* king of *Spain*, and his majesty of *Portugal* agreed to acknowledge him as such, and to bring into the field of his own troops twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse: his Imperial majesty was to take thirteen thousand *Portuguese* troops into his pay, at the rate of a million pieces of eight a year. Other subsidies were likewise stipulated; and the sending a maritime force sufficient to protect the coasts of *Portugal*, by a separate article, which was to be kept secret. The archduke engaged, in quality of king of *Spain*, to yield to his majesty of *Portugal*, in perpetuity the towns of *Badajoz*, *Alcantara*, *Albuquerque*, and *Valenza*, in *Estramadura*; as also *Bayonne*, *Vigo*, *Tuy*, and *Gardia*, in *Galicia*. By another separate article, he stipulates likewise to renounce all pretensions to the

^z BURNET's History of his own Times, *Mercure Historique & Politique*. ^h Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. p. 127, *Mercure Historique & Politique*.

countries

countries in dispute on the *Rio de la Plata*¹. As Don Pedro was not obliged to declare till the new king of Spain was actually arrived in Portugal, the treaty was not made public: however, the report of it was so strong, that Lewis the fourteenth sent a new minister to Lisbon; who, in an audience he had of Don Pedro, told him that his master advised him, not only out of friendship but out of compassion, not to engage in leagues with distant and weak allies, who in his distress might be unwilling, or if not, would be certainly unable to assist him. In answer, his majesty assured him, that he had a true sense of his master's friendship, and hoped he should never stand in need of his compassion. At the same time, to shew how much he was in earnest, he ordered every peasant in his dominions, who had two sons, to register one of them for his service, and forbade the holy office to disturb, on the score of his religion, any officer or soldier in the service of his allies^k.

ONE great motive to the king's concluding this alliance *The war ceased almost as soon as it was made. It had been agreed, declared, that king Charles the third should espouse the infanta Donna and is pro- Theresa; but she died at Lisbon on the fourteenth of February, secuted with just turned of eight years of age. Soon after arrived king very little Charles on board a noble fleet of the allies, attended by a great success.* number of transports with near ten thousand men on board, and was received with all possible demonstrations of affection and esteem by his Portuguese majesty. The French minister affected to declare in public, that he would leave the kingdom as soon as the archduke arrived: which it is probable he would have done; but Don Pedro, to wipe out one article in the long account before-mentioned, sent him orders to quit Portugal in twenty-four hours¹. His majesty quickly published his motives for declaring war; in which are deduced a long train of insults, some of which have been before-mentioned. King Philip published his manifesto also; and which was more to the purpose, was first in the field with a good army, having the duke of Berwick under him, took eight or ten places, and amongst them Castel-Branco, where the soldiers found a great quantity of stores, and the tents of the two kings: at the same time the duke of Berwick surprised, and

¹ Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du xviii Siecle, par Monsieur LAMBERTY, Mercure Historique & Politique, BURNET's History of his own Times.

^k Mercure Historique & Politique. ¹ BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique.

defeated the corps of troops commanded by baron *Fagel*^m. To balance these losses the marquis *das Minas*, at the head of a *Portuguese* army, entered *Castile*, defeated Don *Pedro Ronquillo*, and took some small places. The autumn campaign was not more favourable than that of the summer: the two kings took the field, having received a reinforcement from *England*; but meeting with some disappointments, returned very soon to *Lisbon*. Don *Pedro* was no sooner there than he wrote to queen *Anne* to recal the duke of *Schomberg*, who by pressing him continually for his father's arrears, was become very disagreeable. The duke was equally weary of his command, having predicted all the misfortunes of the campaign, though he had not authority enough to hinder them. The queen complied with both their desires, and sent him a successor. As for baron *Fagel* he maintained himself in the king's good graces, notwithstanding his misfortune; but then he differed with his prime minister the duke of *Cadaval*, whom he held to be no great friend to the war, and perhaps in that he was not mistaken: he also fell out with the marquis *de Ruvigny*, or as we stile him, lord *Galway*, whom the queen had sent to succeed the duke of *Schomberg*, and not being successful in this dispute, discovered strong marks of discontent. These unlucky jealousies and misunderstandings were fatal to the service; and the *Portuguese* ministers were so intent on making the most of the subsidies and succours that were sent from *England*, that if the troops had not been relieved by the fleet under the command of Sir *George Rooke*, they might have suffered more through want of provisions, than from the superiority of the enemy; which in the first campaign was sufficiently felt, and would have been more so if the *Spanish* generals had not done all in their power to cross the duke of *Berwick*ⁿ. The admiral of *Castile* had also his share of vexation; so that the year ended with complaints on all sides, and the dismantling of *Portalegre*, and several other places in *Portugal*, which the *Spaniards* demolished before their retreat.

A. D.
1704.

The king
declares the
queen dow-
ager of
England
regent.

AT the very opening of the year the king was attacked with a very dangerous swelling in the throat, attended with such violent symptoms, that he immediately made his will, and appointed the queen dowager of *England* regent^o. The

^m QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires, Historiques, & Chronologiques, Memoires par LAMBERTY.
ⁿ Mercure Historique & Politique, Memoires par LAMBERTY, Memoires de LA TORRE, BURNET's History of his own Times.
^o Mercure Historique & Politique.

general

general of the jesuits taking this opportunity to command the king's confessor, who was of his order, to quit his employment. The king sent him word that if he insisted upon it, himself and the rest of his order should quit the kingdom. He had, not long after, a return of his distemper, which obliged him to leave the reins of government in the hands of his sister; but as soon as he found himself in any condition to use exercise, he applied himself to military affairs, and quickening the motions of his troops, so that he might have them early in the field, and in this he met with all the success he could desire. Baron *Fagel*, who commanded the *Dutch* troops in chief, had acquired the confidence of this monarch, and of king *Charles*. It was proposed to open the campaign with the siege of *Badajoz*, which he disliked, because it was a large well fortified place, and he apprehended the army too small to invest it: he added, that the siege would be of a considerable length, which might give the *Spaniards* time to attempt its relief, and he was unwilling to risk a disappointment. Besides, he thought the end of the war ought to regulate the progress of it, and as that was the setting king *Charles* upon the throne, he was for penetrating directly into *Castile*. His sentiments were followed, and the campaign opened by the siege of *Valenza de Alcantara*, which was taken. *Albuquerque* was next reduced; but when, in pursuance of this project, *Alcantara* should have been attacked, the proposal was rejected; and it was carried in the council of war to retire into quarters of refreshment. Before the army separated there was another great council held, at which the admiral of *Castile* assisted, in order to determine the operations of the fleet and army of the allies, with whom king *Charles* was to go in person: he was for alarming the coasts of *Spain* during the summer, and return at the season for action to reduce *St. Lucar*, in order to fix the seat of war in *Andalusia*, rather than in *Catalonia*. In this he was supported by the *English* and *Dutch* generals; but in his return from the camp to *Lisbon*, he died of an apoplexy. Baron *Fagel* came to court in the beginning of *July*, where he found the operations of the confederate fleet, and of the *Portuguese* army in the autumn regulated without his concurrence. The siege of *Badajoz* was resolved on, and he was prevailed upon by the king of *Portugal* to assist at it, though against his

P QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Mémoires de LA TORRE. 9 Mémoires Historiques & Chronologiques, BURNET'S History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique.

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opinion. When he came before it, he advised destroying the *Spanish* magazines as far as *Merida*, previous to the siege; but that was postponed: when the army of the two crowns took post near the place, he was for fighting; but that was rejected. In the course of the siege a bomb from the castle blew up one of the principal magazines in the camp. Lord *Galway* and baron *Fagel* repairing to the place to remedy the disorder this accident had occasioned, the former lost his right arm by a cannon shot; after which, through the negligence of the *Portuguese*, some posts were surprised, and the baron was forced to raise the siege^r. Upon this, and in consequence of leave obtained from the states, he returned to *Holland*, having much the same opinion of the court he left as the earl of *Peterborough*, who is said to have written to the queen, that they had but one friend in the council (meaning the king) and he had not the greatest weight^s. About this time the queen dowager of *England* resigned the regency in great discontent, on account of the king's cancelling an order of hers to the Pope's nuncio to leave the court; and it is thought this went so near her heart as to be in some measure the occasion of her death, which happened on the last day of the year, in the sixty-eighth of her age. She left all the immense wealth she had saved to the king her brother, to the no small disappointment of the priests^t.

A. D.
1705.

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By the great attention of the king *Don Pedro*, the troops were in a condition to be in action very early: the army was commanded by the marquis *das Minas* and lord *Galway*. The former was for besieging *Badajoz*, because it was a place of great consequence to *Portugal*, and which they were to keep by treaty: the latter was for besieging *Alcantara*, for the reasons which had been before given by baron *Fagel*. The matter being left to the king, he sent positive orders to attack *Alcantara*, preferring the interest of the common cause to that of his own. The place was strong, and had a good garrison; yet it was quickly taken. The *Spanish* writers will have it that there was money in the case; but that seems to be improbable, as the governor twice refused the terms that were offered him. Some other places of less consequence submitted upon the approach of the allies, who advanced as far as *Almaras*, and lord *Galway* was for proceeding directly

^r BURNET's History of his own Times, Memoires par LAMBERTY, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. ^s Mercure Historique & Politique. ^t History of Europe for the Year 1705, Mercure Historique & Politique.

to *Madrid*, as the forces under the duké of *Berwick* were by no means able to oppose them. The *Portuguese* generals were of another opinion, and they prevailed. The city of *Barcelona* was at this time besieged by king *Philip*, and his competitor in it. The *Portuguese* believed it would be taken, and if it was, their communication with *Portugal*, upon their advancing into *Castile*, might be easily intercepted; and therefore they proposed besieging *Ciudad Rodrigo*, a place of some importance in itself, and of great consequence to them. Lord *Galway* procured the king's orders in favour of his project; but they came too late to prevent a siege: the place surrendered on the twenty-sixth of *May*; and by this time, they had an account that the siege of *Barcelona* was raised, and the concerns of king *Philip* in the utmost confusion^u. Lord *Galway* pressed them to resume his scheme; but in vain: they said there were great hazards to be run, and the heat was insupportable; but upon the arrival of the king's positive orders, it was agreed to. As soon as they began to move, courier after courier was sent to hasten the march of king *Charles* from *Barcelona*, and to give him the more time they moved but slowly; so that it was the twenty-sixth of the month before they arrived there; but then indeed they made themselves masters of *Salamanca* and *Toledo* in the way^v. However, king *Charles* was so little in haste, on account, as some say, of the want of a magnificent equipage, or as others with more probability assert, from the desire of being invited thither by some grandees of *Castile*, for fear he should seem to be too much obliged to the *English* and *Portuguese*, that at length it became impracticable. King *Philip* having joined the duke of *Berwick*, dislodged the *Portuguese*, who in their retreat experienced some of the hardships they had foreseen. Here the single opportunity was lost of placing king *Charles* upon the throne, since if he had arrived in time at *Madrid* the seat of war must have been transferred into *Navarre*. As it was managed, the *Portuguese* sustained some loss in their retreat; while in their absence the marquis *de Bay* had made an irruption upon their frontiers, and had recovered *Alcantara* by scalade. Lord *Galway* was extremely blamed here, and he in his apology laid a great load upon the marquis *das Minas*: notwithstanding that, all things considered, neither of them was much to blame. At their return into *Portugal* the army went

^u QUINCY *Histoire militaire de Louis XIV.*, BURNET's *History of his own Times*, *Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques*.

^v *Memoires par LAMBERTY*, BURNET's *History of his own Times*, *Mercure Historique & Politique*.

A. D.
1706.

into winter quarters, and the king gave out commissions for levying an additional corps of eleven thousand men, as being fully determined to carry on the war with greater vigour than ever*. While he was occupied with these thoughts he retired to *Alcantara*, which is the *Versailles* of *Portugal*, and at a very small distance from *Lisbon*, he caught cold by sleeping in the open air after having warmed himself with exercise. This happened on the fourth of *December*, and he thought himself much better the next day; on the sixth, however, he was attacked by a lethargy, and on the ninth about eleven in the morning he breathed his last, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, when he had held the administration thirty-seven, and the kingdom twenty-three years†. He died at a very critical point of time both for his subjects and for his allies, and was very justly regretted. He understood the true interest of *Portugal* thoroughly, and pursued it steadily (D). Don

* *Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Mercure Historique & Politique.* † *History of Europe for the Year 1706, BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique, BOYER's History of the Reign of Queen Anne.*

(D) Don *Pedro* the second was born on the 26th of *April*, 1648, at *Lisbon* (4). In his person he was above the ordinary size in point of stature and bulk, of a very serene, and, towards the close of his life, grave aspect, but not accompanied with any thing of severity or haughtiness, for his character was in nothing more conspicuous than in his modesty. He was active, vigorous, loved manly diversions, and excelled in them most of his subjects. In respect to parts, his apprehension was quick, and his judgment solid; very sensible and sedate, which, however, towards the end of his life degenerated into melancholy. So temperate in his diet, that he eat commonly alone, sitting upon a piece of cork on the floor, attended by one ser-

vant, never drinking wine himself, or suffering any to approach him that did. In his religion, zealous, and very sincere, as is evident from his distributing large sums in charity, with all the secrecy he was able. He spoke *Spanish* very well, and his own language incomparably. His coming young into business, and his constant attention to it, supplied the defect in his education, and qualified him so well for the transactions of the cabinet, that foreign ministers found it easier to deal with his ministers than with himself; for though he treated them with great sweetness, as well as perfect civility, yet when he felt he had the better of an argument, he would push it to the utmost, and render this victory complete (5). The duke de *Gis-*

(4) *Memoires de Portugal, Mercure Historique & Politique l'ann. 1707.*
(5) *Dr. Catebitch's Memoirs of Portugal,*

Don Juan the fifth was turned of somewhat more than seventeen when he succeeded his father, and as he delayed his

winners was almost the only one too hard for him: but he vanquished like the *Tartars*, by flying; for having confessed the truth of all that the king suggested, he desired that the treaty might not be definitive, but provisional, for the sake of the *Spanish* ministers, and his own, who he said durst not give up the point, though ever so just; and that his majesty's rights, being so very clear, could suffer nothing by being left to such a discussion. His want of learning, however, exposed him to two inconveniences: the first was that in the evenings, and when he could not have recourse to exercise, he amused himself with inferior company, and listened to all the secret history of *Lisbon*. The other was a greater evil; he indulged himself in great liberties with the sex, and his mistresses were, generally speaking, mean persons. These irregularities weakened alike his mind and his body, and brought upon him diseases from which his temperance and exercise would otherwise have defended him (6). Through the course of his reign, the welfare of his subjects was the invariable object of his government; and if the affairs of *Portugal* had been retrievable, there is no sort of doubt they had been retrieved. In point of justice he was inflexible, without cruelty; he punished for the sake of example, and not for resentment; and which was no easy thing to do, he checked

the too great power of the nobility, and put an end to the insolence of the people; he raised the value of money, but he retained it when half clipped away, and took the loss upon himself; he studied in all transactions with foreign powers to promote the interest of the *Portuguese* commerce; and in his regulations at home he aimed at augmenting the number, and enlarging the immunities of his subjects, in which, if he was not very fortunate it was by no means his fault; he entered into the general alliance with great prudence and spirit; he was well acquainted with the genius of *Lewis* the fourteenth; he was nettled at the usage he met with from him, and he made him feel the weight of that power in conjunction, for which in its separate capacity so little consideration had been shewn. It is true he treated with both *Philip* and *Charles* as monarchs of *Spain*; and, perhaps, it may be true that he made the treaties concluded with one of use to him when he negotiated with the other, in which, if he cannot be totally excused, we may at least venture to assert on his behalf, that he treated other princes as other princes treated him (7). He was a sincere ally to *Charles* the third; and approved the advice given him by the admiral of *Castile*, which was to have transferred the seat of the *Spanish* war into *Andalusia* rather than *Catalonia*, which in

(6) *Lettres Historiques*,(7) *Memoires de Feuquieres*, tom. i. p. 46.

his proclamation till the first day of the new year, this gave some countenance to a rumour, that the *French* party were inclined

the end appeared plainly to be the best advice, though it did not appear so till it was too late (8). In reference to his children, he had by his first wife, the infanta *Isabella Maria Louisa Josepha*, born *January* the 6th, 1669, and who died unmarried *October* the 21st, 1690. By his second queen he had Don *Juan*, prince of *Brazil*, who died in the seventh year of his age; Don *Juan*, who succeeded him; the infant Don *Antonio Francisco*, born *May* the 15th, 1695; Don *Manuel*, born *August* the 3d, 1697; the infanta Donna *Theresa Josepha*, born *February* the 8th, 1696, and who died when just turned of eight years old, after being promised in marriage to *Charles* the third of *Spain*; Donna *Frances Xavier*, born *January* the 30th, 1699, and who died at *Lisbon* *July* the 15th, 1736, unmarried. He had besides many natural children; but of these only one daughter and two sons were acknowledged. The former, Donna *Louisa*, married in 1695 Don *Lewis Ambrose de Melloes*, duke of *Cadaval*; and after his decease in 1702, she espoused Don *Diego de Mello*, duke of *Cadaval*, his half brother, and died herself, without issue by either marriage, *December* the 23d, 1732. Don *Michael*, born *October* the 15th, 1669, espoused in 1715 Donna *Louisa Antonietta Casimira de Nassau y Sousa*; and upon the birth of his eldest son, Don *Pedro*, in 1718, she was

created dutchess of *Lafoen*. Don *Joseph*, who was the king's other natural son, going with his brother before-mentioned to hunt on the other side the *Tago*, and returning in the afternoon of *January* the 13th, 1724, the boat was overset within less than a mile of the shore, by which Don *Michael* unfortunately perished, and Don *Joseph* was with great difficulty saved. He was sixteen years afterwards promoted to the primacy of *Braga*. Don *Pedro*, duke of *Lafoen*, had the title of highness given him, by decree of the supreme tribunal, in 1722, and when he was of age succeeded his father in all the commanderies, and other posts of honour and profit, which he had possessed (9). The death of this great monarch, Don *Pedro*, was occasioned by his catching cold at his palace in the village of *Alcantara*, scarce a mile from *Lisbon*, which he neglected till it degenerated into a kind of lethargy, from which he was a little relieved by bleeding in the foot; but it speedily returned, and proved mortal; before those who were about him apprehended him to be in danger (1). It was at a very critical conjuncture for the allies, to whom this monarch had intimated the expediency of making a good peace in the midst and at the height of their victories; for he began to perceive whatever glory, whatever conquests might be acquired, by continuing the war in *Spain*; it

(8) *Memoires de Lamberty*.
& *Pelirique*, *Memoires de Lamberty*.

(9) *Memoires de Portugal*, *Mercurie Historique*
(1) *Mercurie Historique & Pelirique*.

clined to set up *Don Francisco*, his second brother, and to *John V's* appoint a certain grandee regent during his minority. After *accession to* this ceremony was over, the new king gave the strongest assurances to the ministers of the maritime powers, that he of *Portugal* would steadily adhere to his father's engagements; and would neglect nothing that appeared to him necessary to carry on the war with vigour². These promises were so well executed, that lord *Galway* and the marquis *das Minas* actually penetrated into *Castile*, and even arrived without much opposition on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Valencia*, and this so early as the beginning of *April*. King *Charles* came to the army, and great hopes were entertained of effecting this campaign what had been proposed in the last. Lord *Galway* was for acting offensively, and his sentiment prevailing against that of the king, and those in whom he most confided, that monarch thought fit to retire from the army, taking with him a regiment of dragoons, and, as some say, another of foot². The army of the allies consisted of about sixteen thousand men, with which the marquis *das Minas* and lord *Galway* destroyed several of the enemy's magazines, and at last laid siege to *Valena*. The duke of *Berwick* marched with the army of the two crowns to its relief, and being much superior to the allies in cavalry, advanced through the plain of *Almanza* to give them battle. Upon this lord *Galway* prevailed upon the generals of the allies to quit the siege of *Valena*, and march on the twenty-fourth of *April* early in the morning to attack the enemy, tho' it is on all hands agreed, that they had no distinct intelligence of their force. The misfortune of

² BURNET's History of his own Times, *Mercure Historique & Politique*.

² LIMIERS, *Histoire du regne de Louis XIV*, BURNET, *Mercure Historique & Politique*, LAMBERTY.

was not like to end in the restitution of that monarchy to the house of *Austria*. There is no doubt that if the peace had been then made, when his troops had but just quitted *Madrid*, he would have found his account in it, in a very conspicuous degree, both as to security and advantage (2). As it was, he left all to the management of a very young prince, whom the

allies, by the address of their ministers, and by his marriage, thought to gain entirely to themselves, as in reality they did for some years, till, by overstraining the cord of their connections (3), they had forced him to resume *Don Pedro's* maxim, that a prince may be very faithful to his allies, without preferring their interest to his own.

(2) *Memoires de Lamberty*.
Session under 1710 and 1711.

(3) See the Transactions mentioned in this

that day is too well known, and has been in another place too largely insisted upon, to be repeated here. The blame was thrown by the *English* general upon the *Portuguese*, and upon the count of *Barcelona*. The marquis *das Minas*, who fought very gallantly himself, was wounded, and is said to have had his mistress killed by his side in the habit of an *Amazon*, ascribed the loss of the battle to fighting in a plain, their being borne down by the *Spanish* horse, and the troops having lost their spirit and strength by the fatigue of a long march. It must be allowed, that the *Portuguese* escaped better than their allies, and that the marquis *das Minas* shewed great conduct in his retreat. This misfortune, however, exposed the frontiers not a little; so that the marquis *de Bay*, who commanded king *Philip's* forces, pretended to have levied contributions almost to the gates of *Lisbon*. The *Castilians* also, before the end of the year, recovered *Ciudad Rodrigo*, after a short siege. Notwithstanding all which disadvantages, the *Portuguese* minister at *London* presented a memorial; in which he declared, that his master did not look upon these mischiefs as without remedy: that he remained still firmly attached to the common cause, would contribute to the utmost in its support, as being firmly persuaded, that the independency of his own crown, and the commerce of *Great Britain*, could never be safe while the duke of *Anjou* remained in *Spain*^b. This memorial answered the end proposed, and procured that crown all the assistance that could be given.

The young king marries an archduchess, who is carried to Portugal by an English fleet.

THERE had been in the life-time of his father an intention of marrying the prince of *Brazil* to an arch-duchess, and his majesty had declared more than once his resolution to execute that engagement; which was highly acceptable to the allies. The count *de Villa-Major* was named in the spring to go to the court of *Vienna* to demand this princess. He took the *Hague* in his way, in order to solicit the payment of the subsidies due to his master; of which he obtained a very round sum, but which hardly defrayed the expence he was at in equipping a train of one hundred and fifty persons that were to attend him to *Vienna*. His appearance at that court struck every body with amazement: he was treated with all possible respect: the arch-duchess *Mary Anne*, second daughter of the emperor *Leopold*, was granted to his master, and the marriage soon after celebrated, in which the emperor

^b QUINCY, LIMIERS, BURNET's History of his own Times, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du xviii Siecle, par Monsieur DE LAMBERTY, tom. iv. p. 585, 586, 587.

himself

himself was proxy^c. Lord *Galway* returning from *Catalonia* into *Portugal* found there two commissions from the queen his mistress; the one appointing him general and commander in chief of all her forces, and the other ambassador extraordinary to his majesty of *Portugal*^d; but the situation of affairs in *Flanders* prevented the sending the succours intended to *Portugal* so early as had been designed; and therefore the summer and the autumn campaigns afforded nothing remarkable, except a singular regulation, that the peasants on both sides should be exempted from the miseries of war. The queen of *Portugal*, whose marriage had been celebrated the ninth of *July*, set out on the eleventh; and having been splendidly entertained in her passage by the king of *Prussia*, arrived on the seventh of *August* at *Wezel*, where she embarked on board the yacht of the states general, and arrived safe at the *Hague* on the nineteenth. She went from thence to *Rotterdam*, where she embarked on the eleventh of *September* on board an *English* squadron commanded by admiral *Baker*; but meeting with bad weather, and contrary winds, she did not arrive at *Portsmouth* till the fifth of *October*. She was complimented on the part of the queen by the duke of *Grafton*; and received and bestowed very rich presents. She embarked on board admiral *Byng*'s squadron on the eighteenth, arrived safely in the river of *Lisbon* on the twenty-sixth^e, and on the twenty-eighth the marriage was consummated. Soon after arrived the richest and the greatest fleet that ever came from the *Brazils*, consisting of one hundred sail, and having on board in diamonds, gold, sugar, and other rich commodities, a cargo valued at six millions sterling^f. Some attempts were made by the *French* party to withdraw the king from his engagements; but without success. On the contrary, he made all the requisite dispositions for having a flourishing army in the field, and for supplying his magazines, so as that the troops might be able to take the field early the next year, to repair the unavoidable inactivity in which they had spent this; and the new levies were made with all the success that could be desired. As the allies knew the great consequence of this to the common cause, their ministers complimented him highly on his firmness.

As there had been some rumour of a convention to render more effectual the agreements for protecting the farmers

A. D.
1708.

^c History of Europe for 1708.

^d BURNET'S History of his own Times, BOYER'S Life of Queen Anne.

^e *Mercure Historique & Politique, Lettres Historiques, Memoires par LAM-
PARTY.*

^f *Mercure Historique & Politique.*

and

The campaign
proves un-
successful.

and peasants, it gave some umbrage to the ministers of the allies, who could not divest themselves of an apprehension that it had the appearance of a neutrality. The Portuguese ministers answered, that it was a proposition that came from the enemy: that they were unwilling to be thought less humane, or attentive to their subjects interest; but that after all, the convention was embarrassed with so many difficulties, that it was more than probable it would come to nothing. The earl of *Galway*, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, made a public entry into *Lisbon* with great magnificence; which highly pleased the court and the people^s. The king, however, was not very complaisant in providing, or suffering the earl to provide for all the *French* refugees he brought over. His majesty thought it very unequal that the private men of a battalion should be his subjects, and the officers strangers. However, so much care was taken, that the army was early in the field, and on the fourth of *May* the Portuguese, under the command of the marquis de *Fronteira*, encamped on one side of the *Caya*, the marquis de *Bay*, with the *Spanish* forces lying on the other: the latter were superior in horse, and the former in foot. The Portuguese writers say, that the earl of *Galway* was desirous to fight, in order to wipe out the memory of his misfortune at *Almanza*; but he asserted, that he opposed fighting. However, being insulted by the enemy, the allies passed the river on the seventh. The *Spanish* relations say, that the marquis de *Bay* permitted them to pass, and to form without any interruption: the reason is clear, there was a plain on the other side, which gave an opportunity for his cavalry to act. Both the right and the left wing of the allies were quickly beat, the *Spanish* horse pursuing them a full league. On the other hand, the *Spanish* infantry behaved ill; that of the allies formed into a square battalion; but the marquis de *Fronteira* made a regular and noble retreat to *Campo Major*. The *English*, who brought up the rear, suffered much. The enemy took twenty-two field-pieces, and fourscore waggons: but there were no great consequences followed this action, only the earl of *Galway*, at his return to *Lisbon*, induced the king to change his sentiments, and to consent, that there should be a large proportion of foreign officers in the new regiments of horse and dragoons he was about to raise. In the autumn campaign the *Spaniards* besieged *Olivenza*; but were obliged to raise it with some loss. In the winter the king obtained a free gift from the clergy, enquired into the conduct of the campaign, and broke such

A. D.
1709.

^s History of Europe for 1709, *Mercurie Historique & Politique*.

of the officers of his cavalry who had behaved worst. But the discontent this occasioned was felt afterwards in many instances^b.

THERE happened in the winter of the preceding year a dispute on a point of ceremony, which was now revived, and of which it is necessary to give a full account: first, because it became in its consequences a thing of the last importance; and next, because it is so little known, that it will be a difficult thing to find any traces of it in any book written in our language. The king Don *Pedro*, while he was regent, that is upwards of thirty years before this time, had found it necessary to suppress what was called the franchises of foreign ministers; and he conducted his design with so much prudence and temper, that it occasioned no sort of complaint, neither had there been any dispute within this period of time. But now the bishop and prince of *Labach* being at *Lisbon* with the character of ambassador from his Imperial majesty; but *incog.* as not having yet made his entry, which in this country is a point essential, conceived it an affront for officers of justice to pass by his house with their white rods in their hands, which are the ensigns of their office; and therefore sent a *Swiss*, who was his porter, to turn them out of the street; and upon their refusing to go back, he beat one of them severely. The king was no sooner informed of this, than the secretary of state wrote to the ambassador to let him know, that he must discharge his porter, or forbear coming to court. This affair was, however, at length terminated. But after it had slept some months, count *Stampa*, ambassador from king *Charles* the third, by the advice and instigation of the bishop, revived it, and more than once sent his servants to compel the officers of justice, and even judges who were passing by his door in their calashes, to go back, and return out of the street. The secretary of state wrote to him, that the king would not endure this; and that if he persisted in such notions, he must forbear coming to court. Upon this count *Stampa* demanded a conference; at which assisted the prelate who began this bustle, the prince *de Cienfuegos*, envoy from king *Charles*, the earl of *Galway*, her *Britannic* majesty's minister, and monsieur *de Schonenberg*, minister from the states general, who made what they called a common cause of this, and declared their unanimous resolution, that no officer of justice should pass before their houses without dropping his white staff. The secretary of state represented to them, that while

An unfortunate squabble amongst ministers, attended with fatal consequences.

^b QUINCY *Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, LIMBRS.*

these

these franchises continued, there was no such thing as peace or justice in *Lisbon*, which induced the late king to suppress them : that the *Portuguese* ministers neither claimed nor enjoyed any such franchises at their respective courts : that this was no common cause as they pretended, since the Pope's nuncio, who had the first rank amongst foreign ministers, and the *Prussian* minister, who was the oldest then in *Portugal*, had publicly disclaimed any concern in this affair : that what they did was of their own heads, and without any instructions from their respective courts ; and that this kind of proceeding was of such a nature as might have very dangerous effects with regard to the common cause ; for which reason he exhorted them not to carry things to extremities, or deceive themselves with notions of expedients, since the king was resolved to be the sole master in his capital, and would be obeyed. The ministers stuck by each other ; the king ordered them to quit *Lisbon* in twenty-four hours, and at the same time ordered four regiments of horse into the city ; and thereupon the ministers submitted till they received the orders of their respective courts in regard to this dispute : and their courts were too wise to revive itⁱ. This unlucky affair quite disconcerted things in *Portugal* : the king considered it in a strange light, and began to grow jealous of foreign officers and foreign troops, from an affair that began wildly, and ended meanly. The states had also a private and particular grievance in respect to an imposition that had been laid upon salt at *St. Ubes* : on the other hand, the king of *Portugal* ordered the count *de Tarouca*, his ambassador at the *Hague*, to insist upon the payment of two years subsidies which were due to him. Their high mightinesses found it expedient to pay him one. We shall presently see what the consequences were of these misunderstandings. The count *de Villa-verde* commanded the army of *Portugal*, in the place of the marquis *de Fronteira* : the battalions were far from being complete ; and the six new regiments, that were to be in the queen of *Great-Britain's* pay, were not above half raised ; so that during the summer campaign they acted on the defensive, which was prudent enough, considering that the marquis *de Bay* had an army equal to theirs in *Estremadura*, and there was besides a corps of ten thousand men in *Andalusia*^k. In the middle of *August* general *Stanhope* beat the troops of the two crowns at

ⁱ *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du xviii Siecle*, par Monsieur DE LAMBERTY, tom. v. p. 179, *Mercurie Historique & Politique*.

^k *Mercurie Historique & Politique*; BURNET's History of his own Times, *Memoires* par LAMBERTY.

Almenara; on the twentieth they gained the great victory of *Saragossa*¹; upon which expresses were dispatched from the army of king *Charles*, to press a junction with the army of the *Portuguese* at *Almaraz*. The answer was, that having no magazines such a march as this was impossible. It was then desired, that a detachment of four or five thousand men might be sent, but this was refused for the same reason^m. All this time king *Charles* was marching to *Madrid*, against his own will, and against the sentiments of count *Starembergh*. General *Stanhope*, whose measure this was, pressed the court of *Portugal* for the troops in the queen's pay. At last he demanded the *English* regiments; and the secretary of the embassy offered to furnish the expence, the earl of *Galway* being by this time recalled; but this was likewise refused. All that the *Portuguese* would do was besieging and taking a place or two of no great consequence, to alarm and distract the enemy; after which the army separated and went into winter quarters. To this conduct of the court of *Portugal* the ruin of king *Charles's* affairs is commonly ascribedⁿ. In answer to this the *Portuguese* alledge, that they had once before made themselves masters of *Madrid*, and suffered severely in their retreat; that notwithstanding this they marched a second time into *Castile*, and smarted for it at *Almanza*; that to have marched the whole army now, was to have left *Portugal* at mercy, since king *Philip's* troops in *Andalusia* might have wasted it at pleasure; that to have sent a great detachment, instead of lessening, would have encreased the difficulties of king *Charles*, who did not leave *Madrid* thro' want of force, but thro' want of food, which it was not in their power to supply. As to the joint application of all the ministers of the courts, allies to the court of *Portugal*, upon this occasion, we have shewn how that came to have but little weight. The facts are fairly stated, and the reader will judge for himself. In the winter arrived the earl of *Portmore*, in quality of her *Britannick* majesty's minister and commander in chief; and was received with all possible marks of kindness and respect^o, agreeable to that particular regard which king *John* always expressed for this nation, and which it may be might have been improved more to our advantage than it was.

A. D.
1710.

¹ QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET's History of his own Times, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Monsieur DE VOLTAIRE. ^m Mercure Historique & Politique. ⁿ History of Europe for 1710, BURNET. ^o Mercure Historique & Politique.

The allies complain of the king's conduct, who makes heavier complaints in his turn. IN the winter the king endeavoured to restore his forces, and declared his intention to act with fifteen thousand foot and five thousand horse in the spring : but at the same time complained of the difficulties he was under to fill his magazines with corn, and to provide horses, of which there was a great scarcity. In answer to this, the ministers of the maritime powers talked in a very high tone, which has very seldom any good effects on princes. His *Portuguese* majesty answered, that if he had not done what his allies expected, the fault lay in their expectations and not in him ; that he had lost the best part of one army by marching it to *Madrid* at their request, at a vast expence, paying for every thing, not to disoblige the *Castilians*, who were supposed to be well affected to king *Charles*, whereas it proved otherwise ; that he lost a second army almost entirely in the campaign of *Almanza*, the remains of them having served in *Catalonia* ever since ; and that after this it was no great wonder that he should not be in a condition to act so vigorously as he and they could wish. It happened unluckily that the Imperial minister, on whose credit they had talked in this high strain, appeared about this time to be disturbed in his senses ^p. The count *de Villa-verde* acted offensively in the summer campaign ; took *Miranda* and some other places, and levied great contributions in the enemy's country. He afterwards passed the *Guadiana* and took *Zafra* ; but while he was thus employed the marquis *de Bay* entered *Portugal*, and actually bombarded *Elvas*, which obliged the *Portuguese* army to return ; and upon this the *Spaniards* retired. In the mean time the *Portuguese* minister, count *Tarouca*, pressed the *Dutch* for the payment of several years subsidies, and made other complaints, which were but indifferently answered ; but to balance these, it was suggested to that minister that they had some fears as to the sincerity of his master in regard to the common cause. These informations came from the duke of *Savoy*. The count acknowledged, that propositions had been made by an emissary of the marquis *de Bay* ; that an answer had been returned, importing, that *Portugal* would treat only in conjunction with her allies : that under pretence of not having received this answer, the marquis wrote a second letter ; upon which a copy of the former answer was sent him, and his emissary obliged to leave the country. It appeared afterwards there was no foundation for these suspicions ; for that on the one hand the *French* gave out that they had made a secret treaty with *Portugal*, to alarm the allies ; and on the other, had actually

^p *Memoires par LAMBERTY, tom. vi. p. 575.*

made propositions at *Lisbon*, in order to amuse the *Portuguese*, while they were attacking them in *America*. The autumn campaign produced little or nothing. The preceding year the *French* had made a rash attempt upon *Rio Janeiro*, and had been repulsed with great loss. This year they sent a strong squadron to revenge it, which they did to some purpose, and which had a terrible effect upon the affairs of *Portugal*. It happened unluckily that when the count *de Tarouca* complained that the states had not performed their engagements, in sending squadrons to protect the coasts of *Portugal*, he had received for answer, that if they had not sent squadrons to *Portugal*, they had however done what amounted to the same thing, by watching the *Dunkirk* squadron; whereas it was this very squadron, under the command of *Gue Trouin*, that had done all this mischief at *Rio de Janeiro* ⁹.

A. D.
1711.

At the opening of the ensuing year the affairs of *Portugal* were in a very perplexed situation; their loss in *America* appeared to be greater than had been at first imagined; and by the comparison of their own with the *French* accounts could not fall much short of a million sterling, exclusive of four men of war that had been burnt in the bay. To lessen the king's chagrin, and to put it in his power to take the necessary measures for protecting their commerce, the nobility and clergy made him considerable presents, in ready money and in plate. His majesty appeared to be extremely satisfied with these testimonies of duty and public spirit; but remained still under great uneasiness from the conduct of his allies. He knew that some overtures had been made on the part of *France*, and he disapproved them. In the month of *March* the count *de Tarouca* presented a memorial of his master's demands, in which he insisted upon the restitution of the whole *Spanish* monarchy to the emperor *Charles*, as a measure requisite for the security of *Portugal*. Some apprehensions there were that the *French* would pay a third visit to *Rio de Janeiro*, which occasioned a warm application for a *Dutch* squadron, with little effect. He was likewise directed to insist upon the subsidies, and with great difficulty obtained bonds for the amount of one year, and which he discounted, as he had done those the year before, at ten *per cent.* loss. This supply was very acceptable at *Lisbon*; where, as the season of action approached, they found themselves under fresh difficulties; for the *French* had a squadron upon their coasts under the command of the sieur *Cossart*, who gave

Military
affairs go
as un-
towardly
this cam-
paign as
they went
the last.

⁹ Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Monsieur DE VOLTAIRE, BURNET, Mercure Historique & Politique. Memoires par LAMBERTY, Mercure Historique & Politique.

out

out that he would force a passage up the river of *Lisbon*, while the marquis *de Bay* had a superior army upon their frontiers, and threatened to send a great body of horse to the very gates of *Lisbon* *. The count *de Villa-verda*, and the earl of *Portmore*, were in the field with an army so small that they could not hinder the *Spaniards* from making incursions, and raising contributions; and besides, the earl made no scruple of owning that he expected orders every day for embarking the *British* troops. It happened fortunately for this crown, that the heats were so violent that the armies were forced to go into quarters of refreshment sooner than usual; and the marquis *de Bay* receiving soon after orders to detach three thousand horse for *Catalonia*, the armies were brought more upon a level. In the autumn campaign, however, the marquis besieged *Campo-Major*, which was so well defended, and the count *de Villa-verda* took his measures so well, that towards the end of *October* the *Spaniards* were obliged to raise the siege. But to balance this small success, major-general *Pearce*, who commanded the *English* troops, separated from the *Portuguese*, and declared his intentions to embark. At the same time the *English* court refused to pay any longer the *Portuguese* troops in *Catalonia*; and the king of *Portugal*, finding himself pressed by his enemies and deserted by his allies, was constrained to negotiate a suspension of arms at the *Hague*, which was concluded and signed at *Utrecht* on the seventh of *November*, by the count *de Tarouca* and Don *Lewis d'Acunha* on one side, and by the marshal *d'Huxelles*, the abbe *de Polignac*, and Mr. *Mesnager*, on the other. The *Portuguese* troops in *Catalonia* had orders to separate from those of the other, and to march home by land. Towards the close of the year the *Brazil* fleet arrived safe in the river of *Lisbon*, to the great joy of the whole nation, who had been very apprehensive of its being attacked by the *French* in its passage; and notwithstanding all their pressing instances in *Holland*, were not able to obtain any succours, not so much thro' any coldness, as thro' the inability of the states, who found their forces and their finances equally exhausted by the war. The birth of Don *Pedro*, prince of *Brazil*, served to console both the court and the people in the present perplexed state of their affairs; and the solemnity of his baptism was according to the custom of the country, celebrated with the utmost magnificence, his Imperial majesty *Charles VI.* his *Portuguese* maje-

A. D.
1712.

* QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Mercure Historique & Politique, BURNET.

sty's brother-in-law, and his own sister the infanta, being sponsors. This young prince died about two years after¹.

It was generally understood at *Utrecht*, and at the *Hague*, *Treaty of* that in the course of negotiations *Portugal* would take the same *peace with* steps with *England*. This judgment was sensibly formed, and *France*. was verified in the event; and yet the king of *Portugal* was in sentiments directly opposite to those of the queen of *Great Britain*, and had expressed this in a letter to that queen. His plenipotentiaries also were men of abilities and spirit, incapable of becoming the creatures, or being made the dupes of *France*; and yet from their conduct at that time many were of another opinion. Whereas in reality they had no other method to take; for *Portugal* unsupported was by no means able to dispute with *Spain*, more especially when governed by a prince of the house of *Bourbon*, who had reduced all its kingdoms into so many provinces, and under colour of necessity, had established a kind of military government. Don *Juan* himself was by no means inclined to the *French* interest; but many of his nobility, and some of his ministers, who had married *French* women of quality, were entirely governed by their wives, which was so far from recommending them to favour, that at this very time several of them threatened to quit the court; but the king, by some compliances, prevented what at so critical a season might have been attended with various inconveniencies. The armies were still on the frontiers, and the *Spaniards* finding a favourable opportunity, surprised *Valenza de Alcantara*, which might have renewed the war if the court of *Lisbon* had been in better circumstances; but as things then stood, the king thought it adviseable to leave the dispute this had occasioned to be decided by the queen of *Great Britain*. The peace between *Portugal* and *France* was signed on the eleventh of *April*², being the very same day it was signed with *Great Britain*. By this treaty the prisoners on both sides were to be set at liberty without ransom: whatever privileges or exemptions his *Portuguese* majesty granted to the *French* in his dominions, the *French* king was to grant the like to the *Portuguese*: the commerce between the two nations was to be put on the same foot as before the war: the *French* quitted all right, and all pretensions to the countries lying about the *North Cape*, between the rivers of *Amazon*, and that of *Vincent Pynson*, acknowledging the crown of *Portugal* to have the sole property and sovereignty of the

¹ History of Europe for 1711, *Mercur Historique & Politique*.

² Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. part i. p. 353, *Actes & Memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht*.

South, as well as the north shores of the river of *Amazons*, annulling the treaty concluded with Don *Pedro* the second, and permitting his *Portuguese* majesty to restore those forts which that monarch had been obliged to demolish. It is very certain that the *Portuguese* were very well treated in this negotiation; but it is not easy to say how this was brought about. It was asserted by the *English* ministers, that they had insisted upon these terms: on the other hand, the plenipotentiaries of the crown of *France* openly declared, that they were the pure effects of his most christian majesty's generosity. Things, however, remained still open with respect to *Spain*, and great pretensions were formed by that court with regard to *Portugal*, which, it was intimated, ought to be settled before any progress could be made in an affair of so great consequence as a definitive peace. *France*, however, promised her good offices, and the court of *Lisbon*, from a principle of oeconomy, reduced their forces to the establishment upon which they stood before the war, and quartered them on their frontiers. At the latter end of the year arrived the fleet from *Brazil*, with a cargo valued at a more than a million and a half sterling, and this, notwithstanding the king's duty at the mines, had been stopped to indemnify the people for the loss sustained by the *French* depredations at *Rio Janeiro*.*

A. D.
1713.

King of
Portugal
still per-
plexed.

THE perplexity of the cabinet at *Lisbon* increased daily from the refractory dispositions of some in the *Brazils*, from a discontented humour that spread itself amongst the populace, and from some intrigues amongst the nobility. The king, who was a prince of much temper and moderation, dissembled his dislike to things that could not be amended, temporized with the house of *Bourbon*, and represented to his old allies how much it was their interest to draw him out of so unpleasant a situation; since if they abandoned *Portugal*, they had no means of giving check to that vast power which they had thrown into the hands of *Spain*. On the sixth of *June* the queen was happily delivered of the infant Don *Joseph*, the present king of *Portugal*; and the king immediately took this occasion to desire *Lewis* the fourteenth to be his sponsor, and named an ambassador to his court, and another who in due time was to repair to *Madrid*. All this time the peace seemed farther off than ever, the court of *Spain* insisting upon satisfaction for two ships taken, as they affirmed, before war was declared, which they estimated at several millions:

* *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. par Monsieur LAMBERTY, tom. viii. Mercure Historique & Politique, History of Europe for 1713.*

they

they declined any positive answer as to the demand of the restitution of the new colony which they had taken from the *Portuguese*, near *Buenos Ayres*; and they insisted, that the whole estate of the family of *Aveiro* should be restored to the duke *d'Arco*, who had married the eldest of that duke's daughters. To give weight to these claims, the court of *Madrid* augmented their forces on the frontiers, raising magazines, and gave out, that after the reduction of *Barcelona*, the troops in *Catalonia* should march into *Estramadura*. Don *Juan* persisted in the same steady behaviour; but at the same time, as his last resource, represented to *Lewis* the fourteenth, that this was not the way to maintain the quiet of *Europe*: that it was against his interest to delay the general peace; and that events were not in the power of the greatest captains, or the wisest politicians. The *French* court gave fair words; but it is uncertain what would have followed from them. However, two things fell out before the end of the year which altered the face of affairs exceedingly, one was the death of queen *Anne*; within a week after which the lords justices signified to his majesty of *Portugal*, that they would oblige the crown of *Spain* to give a categorical answer, and if this was inconsistent with the original plan of peace, he might depend on speedy and effectual assistance*. The other was the arrival of a very rich fleet from *Brazil*, with the news, that all the ill-humour in that country was dissipated by the discovery of a new mine, for working of which those who had been most dissatisfied now bid the highest. King *John* immediately gave orders for visiting his fortresses, erecting magazines, and levying men, as if he was satisfied the war would break out again, and this had the desired effect. The court of *Versailles* interposed its influence, and that of *Madrid* became more tractable every hour; so that there scarce remained a doubt the peace would be signed before the suspension of arms expired.

A. D.
1714.

In this conduct, however, there was somewhat of artifice, *Peace at* as it was founded on an expectation that *Portugal* would recede *length con-* in some of her pretensions, or at least would admit some of *cluded* he claims insisted on by the court of *Madrid*. King *John* *with his* proving inflexible, *Lewis* the fourteenth declared to his mi- *catholic* nister, that he had employed his good offices with his grand- *majesty at* en without being able to prevail. A declaration of the same *Utrecht*. kind was made to the court of *Great Britain*. King *John* persisted in his steadiness: the *Spanish* plenipotentiary at the

* *BOYER's* Life of Queen Anne, *Histoire de la Vie & du regne de Louis XIV.* *Mercure Historique & Politique*, *Memoires de LAMBERTY.*

beginning of this year proposed to the *Portuguese* ministers at *Utrecht*, to adjust the treaty amongst themselves. When this was done, the court of *Versailles* was consulted; and upon an answer coming from thence, a resolution was taken to sign it when the world least expected any such thing: but for some reasons it was thought proper this should be done very secretly, and without any of the ceremonies that usually attend the conclusion of acts of such high importance. The method taken was this; the plenipotentiaries brought each a copy of the treaty with him, and under pretence of taking a walk in the *Mall*, they met, and signed it upon one of the benches on the sixth day of *February*^r. There were present only five persons, the duke of *Offuna*, the *Spanish* plenipotentiary, the count de *Tarouca* and Don *Lewis d'Acunha*, the ministers of *Portugal*, Mr. *Zancorra*, secretary to the duke, and Mr. de *Lima*, who stood in the same capacity to the count and Don *Lewis*. This gentleman had the address in framing the treaty to name his own master first, and to satisfy the *Spanish* plenipotentiary that it was agreeable to the form; in which it has been thought that he was a little too cunning for him. However, it established a precedent that *Portugal* will hardly depart from, and gave the hint to that expedient which was universally admitted at the conclusion of the last general peace. The reason of the secrecy observed in signing was the duke of *Offuna's* having sent a courier to *Versailles*, to desire the solution of some difficulties, who returned a little after midnight with a full approbation of the duke's conduct; so that the transaction was made public the very next day.

Substance
of this
peace.

BY this treaty *Portugal* was in all respects a gainer. It was agreed, that the limits of the two monarchies should be the same they were before the war, and in consequence of this his catholic majesty consented to restore the castle of *Noudar*, and its territory the island of *Verdejo*, and the territory and colony of *St. Sacrament*, renouncing for himself and his heirs all claim and pretensions to them, and annulling the provisional treaty of 1681; but with a reservation of a power of offering an equivalent for these places within eighteen months, which, if not accepted, the right was to be absolute in the king of *Portugal*. His catholic majesty also agreed to pay six hundred thousand crowns by three equal payments to extinguish all demands in relation to the *Assiento* company. He also admitted the three ships belonging to *Buenos Ayres*,

7 Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. part i. p. 444. Mercure Historique & Politique, Memoires par LAMBERTY, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Monsieur VOLTAIRE, History of Europe for 1714.

seized

feized at the beginning of the war, to be good prizes. On the other hand, his *Portuguese* majesty undertook to restore *Albuquerque* and *Puebla* in the condition they then were, without demanding any thing for the additional fortifications, artillery, or military stores: he relinquished all the claims and pretensions arising from the *Affiento* company, renewed the concordate of Don *Sebastian* for the mutual delivering up of criminals, and the treaties between the two crowns of 1678 and 1701. This treaty was declared to be under the guaranty of *Great Britain*, and also of all such kings, princes, and republics as within the space of six months should become, and be accepted as guaranties by their majesties. The relation of this event brings us happily to a conclusion of this part of our work.

C H A P. III.

The HISTORY of NAVARRE.

SECTION I.

Rise of this Sovereignty, and the History of its Princes to the Accession of Sancho the Great.

Obscurity of the ancient history of the kingdom of Sobrarva or Navarre.

WE have already so often mentioned to the reader the great difficulties that occur in ascending to the rise of the several kingdoms in *Spain*, after the Christians began to rescue that great country out of the hands of the *Moors*, that he will not be surpris'd at the repetition of these complaints, as to the origin of a sovereignty which the *French* and *Spanish*, and even the historians of this country themselves acknowledge the most perplexed and the most obscure of them all^a. He will also remember, that in treating of the kingdom of *Aragon*, we referred the principal difficulties to the formation of that principality, to this part of our work, where he will have a right to expect we should set them in a proper light, inasmuch as we dissent in opinion from the common current of historians. A step, which as it ought ever to be taken in order to follow truth, so ought it never to be allowed but where it is supported by reasons, and even by proofs. In respect to the other kingdoms, we have derived some lights to ourselves and to the reader, by explaining the etymology of their names, and by a succinct description of their situation and boundaries; but in reference to the present case, we can draw no assistance from either, the first being so intricate and dubious, that nothing relating to it can be relied on; and there being so much uncertainty and variation in respect to the latter, that to give it the reader here would only serve to mislead and to deceive him.

Several etymologies of the word Navarre, which are altogether vague and uncertain.

As to the name of *Navarre*, it is of equal or rather earlier antiquity than the sovereignty; but what it means, or whence derived, is very far from being clear. Some say that one of the most conspicuous mountains on the frontiers of this kingdom bears the name of *Navaca*, from whence *Navarre* might be formed by corruption^b. The more general notion is, that *Nava* signifies a plain spot of ground cleared from wood, and

^a PETRI DE MARCA, LIMES Hispanicus, col. P. MORET Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarro.

^b GARIBAY Compendio Historial de las Cronicas de todos los Reynos de Espana, lib. xxi.

that

that *erria*, in the ancient *Cantabrian* language, signified land; and taking these together the country was first called *Nava erria*, which was gradually changed into *Navarre*^c. It is somewhat more certain that *Nava* signifies in *Spanish*, but perhaps they borrowed the word from the *Moors*, a valley with rocks on both sides; and the reader may read the decisive victory gained by the Christians over the *Moors* at the *Nava de Tolosa*, which is as much as to say the pass of *Tolosa*^d. As this country contains many such vallies, or nava's, it is possible the appellation might come from thence. On the other hand, it is just to observe, that the first time the appellation occurs, it is in *Latin*, and is *Navarri*^e, and is applied not to the country but to the people, which makes against all these etymologies, which justifies what we said of them, that they are dubious and little to the purpose.

MARIANA tells us, that the inhabitants of the *Pyrenees*, *Mariana's* taking the advantage of their situation, defended themselves ^{account of} against the *Moors*, but without being subject to any regular ^{the origin} form of government, till they were induced to erect a prin- ^{of the prin-} cipality by the following extraordinary accident^f. There was a pious hermit, whose name was *John*, who in these times of *Sobrarva* distress and desolation retired to the steep mountain of *Uruela*, ^{or Na-} in the neighbourhood of the city of *Jacca*; and upon one of its eminences, built in the best manner he was able, though but meanly, a chapel, which he dedicated to St. *John the Baptist*. There he remained with four of his disciples; and dying with the odour of sanctity, there resorted incredible multitudes of people to his funeral. Amongst the rest there were no less than six hundred gentlemen; but whether they resorted thither purely by chance, or that this meeting was concerted by some of the most distinguished amongst them, so it was that they took occasion to discourse together on the miseries to which their country was exposed; the rage and cruelty of the *Moors*; the glory that would result from throwing off their yoke; the natural strength of the adjacent country; its vicinity to *France*, from whence they might hope support; and the example given them by their neighbours in the *Asturias*, who had proclaimed and supported *Don Pelagio* against the whole force of the Infidels. After mature deliberation, they unanimously elected *Don Garcia Ximenes* for their chief. It does not appear that he was of royal descent, or so much as

^c L'Histoire de Royaume de Navarre, p. 2. ^d *MARIANA* Historia general de España, *FERRERAS* Historia de España.

^e *EGINHART* Annal A. D. 806.

^f *MARIANA* Historia generale de España, lib. viii.

of the blood of the *Goths*; but rather judged to be descended of the ancient *Spaniards*: however, he was a person of great distinction, being lord of *Amescua* and *Abarfusa*, in that neighbourhood; and he had espoused *Donna Iniga*, who was also of an illustrious race. It is not agreed whether he was properly king of *Sobrarva* or *Navarre*; but he recovered *Ainsa*, which is the principal place in the first-mentioned country, out of the hands of the Infidels, and built a noble church where the chapel of *St. Juan de la Penna* had stood, and appointed it to be the burial-place of himself and his successors. A custom very frequent in this and many succeeding ages.

A. D.
758.

On the demise of this prince succeeded his son *Don Garcia Inigas*, equally distinguished by his valour and his talents for government. He extended his territories as far as the country of *Biscay*, or at least made himself master of *Alava*. Under his reign *Aznar*, the son of *Eudes the Great*, took from the *Moors* some places near the river *Arga*, to which *Don Garcia* gave the title of a county, and received homage from him as the first earl of *Arragon*. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who left his county to *Don Galindo*, by whom they were transmitted to his son *Don Ximenes Aznar*.

A. D.
802.

Don Garcia Inigas at his demise, left his dominions to *Don Fortune Garcia* his son, a prince highly celebrated for his valour and his virtues. He was present in the famous battle of *Roncevaux*, in which the emperor *Charlemagne* was defeated; and in which *Don Ximenes Aznar*, count of *Arragon*, lost his life, whose sister *Theuda* was married to the king *Don Fortune*. He had by her *Don Sancho Garcia*, who conquered the country now known by the name of *Navarre*, and fixed his residence at *Pampeluna*. He is reported to have been slain in battle against the famous *Moor Muza*, and to have been succeeded by his son *Don Ximenes Garcia*, who with his wife *Donna Munia* lies interred in the monastery of *St. Salvador de Leira*, in whom the royal family became extinct; and an interregnum ensued, during which that famous code was made, which is entitled *Los Fueros de Sobrarva*, or the laws of *Sobrarva*, from whence all the boasted privileges and immunities of the people of *Arragon* were derived.

A. D.
815.

The defeat
given the
Saracens
at Poitiers
opens a
passage for
the French
into Spain.

AT the time the *Moors* subdued *Spain*, it is evident from the concurrence of the historians of all nations, that they pushed their victories to the utmost limits of the monarchy of the *Goths*; and not satisfied with reducing the whole continent of *Spain*, laboured to seize so much of *Gaul* as had been in their possession. This brought them to have some dis-

§ PETRIDE MARCA, LIMES Hispanicus, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

pute

putes with *Eudes*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who defeated *Zama*, one of their generals, before the city of *Thoulouse*, and cut him off in his flight^b. In order to strengthen himself more effectually, not only against these barbarous enemies, but also against *Charles Martel*, who then governed the *French* monarchy, gave his daughter in marriage to *Munnuz*, a *Moorish* general, who had revolted in *Catalonia*ⁱ. *Abderamen*, who had then the supreme direction of the affairs of the *Moors* in *Spain*, marched with a prodigious army to reduce him, to punish the duke of *Aquitaine*, and to penetrate into the more fertile provinces of *France*. The two first parts of his design he executed, taking *Munnuz* whom he put to death, and ravaging and destroying the dominions of the duke of *Aquitaine*; but advancing imprudently with his numerous army into the neighbourhood of *Poitiers*, he was attacked by the *French*, under the command of *Charles Martel* in front, and when the battle was at the height, by *Eudes* duke of *Aquitaine* in rear, which brought on one of the most signal and total defeats of which there is any mention in history^k. This broke the power of the *Saracens*, and in all human probability saved Christendom. *Pepin*, the son of *Charles Martel*, recovered *Narbonne*, and compelled *Suleyman*, who held *Barcelona*, *Gironne*, and the best part of *Catalonia*, to become his vassal^l.

A. D.
721.A. D.
734.
A. D.
759.

ON the accession of *Charlemagne*, some of the *Moorish* governors, who were desirous of shaking off the yoke of the *miramolin*, sought his assistance, and offered him their homage. Amongst the chief of these was *Eben-al-Gabra*, lord of *Saragossa*, who, having given him his son as an hostage, pressed him to enter *Spain*, which he did with two great armies, one passing through *Catalonia*, and the other, which he commanded in *Spain*, through *Navarre*, where he took *Pampeluna*, and pushed his conquests as far as the *Ebro*. In his return, however, after demolishing *Pampeluna*, he met with a very severe check in the valley of *Roncevaux*, where he lost some of his best officers, and a great part of his army, and all his baggage; but, however, he wisely continued his retreat; neither did this misfortune deprive him of the places he had occupied on the march or frontier of *Spain*^m. In order to understand this matter clearly, we must consider the several na-

Charle-
magne en-
ters into
and reco-
vers part
of this
country
from the
Infidels.

A. D.
778.

^b RODERIC Toletan Histor. Arab. cap. xiii. ⁱ ISIDOR PACENS Chron. RODERIC Toletan Histor. Arabum, cap. xiv.
^k PAUL LONGOBARD, lib. vi. ISIDOR PACENS Chron. RODERIC Toletan Histor. Arabum. ^l PET DE MARCA, LIMES Hispanicus, EGINHART Annal. ^m EGINHART de Vitâ & gestis Caroli Magni.

tions

tions by whom the chain of the *Pyrennees*, and the countries at the foot of them on both sides, were occupied. These were the *Moors*, who held some fortified places, as conquerors in right of arms; the *Goths*, who had retired into the inaccessible mountains, in hopes of enjoying freedom and their religion; and a third people, who were the *Vascons*, *Bascons*, *Basques* or *Gascons*, for it is all but one name, and one nationⁿ. If there is any distinction to be made, those on the *Spanish* side of the mountains are usually stiled *Vascons*, and that of *Gascons* belong to those on the *French* side. They were an active, martial, fickle, turbulent, and cunning people, who availed themselves of their situation, took that part by which they could get most, and left it when they could get no longer. These were the people who defeated *Charlemagne*, and who, in point of numbers and of power, exceeded both the *Goths* and the *Moors*; that is to say in this country of theirs, which tho' ill governed was well peopled.

Navarre
at this
juncture
belonged to
him, and
to several
of his
successors.

CHARLEMAGNE having given *Aquitaine*, with the conquests on the side of *Spain*, to his son *Lewis*, with the title of king, he turned his arms against the *Infidels*; and having made a successful expedition into *Catalonia*, passed from thence into *Arragon*, and returned thro' *Navarre* into *France*. At this time he recovered *Pampeluna*, which was again fallen into the hands of the *Moors*; and in the history of this expedition we first meet with the word *Navarre*^o. After these conquests he established, according to the mode of the times, and of the *Gallic* government, counts in all the considerable places which he reduced, and which the reader will please to observe comprehended the new kingdom, and its dependant county, which the *Spanish* historian has described, wherever situated or however bounded; and as we have the histories of those times written by some who lived in them, we must have had some notice or hint at least of these princes, if there had been any such^p. About eighteen years after this, under the reign of the emperor *Lewis le Debonnaire*, a *French* army, commanded by two counts, was sent to drive the *Moors* out of *Navarre*, which they performed, and having secured *Pampeluna*, marched back into *France*; but the monarch of *Cordova* having the *Vascons*, or *Gascons*, in his interest, they attacked, and totally defeated them in their passage, taking both the counts prisoners. One of them, whose name was *Ebba*, they sent to the king of *Cordova*, and the other,

A. D.
806.

A. D.
824.

ⁿ OIHENARTUS Notitia utriusque Vasconia.
HART Annal. A. D. 806.

^p PETRI DE MARCA.

^o EGIN-
whose

whose name was *Aznar*, they set at liberty, because he was their countryman^a.

THE emperor *Lewis* having given *Aquitaine*, with the title of king, to his son *Pepin*, that prince some way or other dis-oblged this count *Aznar*, who withdrawing from the *French*, retired amongst the *Spanish Vascons*, and in the country of *Sobrarva*, by the assistance of his relations and dependants, excited a revolt; and here in reality commenced that sovereignty, of which we have undertaken to give an account: but in what manner this revolt was carried on, or to what extent he carried it, does not appear, the brevity with which things are mentioned in ancient chronicles not permitting us to expect, and the laws of history forbidding us to invent any circumstances^b. However, from this deduction the reader cannot but discern, that what has been before reported of the ancient kingdoms of *Sobrarva* and *Pampeluna*, are mere fictions, at least in the manner in which we have seen them related; for during the period in which those principalities are supposed to have existed, we have shewn that these countries belonged sometimes to the *French*, sometimes to the *Moors*, but never to any independent sovereign great or little. We have likewise made it evident, that this principality did not spring as that of *Asturias* did from the valour of the *Goths*; neither was it erected, properly speaking, at the expence of the *Moors*, but by throwing off the yoke of *France*. It must, however, be admitted that the most authentic histories of the kingdoms of *Oviedo* and *Leon*^c assert, that their monarchs were sometimes masters of *Alava*, *Biscay*, and part of *Navarre*; nay, and even of the city of *Pampeluna*, which may be, and, as we have shewn elsewhere, probably is true; but then this is so far from confirming, that it is a farther proof of the impossibility of the foregoing relation, since there is not the least mention in those histories of these kings of *Sobrarva*, or counts of *Arragon*; but the expeditions of the *French*, and the efforts of the *Moors*, are recorded there; and therefore all that we have related is as consistent and as well attested as can be expected, considering the great obscurity of these times, and the short and unpolished method in which their chronicles were written.

COUNT *Aznar*, by his revolt from *Pepin* king of *Aquitaine*, gave beginning to this sovereignty^d; which is a fact naked indeed of circumstances, but not destitute of proof.

Aznar revolts from king Pepin, and establishes himself amongst the Spanish Vascons.

A. D.
831.

The reign of count Aznar.

^a EGINHART Vita Lodovici, p. ii.

^b Annales METENS.

^c Chronicon Ovitenfe, LUCAS Tudenfis, Chron. Adefonfi Magni.

^d Annales METENS, FERRERAS.

We

We know little of those times, and amongst the little we know is this, that count *Aznar* retired with the *Gascons*, who would follow him out of the more accessible vallies on the side of *France*, into the almost impenetrable mountains on the frontiers of *Spain*; where he provided in the best manner he could for the subsistence of his people in a wild and barren country, and for their safety against the *Moors* on one side, and several Christian princes on the other, none of whom had any reason to consider either him or them in a very advantageous light. The disturbances that happened in the Imperial family hindered *Pepin* king of *Aquitaine* from pursuing this rebel, though it is not altogether certain that he continued such during his life: it is more probable, that he either compromised his quarrel with him, or that he was received into his friendship as an ally, since he is thought to have lost his life in the quarrel that ensued upon the emperor's bestowing the dominions which his son *Pepin* had enjoyed upon his other son *Charles*, to the prejudice of the children of *Pepin*^u, whose part was taken by the lords of *Aquitaine*, and even by this count *Aznar*, who, though he revolted from their father, died in the field in their cause and his own; being sensible that whoever was strong enough to spoil them of their patrimony, would never allow him to possess, in the manner he desired to possess it, the little country he held, where or whatsoever it might be.

A. D.
837.

Don Sancho succeeds his brother.

COUNT *Sancho*, the brother of the deceased, succeeded him in his small estates, and governed them according to his maxims, paying sometimes great respect to *Pepin* the second, and at others affecting to acknowledge no superior. He extended his territories in such a manner as to join part of *Aragon* and *Navarre* to *Sobralva*; and he also treated with the princes his neighbours so as to live with them on tolerable terms^w. He had likewise some transactions with *Charles the Bald*, to whom he sometimes gave fair words, and acknowledged him in general terms for his prince; but this was with a design to have recourse to his protection in case *Ordengo* king of *Asturias* should form any pretensions to his province of *Alava*, was suspected of a design to carry his arms farther, against which count *Sancho* took the best measures he was able. We have it not in our power to speak with any certainty of the extent of his territories, or the place of his residence, the few contemporary writers we have being con-

^u Annales BERTINIANI.
na, tom. ii. part iv. § ix.

^w FERRERAS Historia de España.

tent to report, that the people of *Navarre* were at this time Christians, and were governed by a prince whose name was *Don Sancho*. He died at a very critical juncture, and left his principality then in great danger of being overwhelmed by the power of *Charles the Bald*, to his son, who was either wise or fortunate enough to avail himself of that very danger to shake off all dependance ^x, and become truly a prince.

DON Garcia, at his entrance on the government, found all the sovereignties about him in the utmost confusion. *Muza*, governor of *Saragossa*, who is generally reputed to have been a Christian and a Goth by birth, but who had raised himself to the highest honours by the display of his military virtues amongst the *Moors*, understanding that his old master was dead, revolted from the new king of *Cordova*. *Charles the Bald*, having shut up the sons of *Pepin* in a monastery, gave the kingdom of *Aquitaine* to his son; which disoblged many of his subjects, and none so much as the *Gascons*. Upon this many of their little chiefs resorted to *Don Garcia*, to take his advice, and to demand his protection. He received them kindly, and denied them neither. He told them, that brave men in a country strong by situation might be always free, and gave them broad hints, that in a situation like theirs submission must be necessarily attended with slavery at least, if not extirpation. This induced them to fix under his government for their own security, and rendered him much more formidable than his predecessors. In order to strengthen himself still more, and that he might have nothing to fear from that side on which his dominions lay most open, he thought fit, perhaps with the advice of those chiefs who had lately submitted to his authority, to espouse the daughter of *Muza*, whose revolt had been attended with such success that he assumed the title of king, by which, as a royal author observes, there were now three monarchs in *Spain*; that is, *Ordogno* king of *Oviedo*, *Mohammed*, king of *Cordova*, and this new king *Muza*, which is as clear and decisive a proof as can be well desired, that hitherto there was no king of *Sobralva*, *Pampeluna*, or *Navarre*; so that all *Mariana* and other writers have published on this head, must pass for fable and fiction, so far as it regards royalty at least; for that there might be some degree of truth hid under the stories they have related, we pretend not to deny, and how much this truth may amount to, we have been labouring to point out chiefly from facts, and from deductions founded on them where facts failed.

^x Chron. Adefonsi Magni, FERRERAS.

^y Chron. Adefonsi Magni.

THIS

*Is killed in
battle
against the
king of
Oviedo.*

THIS prince of the *Gascons*, who was in truth a great politician, was also very brave; but as his prudence did not go so far as to make him afraid of war when it was necessary, so his martial spirit never suggested to him disturbing his neighbours purely to enlarge his dominions. He thought it more suitable to his circumstances to bring what he had acquired into regular order, and a good condition: with which view he began to erect some fortresses, and to enlarge the towns within the compass of this little principality. The same conduct he pursued, he recommended also to *Muxa*, who, that he might carry on the war against the king of *Cordova* with greater vigour, resolved to fortify the town of *Albayda*, that it might cover his country from the incursions of the Christians of *Asturias*. The king *Don Ordogno* taking umbrage at this, and being apprehensive that when his affairs should be in better order the king of *Saragossa* might from thence make irruptions into his territories, assembled an army, and laid siege to *Albayda* as soon, or perhaps before its fortifications were finished. This obliged *Muxa* to march to its relief, and his son-in-law *Don Garcia* made no scruple of joining him with a body of auxiliaries. They encamped upon a mountain not far distant from the place, in hopes perhaps that this might induce *Don Ordogno* to raise the siege. But that monarch, who had a great confidence in the valour of his troops, resolved, notwithstanding the strength of their camp, to attack them without delay; which he performed with so much vigour that the *Moors* were quickly broke, and *Muxa* having received three dangerous wounds, made his escape on a horse given him by one of *Don Ordogno's* officers out of personal friendship. But *Don Garcia* having either advanced too far, or disdainful to save his life by a retreat, was killed upon the spot, to the great grief of his subjects², who with great reason revered the virtue and valour by which he established so regular and powerful a principality.

A. D.
857.

*Don Gar-
cia first
king of
Navarre.*

Don Garcia Iniguez, as he is called by some, or *Don Garcia Ximenes*, as he is stiled by others, succeeded his father, and either at his accession, or within three years after, assumed the title of king, as appears by authentic charters, and was, properly speaking, the first monarch of *Navarre*. There our history falls in, at least in some measure, with that of *Mariana*, who after the interregnum, in which he assures us, the famous body of laws were made, affirms, that *Inigo Arista*,

² Chron. d'Albayda, Chron. Adefonsi Magni, FERRERAS.

² Historia generale de Espana, tom. ii. lib. viii. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, p. 9.

count

count of *Bigorre*, was unanimously chosen by the nobility for their monarch, leaving the old title of *Sabralva*, assumed that of king of *Pampeluna*, or *Navarre*, which he transmitted to *Don Garcia Ximenes* his son^a. We differ from him for want of seeing his authorities, and in respect to those which we have cited; but we agree entirely in the character he gives to this young prince, who was equally distinguished by his courage and conduct; who enlarged his territories by the one, and by the other rendered his people happy. He governed them twenty-three years with great reputation, and is said to have married *Donna Urraca*, the sister, daughter, or niece to a count of *Aragon*, for authors do not well distinguish which. That there were many chiefs in his country who assumed the title of lords, or something equivalent to it, is certain, and that one of these might be in possession of the county of *Aragon* is more than probable, since there is mention of such a person in a charter of this prince, who therein styles himself king of *Pampeluna*, and the name of the count *Aragon* there mentioned is *Galindo*^b. This monarch, *Don Garcia Ximenes*, founded the monastery of *St. Salvador de Leyra* in the *Pyrenees*, which, by the bounty of his successors, was rendered very rich and famous. The archbishop *Don Roderic of Toledo*, who was himself a native of *Navarre*, commends the valour of this monarch highly, and asserts, that having gained many victories over the *Moors*, he was at length slain by them in battle; which, however, is not very certain, or consistent with the authentic histories that remain of those times^c. At the time of his demise he left two sons, *Don Fortune Ximenes*, and *Don Sancha*, who had afterwards, as some say, the surname of *Abarca*, as also a daughter *Donna Sancha*.

A. D.
880.

Don Fortune Garcias, the eldest of his sons, succeeded his father, which, however, is doubtfully reported by *Mariana*. This great historian seems at length to have perceived that *Don Garcia Iniguez*, or *Ximenes*, was the first king of *Navarre*; for after his account of him, he adds, so obscure is the origin of this kingdom. He makes his successor *Don Sancho Abarca*; but suspicious of the guides he followed in this respect, he breaks out into a warm invective against those who introduced fiction amongst facts, and by interlarding fables have given us romance instead of history^d. The reader

^a P. MORET, Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de-Navarro, ABARCA.

^c RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon, HIERON. BLANCA de variis de Subrarbæ reg. init. sententiis.

^d GARIBAY Compendio Historial de la Cronicas de todos los Reynos de España, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

will

will see he met with sufficient provocation in the notes (A). But to return to Don *Fortune Garcias*, he governed his dominions many years both wisely and worthily, as we gather from effects, and from the high character given him in the old chronicles of this nation. He was a great benefactor to the

(A) We have observed in the text what strange confusion there is in respect to these ancient reigns; in our account of which we differ entirely from *Mariana*, who bestows the surname of *Abarca* upon Don *Sancho*, the brother of Don *Fortune Garcias*, and the son of Don *Garcias Ximenes*; and this leads him to insert the following relation concerning what passed at his birth, and in his infancy (1). It is true that he takes it from ancient writers, and that he speaks of it with the contempt it deserves; and the reason we transcribe it is, that this rare instance may justify our manifold omissions, and render the reader thankful for not having his memory burthened with many more of these strange tales. "At the time the king Don *Garcia* was slain in the cause of the *Moors*, his consort *Donna Urraca*, who had accompanied, fell with him likewise. A generous knight, whose name was Don *Sanchez de Guevara*, passing over the field of battle saw the queen's dead body, and through one of the wounds appeared a child's hand, which still had motion. The knight thereupon ripped open her belly with his sword, and having taken out the boy, with

"whom she went, carried him home, and caused him to be brought up. In process of time, however, his house was so disturbed by phantoms and voices, that he judged it expedient to remove the young prince to an adjacent cottage, where he was brought up safely and hardly. This young man at the end of nineteen years he produced to an assembly of the states; and having declared to them his descent, and the wonderful manner of his preservation, they acknowledged him for their king; and from the shoes that he wore when he was thus produced, he had the surname of *Abarca*." It is visible enough that to frame some account of this whimsical surname, this idle story was invented (2). But it happens unluckily that this was not the *Sancho* that had this surname, but his grandson (3). It is by giving credit to these old authors, who, to cover their ignorance, made no scruple of exerting their invention, that this great historian, and those who follow him, introduced so many impertinent improbabilities, which it is a pain to read, and at the same time impossible to believe (4).

(1) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. viii. *Histoire generale de Espagne*, par *Mayerne Turquet*, liv. vi.

(2) *P. Moret*, *Abarca*, *Ferreras*.

(3) *Historia*

de Espana, § x. (4) *Bellegarde Histoire de Espagne*, and in general all the *Abridgments* as well as most of the old *Histories of Navarre*, whether written by *Natives*, *French* or *Spanish Authors*.

monastery of *St. Salvador de Leyra*, upon which he bestowed large possessions. In this charter he not only assumes the regal stile himself, but adds, that he was the son of the king *Don Garcias*. About four years after this he thought fit to retire into this monastery, which accordingly he did; and having sent for his brother, he first gave him his blessing in a solemn manner, and then placed the crown upon his head. He spent the remainder of his days in that monastery in great tranquillity. In those days perhaps this might not be an act of weakness, or superstition. What little learning there was the monks possessed, and were consequently of great use in the regulation of these little kingdoms, the laws of which manifestly prove they were made by men of sense, and lovers of liberty. They found means to connect this not only with a martial spirit, but a martial government; and as in those days it was absolutely necessary that princes should be very active, and command for the most part their armies in person, so when age or infirmities rendered them unfit for this, it was really an act of prudence, and a testimony of public spirit, to retire as this monarch did, after a glorious reign of twenty-five years, that the government might avail itself of the abilities of his brother; who was in the flower of his age, and consequently fit to defend and enlarge his dominions by feats of arms against the *Moors*. Neither is it at all improbable that he might from time to time have recourse to his brother for advice; so that the state had a double advantage from the wisdom of the one, and the prowess of the other. As these remarks are founded on facts, and as they serve very much to illustrate the history, the reader will not be displeased to find them here, or be unwilling to extend them farther than it would be proper for us to do in this place.

Don Sancho Garcias thus seated in the throne by the resignation of his brother, found himself quickly called upon to deliver his countrymen the *Gascons* on the other side of the mountains, who being attacked by the *Normans*, solicited his assistance^e. He marched accordingly through the passages of the *Pyrenees*; and having accomplished all they could desire, disposed every thing for his return. But *Aben Lop*, governor of *Saragossa*, and vassal to *Abdallah*, king of *Cordova*, judging this a favourable opportunity to fall upon the people of *Navarre*, when their king and the best part of his forces were

A. D.
901.
A. D.
905.

^e L' Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^f RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudenf. Chron.

A. D.
907.

absent, and at such a distance as seemed to render it impracticable for them to return time enough to give any disturbance to his plan, communicated it to *Abdallah*, and having received a numerous reinforcement, marched with the whole force of the *Moors* at the entrance of winter, and invested *Pampeluna*². The inhabitants were but in a very indifferent condition to sustain a siege, and the *Moors* pressed the place with all possible vigour. Don *Sancho*, informed of the distress of his subjects, immediately began his march for the *Pyrenees*, but found the frost so set in, and the rocky passages so very slippery that his men were able to make no progress. In this unfortunate situation he ordered the greatest part of the animals of all sorts belonging to the army to be killed, and directed his soldiers to tie pieces of their skins with packthread about their feet, with the hair next them, by which they were enabled to get over those precipices which obstructed their march. As this kind of shoe, still in use amongst the peasants, is called in the language of the country *Abarca*, so many have thought^h he received that surname from being the inventor. The reader, however, will see that this is not quite so¹ certain, and that those who give him this surname, confound him with another prince. However that matter may be, it is out of dispute that arriving unexpectedly, he attacked the Infidels with such spirit and success, that he gained a complete victory, and entered the city of *Pampeluna* in triumph. But the joy of the victory did not efface from his memory the remembrance of the danger^k.

He fortifies
Pampe-
luna.

A. D.
908.

A. D.
914.

THE very next year Don *Sancho Garcias* attacked the castle of St. *Stephen*, which the *Moors* had fortified to the utmost of their skill, and into which they had put a strong garrison, and after an obstinate defence, reduced it. This success encouraged Don *Sancho* to prosecute the war, and to sweep all the fortresses along the river *Ebro*, which he performed as far as *Milagro*. He afterwards passed that river, reduced *Najera*, and the fortress called *Bilibio*, since better known to the world by the name of the castle of *Haro*. This inspired him with the hopes of driving the *Moors* out of the whole province of *Rieja*; which, having reduced *Logroño*, *Alicandra*, *Calahorra*, and *Tudela*, he happily effected¹. The war carried on by Don *Ordono*, king of *Leon*, being very favourable to his designs, he pushed his conquests still farther, and having reduced *Terrazona* and *Ageda*, extended his dominions as far as

² RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. FERRERAS Historia de España, tom iii. part iv. § x. ^h MARIANA. ¹ P. MORET. ^k LUC. Tudenf. Chron. FERRERAS. ¹ P. MORET, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

the

the sources of the river *Duro*. But being well apprised that conquests were of little value that were not well secured, he not only applied himself with diligence to repair such as might be most serviceable to him; but also gave directions for fortifying *Pampeluna* so regularly and so effectually, that he rendered it in the estimation of those times a place impregnable. He next cleared all the country between the rivers *Arragon* and *Ebro* from the Infidels, and projected some other expeditions of still greater importance; but finding his health much impaired by the fatigues he had already undergone, he retired to the monastery of *Leyra*^m, and placed his son *Don Garcia* at the head of the army; but without resigning to him the crown, as either hoping to recover his health, or esteeming him as yet too young.

A. D.
915.

THE *Moorish* governor of *Saragossa* applied himself to *Abderamen* the fourth king of *Cordova*, in order to obtain such a supply of forces as might enable him to restrain the Christians of *Navarre* within their ancient bounds. His project was so plausible in itself, and supported by so many arguments, that the *Moorish* monarch approved, and resolved to carry it into execution: in order to which he drew over great numbers of men from *Barbary*, and having joined these with the whole force of his dominions, sent them under the command of an experienced general to the general rendezvous appointed by the governor of *Saragossa*, in the neighbourhood of *Agreda*, of which place, together with *Terrazona*, *Tudela*, *Logroño*, *Vigueira*, and *Najera*, they soon became masters; after which they entered the kingdom of *Navarre* by the way of *Viana* and *Estella*. The king *Don Sancho* came out of his monastery, and assembled a considerable body of troops that were to be employed as a corps de reserve, while the infant *Don Garcia*, with the army of *Navarre*, retired into *Alava*, where he expected *Don Ordogno* king of *Leon*. The junction being made, the Christian army under these two princes advanced towards the *Moors*, who gave them battle at *Val-de-Junguera*, near *Salinas d'Oro*, where, after a warm and obstinate engagement, the Christians were totally defeatedⁿ. After the battle *Don Ordogno* retired into his own territories, and the infant *Don Garcia* towards *Pampeluna*. As the whole force of the Christians in *Spain* was in a great measure broke by this unfortunate action, one would naturally imagine that it must in its consequences have been extremely fatal to them, and advan-

His glorious reign and death.

A. D.
921.^m RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. P. MORET, FERRERAS.ⁿ LUC. Tudenf. Chron. P. MORET, ABARCA, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

tageous to the *Moors*; but the very reverse happened. The general of the *Moors*, seeing the country open before him, destroyed it in a cruel manner with fire and sword; and then penetrating through the passes of the *Pyrenees*, made an irruption into *France*, where his forces advanced almost as far as *Toulouse*, and acquired an immense booty. While he was thus employed, the king of *Leon*, having recruited and augmented his army, made a bold expedition into the *Moorish* territories, and wasted them without mercy. The king of *Navarre*, on the other side, marched with his corps de reserve, and possessed himself of the passes, that he might reckon with the *Moors* at their return. The greatest part of their army, commanded by their general in person, took the road of *Rontel*; where, after being harrassed for several days, they were at length totally broken and dispersed, and their general stabbed by a woman; so that none of them escaped, and all their booty fell into the hands of the Christians. The other corps repassed the *Pyrenees* by the same way they entered them, and without much opposition; but Don *Sancho* pursuing them, prevented their passing the *Ebro*, and attacked them with such fury that very few of them returned home^o. About this time Don *Sancho* is reported to have recovered his health in a miraculous manner by the interposition of St. *Peter*^p; and in conjunction with his son, and by the assistance of his good ally the king of *Leon*, retrieved all the places he had lost, and remained in full possession of what is now stiled the *Upper Navarre* (B). In order

^o P. MORET, FERRERAS.

^p ABARCA.

(B) The design of this note is to describe the kingdom of *Navarre* in as succinct a manner as possible. Its form is what the mathematicians call a trapezium, or to use a more common word, a lozenge. The upper point, regarding the north; the *Pyrenean* mountains lie on the east, and the country of *Biscay* on the west; the southern point, terminating on the frontiers of *Aragon*, has that kingdom on the east, and part of the same country and *Old Castile* on the west. Each of its sides, for they are nearly

equal, extends about ninety *English* miles (5). The climate is as pure and healthy, and withal as temperate and as pleasant as can be desired, which may compensate for some defects in the soil, that, generally speaking, is none of the most fertile. In some of the vallies, however, they have very good corn, excellent wine, both white and red; the former equal to any in *France*, the latter very little inferior to *Burgundy*. It abounds in good pastures, exceedingly well stocked with sheep and goats. They have likewise a

(5) *Geographie moderne, par Du Bois, p. 82.*

tolerable

order to unite more closely the interests of *Leon* and *Navarre*, a marriage was concluded between *Don Ordagno*, and the infant

tolerable breed of black cattle, and a very good one of horses. The mountains are covered with timber; and very few countries have venison and wild fowl in greater plenty. The inhabitants are taller, have better complexions, and are more robust than the *Spaniards*; as active and as martial, but not so capricious or so volatile as the *French*; and though not comparable in point of size, yet it is equal in its number of people to any of the *Spanish* kingdoms. It can scarce boast of any great river except the *Ebro*, and this serves only for its frontier. The *Arragon*, the *Arga*, and the *Ega*, water some of its towns; but would scarce deserve to be mentioned if this country had any better (6). This kingdom was anciently divided into six provinces, or as they stile them in their own language merindades. The first of these is that of *Pampeluna*. On the east, towards the kingdom of *Arragon*, lies the merindad of *Sanguessa*, which comprehends a city, twelve large towns, and one hundred and sixty-eight villages. *Sanguessa*, which is the capital, and was anciently *Iturissa*, stands on the river *Arragon*, and was heretofore a place of strength and beauty. It is somewhat more than twenty miles from *Pampeluna*, and was looked upon as the key of *Navarre* on that side; at a small distance, on the north-east, stands the famous old monastery of *St. Salvador de Leyra*,

to which the bishops of *Pampeluna* retired while that place was in the hands of the *Moors*. The merindad of *Olita* lies in the heart of the country. It contains one city, nineteen large towns, and twenty-six villages. *Olita*, the capital, received the title of a city from *Philip* the fourth, in 1630. It is a well-built pleasant place; and the remains of the palace, built by *Don Carlos* the third, and in his days the finest in all *Spain*, are yet visible. The country about it is the very best of *Navarre*, abounding in corn, vines, fruit of all sorts, such as apples, pears, plumbs. It produces also flax and hemp; and being well watered, by several little streams, there are excellent pastures, covered with sheep. The merindad of *Tudela*, which lies on the right of the river *Ebro*, contains two cities, and twenty-two large towns. The city of *Tudela* is rather larger and better built than that of *Pampeluna*; but as it lies on the frontiers of *Navarre*, *Castile*, and *Arragon*. It labours under the imputation of giving shelter to assassins and banditti, who retire thither to escape the hands of justice; *Puente de la Rina*, which lies on the *Arga*, is famous for its red wine, as *Peralta*, which is six leagues from *Tudela* is for its white wine, which is stronger and better flavoured than the *Vin de St. Laurent*, so much esteemed in *France*. The merindad of *Estella* is on the frontiers of *Biscay*, and compre-

(6) *Philip. Cluverii Introduc. ad Geographiam, Joannis Luyts Introduc. ad Geographiam novam & veterem, § ii. cap. vi. Du Bois Geograph. ie moderne.*

santa Donna Sancha ; but who this princess was admits of some doubt : most writers make her the sister, others the daughter of *Don Sancho* ; but *Ferreras* [†] inclines to think she

[†] *Historia de España*, tom. iii. part iv. § x.

hends one city, twenty - four towns, and one hundred and six villages. The town of *Estella* stands on the *Ega*, in the midst of an agreeable plain, and had formerly a well fortified castle. Within this district lies the city of *Viana*, over against *Logroño*, on the river *Ebro*, which formerly gave the title of prince to the heir-apparent of *Navarre*. The sixth merindad, is that which is now called the *Lower Navarre*, and belongs to *France* (7). The north-east side of this kingdom is bounded by the *Pyrenean* mountains, which boundary is two and twenty leagues in length. Through these mountains there are ten passes into *France*, seven or eight of which are dreadful, difficult, and dangerous. To the north of *Pampeluna* there is the valley of *Baxtan*, which runs from north to south, and is seven leagues long, and three and a half broad, containing fourteen parishes. Their habits are of a very ancient mode, particularly the women's. The men are all bold, nimble, and dextrous in the handling of their arms, and are all gentlemen by their blood. The valley of *Roncevaux* lies to the north-east of *Pampeluna*, and carries you thro' a village called *Burguet*, which is the last in *Navarre* to *St Juan Pie de Port*, in the *Basse Navarre*. This is the easiest and most frequented pass, and is famous for

the defeat of the emperor *Charlemagne*. In the church of *Roncevaux*, which is an hundred paces beyond *Burguet*, they shew you two clubs covered with iron, which were taken in the battle of *Roncevaux*, and one of the stirrups of *Orlando* the great champion of *France*, and the slippers of *Turpin* the historian and archbishop of *Paris*, who accompanied the emperor in that expedition. The battle is painted upon the wall ; and not far from the church is *Turpin's* tomb, and those of several of the *French* champions that fell there (8). Thro' the valley of *Roncal*, which is still more to the east, is another of the passes into *France* ; and this valley is remarkable for the defeat of *Abderramen*, king of *Cordova*, upon his return from *France* through that pass. The extrem parts of this valley, towards the north, are the boundaries between *Spain* and *France*, on that side the principality of *Bearn*, being the next country adjoining, with the borders of which province these of *Roncal* having had many conflicts and disputes about certain rights and privileges, it was at length agreed that the inhabitants of the mountains, on the side of *Bearn*, should submit to be feudatory to those of *Roncal* (9). A noble instance of the martial, independant, and heroic spirit of these people.

(7) *Delices d'Espagne*, par *Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar*, p. 673. *État d'Espagne*, par l'abbé de *Vayrac*

Udale ap Rhys, *Esq*;

(8) *Tour through Spain and Portugal*, by *Colmenar*, *Udale ap Rhys*.

was the daughter of the infant Don *Garcia*, for otherwise she must have been advanced in years, which is not very probable. Neither of the kings survived this match long, the former dying immediately on his return home, and Don *Sancho* much about the same time in the monastery of *Leyra*, full of years, and covered with glory. *Mariana* indeed says he was killed in battle by Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, count of *Castile*; and in this he has been followed by the bulk of modern historians: but the error has been learnedly refuted by the judicious father *Mora*¹, who has done more towards the recovery of this history than all the writers who went before him.

A. D.
925.

DON *Garcia Sanchez* succeeded his father in the flower of *Don Garcia* his age, and when his reputation for courage and conduct was *cia* II. fully established. He saw the *Moors* much embarrassed by foreign wars, and factions amongst themselves: he laid hold therefore of this opportunity not to extend, but to strengthen his dominions, and to put every thing into the best order possible. With this view he repaired some towns, and built others: he fortified several places on his frontiers, and appointed officers of great experience to command in several provinces; and amongst these was Don *Fortune Ximenes*, count of *Arragon*: at whose request he visited, and granted many favours to the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pegna*¹. He supported his near relation Don *Sancho* against his brother the king of *Leon*; and for that purpose entered into a close friendship with Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, count of *Castile*. Afterwards when Don *Sancho*, upon the death of his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of *Leon*, and was driven out by his rebellious subjects, with the assistance of his old ally the count of *Castile*, Don *Garcia* received him with open arms, sent him to *Cordova* to be cured of the dropfy, and in conjunction with that *Moorish* monarch, restored him very honourably to his dominions¹. The method concerted between the two monarchs required that Don *Garcia* should advance into the territories of *Castile*, in order to hinder the count from assisting his son-in-law, while Don *Sancho*, with his *Moorish* auxiliaries, entered his own dominions. The count Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez* of *Castile*, the most active, and the most ambitious man of his time, was so much piqued by seeing the king of *Navarre* at the head of his forces in his territories, that he marched with an army to give him battle, though he was sensible that Don *Ordono*

¹ Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarro. ² FERRERAS, P. MORET. ³ RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. ZURITA Annal. Arragon, Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.

A. D.
960.

could not bring troops enough into the field to look his enemy in the face, and himself had married Donna *Urraca*, sister to the king of *Navarre*, through whose mediation peace might have been easily restored^u. His impetuosity brought on an action near a place now called *Ciruena*, where his army being defeated, he was himself taken prisoner, and carried to *Pampeluna*. There Don *Garcia* entertained him as a brother-in-law; but that Don *Sancho* might have time to establish himself in his kingdom of *Leon*, he protracted things as much as he could; and when there was no farther danger of the count's embroiling matters any more, he very nobly set him at liberty, without exacting from him any thing more than that for the future he should let his neighbours be quiet; which was a strain of disinterestedness not very common in those times^w.

His reign
and death.

THE remaining part of the reign of Don *Garcia*, who lived to a very advanced age, was spent in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of the territories that had descended to him, and in fortifying those which he had acquired: The accounts that are given by *Mariana* and the historians who have followed him, are so confused, so indistinct, and so ill supported, that it would be giving the reader a great deal of needless trouble to produce, and to refute their errors; and from doing this we could derive no merit, since all we have to say must be derived from those learned and judicious authors; who with wonderful sagacity, and incredible diligence, have waded through all these perplexities, and ranged the few facts regarding the history of this country in a proper method. The corpse of Don *Garcia* was deposited in the church of St. *Stephen*, with those of his ancestors, where the simplicity of the inscriptions, and the frequent repetition of the same name, has been one great source of that obscurity which has been so loudly, and so justly regretted in most of the writers who have meddled with this subject^x.

A. D.
970.

Don San-
cho II.
Abarca.

DON *Sancho Abarca*, succeeded his father, with abilities suitable to his rank, and to that juncture of affairs in which he was called to the government. He had not long enjoyed the sovereignty before the *Moors* invaded the dominions of count *Garcia Fernandez*, and threatened the reduction of *Castile*. The count immediately addressed himself to the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* for assistance, tho' they were then in

^u L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^w RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERRERAS. ^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

amity.

amity with the *Moors*, for which reason the former refused it; but Don *Sancho*, who thought the unjust invasion of his neighbour an indirect breach of the peace with himself, marched with a great body of forces into *Castile*; and having joined the count Don *Garcia*, advanced towards the *Moors*, attacked and defeated them with great slaughter¹. This exceedingly provoked *Mohammed-Abenamir Almanzor*, alhagib or vizir to the king of *Cordova*, who brought the next year a vast army into the field, with which he over-run great part of *Castile*, which induced Don *Sancho* of *Navarre* to strengthen his frontiers, and to content himself with sending a smaller body of troops to the assistance of his cousin count *Garcia*. This war continued for many years, and was one of the most unfortunate in which the Christians were ever engaged. *Almanzor* was so great an enemy to all the disciples of the gospel, that provided it promoted their destruction, it was indifferent to him on which side he turned his arms². The frontiers of *Castile* he turned into a desert; the city of *Leon* he took, and after putting the inhabitants to death, burnt it to the ground. He used no less cruelty in *Catalonia*, where he also sacked and destroyed *Barcelona*. These facts are mentioned to shew the genius of this conqueror, and the motives Don *Sancho* had to embark in this war.

At length, having opened the passages into *Navarre*, he advanced with a numerous and victorious army towards *Pam- His reign and death.*
peluna, which he invested. This expedition he undertook from two motives: the first was to restore Don *Vela* to his county of *Alava*, on whose behalf this war was said to be made; and the other was reducing the last and strongest place in *Spain*, which he flattered himself would quite dispirit the Christians, and prevent all future and further resistance. But Don *Sancho Abarca*, who had considered the situation he was in very attentively, had provided his capital in all respects so well, and placed therein so good a garrison, that the *Moors* found themselves opposed in such a manner, as created infinite trouble, and a great expence of blood. At length, when their vigour was abated, Don *Sancho* advanced with his army, and gave them battle with such success, that he gained a great advantage over them, and prosecuted it with such vigilance, that they were constrained to quit his dominions³. There are many victories of greater eclat, but few of more importance, recorded by the *Spanish* historians, since it gave

A. D.
979.A. D.
990.

¹ MARMOL, AMBROSIO, MORALES, FERRERAS. ² MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ³ Annal Complut. Annal Campostell. Annal Toletan.

the

the first check to the most fortunate of the *Moorish* captains, and who, from a principle of false piety, prosecuted the total destruction of the Christians with indefatigable industry. The calamities that had fallen on their respective dominions having taught the Christian princes their true interest, the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* entered into a close alliance with Don *Garcia*, count of *Castile*, which quickly brought things into better order, and gave them besides a probable expectation of future success, which, however, did not fall out till Don *Sancho Abarca* was in his grave. He deceased after a reign of twenty-four years, and was interred with his ancestors in the church of St. *Stephen*^b, after adding to the security of his dominions by fortifying several places.

A. D.
994.

Don Gar-
cia III.
the Trem-
bler.

He was succeeded in his dominions by his son Don *Garcia Sanchez*, surnamed *the Trembler*, which some say was occasioned by his shaking violently when he entered into action; not thro' fear, but from a kind of tumult in his mind, which, however, quickly subsided when the engagement grew more warm. Some charters there are of this prince, in which mention is made of his brother Don *Ramiro*, who in them is stiled king of *Arragon*; and of their mother Donna *Urraca*: and in other charters we read of another brother, Don *Gonzalo*, called likewise king of *Arragon*; but as *Mariana* well observes, the authority of these pieces is scarce sufficient to establish these facts as certain, more especially as the historians and ancient chronicles have preserved nothing concerning these princes^c. It is, however, not at all improbable, that in those days such young princes were intrusted with the government of provinces; and on the score of their high birth might assume some title superior to that of count; and as we have no distinct relations of the manners of those times, it may be that we consider as marks of possession what in reality were only phrases of compliment. However this might be, there is nothing more certain than that *Arragon* made a part of Don *Garcia's* dominions; in defence of which he acted vigorously against the *Moors*, from the very time he ascended the throne. This kind of war, however, appeared in process of time injurious to the honour and to the interests of all the Christian princes concerned, who therefore entered into a closer alliance, by which they engaged to act jointly, and with their whole force, against the common enemy, which ever of the confederates he should next attack, and this the rather, because some advantages gained by the *Moors* had drawn over

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^c MARIANA.

many

many adventurers from *Africa*, who flattered themselves with the hopes of having settlements assigned them in the new conquests, which if ever they attained, it was not at all difficult to foresee that the Christians might be quickly reduced to as bad or worse circumstances than those from which their ancestors had emerged by their valour^d. A resolution founded in good sense, and which came in time to stem this torrent that had been hitherto irresistible.

MOHAMMED-ABENAMIR-ALMANZOR advanced *Almanzor* with a potent army, after sacking and destroying *Campostella*, *at length* into the territories of the count of *Castile*, as far as *Osma*, *beat*. where he was met by the Christian army, which was not only composed of the troops, but commanded by all the three princes in person. Don *Bermudo*, king of *Leon*, being disabled by the gout from mounting on horseback, was placed in a chair at the head of his own guards. Don *Garcia*, at the head of the forces of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, was in the other wing, and the count of *Castile* in the center. The battle lasted, as we have shewn elsewhere, till night, and seemed to end doubtfully; but the *Moorish* general, decamping in the night, abandoned the field of battle to the Christians, and himself to despair; so that refusing to take any sustenance, he expired at *Medina Cæli*, and with him the fortune of the *Cordevan Moors*^e. It is true that his successor *Abdilmelech*, endeavoured to revive the war, by making an irruption into the kingdom of *Leon*, from a presumption that upon the death of the king, he should find things in some confusion; but the count Don *Garcia* of *Castile* hastened thither with all the force he could raise, and being entrusted with the entire command of the troops of that kingdom, he obtained another complete victory, which changed the face of affairs, raised the courage of the Christians, and abated the spirit of their enemies^f.

A. D.
998.

THE progress of this war taught the Christian princes in general, from the light of experience, what sound policy *The Christian exiles* might have taught them long before. They saw that a general war, more especially for any length of time, had a necessary consequence, which it was their business to avoid, that of keeping the *Moors* in a manner by force closely united, and in perfect harmony with each other. They likewise found, that as the original source of the war was the instigation of *restored*.

^d AMBROSIO, MORALES, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ^e Annal. Campostell. LUCAS Tudensis Chronicon, RODERIC Toletan de reb. de Hispan. ^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

the

the malcontents fled from *Castile* and *Leon*, to the court of *Cordova*, and more especially the family of *Vela*, so in the course of it most of the misfortunes they had met with arose from the assistance they gave the enemy; from their instructing them in the military maxims and discipline in the Christian armies; and from the intelligence they held with their relations and friends in their respective countries^a. This, therefore, determined them to recal those exiles, particularly the sons of Don *Vela*, count of *Alava*; and this resolution being taken at a time when a change of fortune rendered those banished persons more inclined to return, as being not so much caressed by the Infidels as formerly, it took place according to their wish; and after long absence from their own countries, these exiles were not only recalled, but restored to their honours and their patrimonies, the surest and most prudent method no doubt for extinguishing all jealousies and heart-burnings; but which, notwithstanding, in its consequences was not found altogether successful. They had met with much kindness, and formed many friendships amongst the *Moors*; they had done many injuries to the Christians; and by degrees, as the motives to their pardon and reconciliation grew out of remembrance, the instances of resentment they met with from the latter, put them upon renewing their correspondence with the former, which proved the occasion of fresh disturbances, as we have already shewn in other parts of this history, and as we shall be obliged to shew likewise in the course of this^b. So dangerous a thing it is to drive great families to despair, and so difficult to recover to a right temper minds that have been once tainted.

The death
of Don
Garcia.

WE have no other particulars in regard to the reign of Don *Garcia the Trembler*, only it is said that the best historians have doubted whether the tenour of his government, and the temper of his mind, deserved praise or blame. He was, it seems, liberal to a degree of excess, not only to abbies and other religious foundations, but to all who approached him on any occasion. A conduct which, tho' it exposed him to the censure of those who survived him, made him generally and deservedly beloved by those with whom he lived. Authors are much divided as to the name of his queen; but *Mariana* is positive she was called *Donna Ximena*, and it is very likely he is in the right^c. By her he had the infant Don *Sancho*, whose education he intrusted to a religious person of the same

A. D.
1000.

^a AMEROSIO, MORALES, LUC. Tudens. Chron. RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. ^b MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAY-
ERNE TURQUET. ^c MARIANA.

name,

name, abbot of the monastery of *St. Salvador de Leyra*, who was a person of learning and probity, and who took care to infuse into his pupil not only principles of religion, but the maxims also of good sense and honour, which his own experience taught him to frame into a scheme of policy, much superior to any that had been known to his predecessors^k. Don *Garcia* left him his dominions after a short reign of six years. Authors are not agreed as to the place of his burial, which some say was in the church of the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pegna*, and others in that of the monastery of *St. Salvador de Leyra*^l. With his reign the obscurity of this history in some measure ends; so that for the future we shall be able to proceed with greater perspicuity, as having more numerous guides, and those of more established authority.

S E C T. II.

From the Reign of Don Sancho the Great to that of Don Sancho V. who united this Kingdom to Arragon.

IT is very uncertain at what age Don *Sancho* succeeded his father; but it is impossible that he should be in his infancy, as some have written^a, because we find him married the next year; and as improbable what others have asserted, that this was his second marriage, which is a fable devised to support the story which we have elsewhere related of his erecting *Arragon* into a kingdom in favour of his son Don *Ramiro*^b. It appears from indisputable authority, that he began his reign by entering into a close alliance with the house of *Castile*; which he strengthened by marrying Donna *Munia Elvira*, the daughter of Don *Sancho*, and the grand-daughter of the count Don *Garcia*, which marriage, though it seems to have proceeded chiefly from inclination, contributed not a little to his interest^c. He did not, however, take any share in the disputes that arose between his father-in-law Don *Sancho*, and his own father the count Don *Garcia*; nor does it appear that he embarked in the war against the *Moors*, carried on by the last of these two princes, and in which he was slain^d. In all proba-

The reign of Sancho the Great.

A. D.
1001.

^k L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET, P. MORET.

^l MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^a MARIANA.

^b FERRERAS, P. MORET.

^c ZURITA, P. MORET.

^d RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum, MAYERNE TURQUET.

bility

A. D.
1011.

bility our king of *Navarre* was desirous of settling and improving what his ancestors had acquired before he engaged in any military expedition ; but when this was once done, he passed the river *Gallega*, and began to expel the *Moors* out of most of the places they held on his eastern frontier ; and having performed this, he prosecuted the war with such success that he swept the vallies of the country of *Sobrabva*, and the county of *Ribagorça* of the Infidels : which is a plain proof that if the first sovereigns of this country were really settled in *Sobrabva*, they held but a very small part of it, though the whole is far from being large, or otherwise had lost it again to the *Moors* while they were extending their dominions towards the West ^e.

A. D.
1012.

His conquests over the *Moors*.

WE must, however, observe, that in these conquests Don *Sancho* was very much assisted by the natives, of whom a great number were Christians, and consequently very desirous of being freed from the yoke of the *Moors*. There was also a certain count of *Ribagorça*, whose name was *William*, and who was master of a part of this country, who looked with a jealous eye upon these conquests of Don *Sancho*, and tho' he had not been able to drive out the *Moors*, attempted to dispossess him ^f. The consequence of this act of rashness was, that he was entirely defeated by Don *Sancho*, and lost his dominions, or at least his independency by his ambition. But while he was thus employed in the eastern extremity of his dominions ^g *Mundir*, alcaide or governor of *Saragossa*, thought a fair opportunity offered for ravaging *Navarre*, and for recovering part of the places that had been taken from his predecessors. In the first part of his scheme he succeeded, and loaded his army with booty ; but in the latter he failed entirely : for Don *Sancho*, returning with his victorious army, fell upon the *Moors* with such vigour that he entirely routed them, and obliged them to repass the *Ebro* with great loss, insomuch that it may be doubted whether they ever recovered the weight of this blow ^h. As the ancient boundaries between this monarch's dominions and the country of *Castile* were become very doubtful and precarious, and as this might in succeeding times prove the occasion of very fatal disputes, Don *Sancho* and his father-in-law appointed persons in whom they could confide to settle these limits effectually ⁱ.

A. D.
1015.

A. D.
1016.

THE king Don *Sancho* observing that the monks throughout his dominions had lost much of their primitive sanctity of

* P. MORET. ^f FERRERAS Historia de España, tom. iii. part v. § xi. P. MORET. ^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. MORET. ^h RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum, FERRERAS. ⁱ Monument de S. Millan.

manners,

manners, which of course rendered them very unfit instruments for government in the instructing his subjects, he sent deputies to *Adilan*, abbot of the famous Benedictine monastery of *Clugni*, to inspect the regulations of that house, and to bring back with them some persons of piety and probity, capable of reforming the monasteries in his dominions. This being done, he placed *Paternus*, who was the chief of these reformers, in quality of abbot in the convent of *St. Juan de la Pegna*, and sent others to *St. Salvador de Leyra*, and to *St. Maria d' Yracbe*^k. By their vigilance and care the monks were every where brought into good order, and the king by their advice repaired and restored the ancient abbey of *St. Victaria*. He beautified likewise the cathedral of *Pampeluna*, and regulated the limits of the diocese very exactly. These facts are mentioned to shew that in these ancient times the piety of princes was in a great measure the true point of policy, adapted in all respects to the nature of their government, and calculated alike to maintain tranquility amongst their subjects at home, and to inspire them with that zeal which was so absolutely necessary to procure success in their expeditions against the *Moors*^l. A circumstance which duly attended to will enable us to form a true judgment of these times.

Reforms all ranks of his subjects.

A. D.
1027.

THE family of *Don Vela*, count of *Alava*, having taken some fresh umbrage at the count of *Castile*, had withdrawn themselves into the territories of the king of *Leon*, where, at the distance of many years they took a bloody revenge by murdering the young count *Don Garcia Sanchez*, the last heir male of the family, and the son of the prince with whom they quarrelled^m. By the death of this prince, his brother-in-law the king of *Navarre*, saw himself legally entitled to this noble county in right of his wife, of which he accordingly took possession, and immediately invested the castle of *Alonçon*, into which the assassins had retired, and having reduced it, put all he found therein to the swordⁿ. This was a very great accession of territory, and might very probably alarm his neighbours; for even in these times the *Spanish* princes were exceedingly jealous of each other, and bore with great impatience such considerable additions of power. An accident which soon after fell out blew the smothered embers of discontent into a flame: the king *Don Sancho* resolved to restore the ancient city of *Palencia*, and committed the direction of this work to the bi-

His accession to the county of Castile.

^k P. MORET, FERRERAS. ^l MARIANA.
DERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron.
RIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^m RO-
ⁿ MA-

shop of *Oviedo*, one of the worthiest prelates of that age^o. The reason of this is said to have been, that the king hunting in a wood which now shaded the ruins of the old city, pursued a wounded stag into a cavern, where he perceived an altar, and is said to have felt his arm so numbed that he was unable to use it. Upon enquiry this was found to have been a chapel dedicated to St. *Anthony*, which induced him to make a vow to restore the city, and to build a cathedral upon that very spot in honour of this saint; which he accordingly did, and which still remains^p. In proof of this there are as authentic vouchers as a thing of this kind can require; and yet *Mariana* and some other historians, who are well enough pleased with miracles in other cases, reject this^q. The rebuilding of *Palentia* so disturbed Don *Bermudo* the third king of *Leon*, that he took up arms; but Don *Sancho* entered his dominions with a superior force, and took *Astorga*: on which the principal prelates and peers in his dominions interposed, and obliged him to make a peace: the principal articles of which were, that he should give the district in dispute to the infanta Donna *Sancha*, who was to espouse Don *Ferdinand* the younger, son to the king of *Navarre*, who was to have the country of *Castile*, with the title of king^r. This seems to have been a very fair and equal agreement, and was confirmed by both kings at the monastery of *Sabagon*, where the marriage was performed with great magnificence^s. But on the part of the king of *Leon*, as it afterwards appeared, it was a reconciliation only in shew.

His death
and distribution of
his estates.

Don *Sancho* having thus restored the public tranquility, applied himself to reform the monasteries in *Castile* upon the same plan which he had pursued in respect to those in his hereditary dominions. In compassion likewise to those who made pilgrimages to the tomb of St. *James* at *Campostella*, he caused a new and safe road to be made thro' his dominions, by the foot of the mountains *Birbiefca* and *Amaya*, and so thro' *Carrion*, *Leon*, and *Astorga*, to *Campostella*: this raised his reputation highly, and was at the same time very advantageous to his subjects^t. As he was advanced in years, he was desirous to see the four princes his sons, settled in his life-time, and therefore divided his dominions amongst them

A. D.
1034.

^o P. MORET, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

tom. iii. part v. § xi.

^p FERRERAS Historia de Espana,

^q RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan.

^r LUC. Tudenf. Chron. FERRERAS.

^s RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan.

^t LUC. Tudenf. Chron.

in

in the following manner: to Don Garcia he gave what is now stiled the kingdom of *Navarre*, with the noble country of *Biscay*, then stiled as some affirm, the dutchy of *Cantabria*, and the province of *Rioja*; to Don Ferdinand, *Castile*; to Don Gonçalo, *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorça*; and to Don Ramiro, *Aragon*^u. As to the fable upon which this division is said to be grounded, we have given the reader an account of it in another place, and to have mentioned it once is full enough. Having sent all his sons into their respective governments, where they assumed the titles of kings, he ended a long life and a glorious reign in the month of *February* following^w. He was first interred in the monastery of *Ona*, from whence his son Don Ferdinand caused his body to be removed to the city of *Leon*^x. As to the tale of his being slain by assassins, in a pilgrimage to *Oviedo*, we have already declared our reasons for rejecting it, and therefore we need not dwell upon them here. It may be we ought to pass the same censure upon what is said of his assuming the title of emperor of *Spain*; as to which the more ancient writers are silent, and those who report it without authority scarce deserve to be believed^y.

DON Garcia Sanchez of *Najara*, so called from the place of Don Garcia's birth, succeeded his father in his hereditary realm of *Navarre*, but despoiled of so much of *Aragon* as had ever been united to it, and of the new conquests in *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorça*. Mariana assures us, that this monarch was gone in pilgrimage to *Rome* at the time of his father's demise, in order to obtain absolution there for the false charge he had brought against his mother, which, however, is refuted, as well by the charter still remaining, which shews he was then in *Navarre*, as by his mother's continuing to reside in his dominions, which assuredly she would not have done if he had been guilty of such an act of baseness towards her; and she had in resentment caused him to be despoiled of *Castile* and *Aragon*^z. Fiction is often plausible, but true history is always consistent. The quarrel that happened between the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, gave Don Garcia an opportunity of shewing his fraternal affection, by sending a corps of auxiliaries to the assistance of Don Ferdinand; but when by the defeat and death of Don Bermudo he became, in right of his queen, who was that monarch's sister, the heir of that king-

^u PIERRE MARSILIO, FERRERAS.^w P. MORET, MAY-

ERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^x RODERIC

Toletan de reb. Hispan. ZURITA, FERRERAS.

^y MA-

RIANA.

^z FERRERAS.

A. D.
1038.

dom also, it is supposed that Don Garcia began to entertain some jealousy of him, which, however, will appear improbable from the sequel of their history; and, perhaps, so long as the queen their mother lived, the brethren, at least in outward appearance, were upon good terms with each other, of which the first step of consequence made by this king, after his accession, will appear to be an incontestible instance^a. He had concluded a marriage with Donna *Estafana*, infant of *Catalonia*; and going to *Barcelona* to solemnize his marriage, he passed thro' the dominions of Don *Ramiro* and of Don *Gonçalo*, and was treated by both with all the marks of affection and esteem possible. He returned the same way, and visited in his journey the monastery of St. *Juan de la Pegua*, as appears by an authentic privilege belonging to that monastery, which is still preserved^b. We have, therefore, no reason to believe that the seeds of dissention were hitherto sown amongst the descendants of *Sancho the Great*; but that soon after they were, and that they produced an abundant harvest of mischief will be our business to make appear, and we shall thereby justify *Mariana's* sentiment, that *Sancho the Great* hazarded the safety of *Spain* by thus dividing his dominions.

The war
between
the two
brethren
Don Gar-
cia and
Don Ra-
miro, in
which the
latter is
defeated.

A. D.
1039.

THE very same year his brother Don *Gonçalo* was barbarously murdered in passing the bridge of *Monclus* by a servant of his, one *Ramonet*, whose motive to that detestable action was never known^c. Immediately on his demise his subjects called in his brother Don *Ramiro* king of *Arragon*, who by this means united *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorça* to his dominions. We do not find that Don *Garcia* gave him any disturbance upon this occasion; but contented himself with endeavouring to provide for the happiness of the subjects he had, without invading his neighbours^d. Besides, at this time the country of *Navarre* was eaten up by locusts, against which plague, when all methods of prudence failed, he demanded the advice of Pope *Benedict* the ninth; who sent *Gregory* bishop of *Ostia* to visit the country, to preach repentance to the people in general, and regularity to the monks. It seems before this fall of locusts produced a scarcity, this kingdom was in a state of full prosperity, and the people from thence fallen into luxury, were gradually declining from that high character which the virtues of their ancestors had obtained^e. These circumstances encouraged Don

^a P. MORET.

^b ZURITA, FERRERAS.

^c Chron.

antiq. de reb. Arragon, Chron. S. Joan. de rup. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^d FERRERAS Historia de Espana.

^e Chron.

antiq. de reb. Arragon, FERRERAS,

Ramiro, who had already attacked, and rendered tributary to him several little princes amongst the *Moors*, to think of spoiling his brother of some places which lay convenient for him; and accordingly having assembled an army, under pretence of prosecuting his designs against the Infidels, he suddenly summoned his *Moorish* auxiliaries, and very unexpectedly entered the kingdom of *Navarre*, where he laid siege to *Tafalla*, a place of some strength, and of great consequence. The king *Don Garcia* assembled a considerable body of his father's old troops, with whom he seemed disposed to intrust the defence of *Pampeluna*; but marching from thence in the evening, he surprised the army of *Arragon* in the depth of the night, forced their camp, and obliged his brother to fly on a horse without saddle or bridle^f. *Don Garcia* having thus relieved *Tafalla*, finding his army reinforced by the arrival of several fresh corps of troops, marched directly into *Arragon*, where most of the great places opened their gates, and his brother, unable to oppose him, retired into the mountains of *Ribagorca*; from whence he sent certain bishops to assure *Don Garcia* of his sorrow for what was passed, and to intreat him to remember he was still his brother: upon which the king of *Navarre* having first admonished him not to forget that himself, retired into his own dominions, and quitted all the places he had taken^h. These events, for want of attending to chronology, are strangely disfigured by *Mariana*, who has had notwithstanding many followers.

A. D.

1042.

THIS war thus happily over, *Don Garcia* applied himself with great spirit and diligence to regulate the domestic affairs of his kingdom, and in imitation of his predecessors, laid the foundation of the superb abbey of *Santa Maria de Najara*; but while he was thus employed the *Moors* made an inroad into his country, and having carried off a considerable booty, lodged it in the fortrefs of *Calahorra*ⁱ. This gave the monarch of *Navarre* a fair opportunity of annexing that place to his dominions, and he took his measures for that purpose with so much secrecy and celerity, that he not only invested, but took it by storm, before the *Moors* were in any condition to relieve it. This added highly to his reputation, more especially as he immediately restored it, and made it a bishop's

Don Garcia's great care in the administration of justice to all ranks of his subjects.

A. D.

1043.

^f Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon, RODERIC Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ. ^g LUCAS Tudenfis Chronicon, RODERIC Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ, Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon. ^h LUCAS Tudenfis Chron. ⁱ MORET Investigaciones Historicas de las Antigüidades del Reyno de Navarro, lib. xiv. fol. 746.

A. D.
1045.

see ^k. In *Biscay* the clergy complained that they were scandalously oppressed by the nobility and gentry, who treated them very little better than slaves, and even obliged them to breed up and feed their dogs. The king interposed, and rendered them all the justice they could desire, settled their livings in such a manner as that they might live comfortably upon them, and thereby merited great commendation ^l. We must here put the reader in mind, that from these facts, which are related nakedly, and admit of no contradiction, he ought to frame in his own mind a character of this prince, upon which will depend all the credit due to the remaining part of this history; upon which, to save time, we shall avoid making any remarks. but leave them entirely to his sagacity, with a moral persuasion, that after a little reflection he will see things in a true point of light.

Is said to
have de-
signed some-
what in-
jurious to-
wards his
brother,
who seizes
his person
in revenge.

THE vast expence incurred by building the new monastery of our lady of *Najara*, exhausted the treasury of *Navarre*, and made it very difficult for Don *Garcia* to perform his purpose. Upon this he applied himself to the convent of St. *Millan*, and desired to borrow a part of their wealth, in order to perfect his new foundation. The abbot was not altogether averse to this; but the prior, whose name was *Dominick*, obstinately opposed, and prevented it; which so provoked the king, that he ordered the abbot to exclude him from the cloister ^m. Not long after Don *Garcias* fell dangerously ill; upon which his brother Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, came to *Najara* to make him a visit. It is said that the latter claimed this very city, with the province belonging to it, and some other places, as having been anciently dependant on the kingdom which his father had given him: whereas, on the other hand, Don *Garcia* asserted, that in the same instrument by which the king gave his brother a kingdom, he expressly assigned to him these places which he kept, and would keep ⁿ. However, he received Don *Ferdinand* with all the kindness and respect possible; but in a little time it was infused into the head of the *Castilian* monarch that his brother had an intention to secure his person; and he thereupon retired suddenly and as secretly as possible into his own territories, highly offended at the injury which had been offered him, not yielding any credit to the assurances that his brother gave him, that he was imposed upon by some of his favourites, and

A. D.
1052.

^k Chart. Monast. S. Millan. ^l P. MORET. ^m Vita Stj. Dominic. ⁿ Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon, Lucas Tudensis Chronicon, ROBERIC Toletan de reb. Hispaniæ.

that never any such design had entered into his head °. Some historians of *Navarre* would persuade us that *Don Ferdinand* was so well satisfied as to come a second time into *Navarre*, and returned without the least injury or molestation. But however that might be, some years after, this prince being extremely sick at *Burgos*, *Don Garcia* went thither to see him, where, tho' he was at first received with all imaginable affection and regard, yet was he very speedily seized by his brother's order, and sent prisoner to the castle of *Cea* ^p. He remained not long there, but, by flattering or bribing his guards, made his escape; and on his returning into his own dominions he began to raise forces, in order to take a severe revenge. It is said that to do this the more effectually he solicited the *Moors* of *Saragossa* and *Tudela*, to lend him their assistance, which they very readily did^q, so that he was quickly in a condition to invade *Castile* with a very numerous and potent army ^q.

As his long illness was attributed to his offending prior *Don Garcia* *Dominick* of the convent of *St. Millan*, so all that happened afterwards is referred to another quarrel with the same holy person; who having prevented the king by a miracle from removing the body of their patron to his new convent at *Najara*, was by him so roughly handled that he withdrew into the dominions of *Don Ferdinand*, where he became abbot of *Silos*, and was employed with other venerable persons by the king of *Leon* and *Castile* to mediate with his brother, and to make up this difference. But *Don Garcia* was inflexible; so that when his preparations were over, and his whole army assembled, he, in the latter end of *August*, began his march into *Castile*, and advancing directly towards *Burgos*, in a plain between *Atapuerca* and *Ajes*, about nine miles from that city, *Don Ferdinand* met him with his troops, and on the first of *September* the two armies engaged^r. The dispute continued for a long time equal; but at length an officer, whose name was *Sanchez Fortune*, who had deserted the service of *Don Garcia*, and entered into that of his brother, penetrated the guards of the former, and piercing the king through with a lance, bore him with his horse to the ground. Others say, that two deserters out of his own guards, being well acquainted with his person, singled him out in the battle, and each of them ran him through with a lance at the

° ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. P. P. MORET, ABARCA. ^q Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon, LUCAS Tudensis Chronicon, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispaniæ. ^r Chronicon Ovitenſe, Annal. Complut, Annal. Toletan.

A. D.
1054-

same time. Being thus slain, through a private pique his army retired, and are said to have left the *Mohammedans* to be surrounded, and cut to pieces*. His corpse was interred the third day after his death in the royal monastery of our lady of *Najara*, which had cost him so dear. Some ancient writers say, that the king of *Castile* availed himself of this victory to dismember from the kingdom of *Navarre* the countries which had given rise to the dispute between him and his brother; but a very accurate and judicious historian has shewn the fact to be otherwise, and that he gave his nephew no disturbance. The deceased monarch is said to have left behind him four sons, and as many daughters: these were Don *Sancho*, who succeeded him; Don *Ramiro*, to whom his father gave the feignory of *Calahorra*; Don *Ferdinand*, and Don *Raymond*: the infantas were Donna *Ermesinda*, Donna *Ximena*, Donna *Major*, and Donna *Urraca*†.

Accession of
Don San-
cho IV.
to the king-
dom of
Navarre,
and princi-
pal events
of his reign.

A. D.
1057.

Don *Sancho Garcias* ascended the throne after the unfortunate death of his father, and as some writers say, proved a prince no way distinguished either for wisdom or valour. He stood much in awe of his uncle Don *Ferdinand*, and though he hated him for his father's death, and was jealous of his exorbitant power, yet at first he seemed to take in good part such excuses as he thought fit to make, and also to comply with whatever terms he judged it proper to demand". But when thoroughly established in his government, he entered into a close correspondence with his other uncle Don *Ramiro* of *Arragon*, who having the same interests, and the same fears, proposed to him a defensive alliance, as the most effectual security for them both, against a king who was equally formidable to his Christian and to his *Mohammedan* neighbours. This treaty produced in a great measure the desired effect; but the king of *Leon* and *Castile* chancing to die, divided his dominions, leaving Don *Sancho* *Castile*, Don *Alonso* *Leon*, and Don *Garcias* *Galicia* and *Portugal*°. Before this Don *Ramiro*, king of *Arragon*, was killed in a battle against the *Moors* of *Saragossa*, whom the king of *Castile* had taken under his protection: this induced Don *Sancho* of *Navarre* to renew his treaty with his cousin Don *Sancho* of *Arragon*, which enabled him to repel the invasion of Don *Sancho* of *Castile*, who was thoroughly beaten by the allied princes; though afterwards turning his

* *LUCAS Tudenfis Chronicon*, *RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispaniæ*.

† *ZURITA Annal. Arragon*, *MARIANA L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre*, Paris, 8°.

" *LUCAS Tudenfis Chronicon*, *RODERIC Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ*,
° *MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET*.

arms against his brethren, he united once more all his father's territories, and consequently became in every respect as formidable to his cousins as ever his father Don *Ferdinand* had been. But the death of that ambitious prince soon released them from their apprehensions, notwithstanding his brother Don *Alonso*, whom he had forced to take refuge amongst the *Moors of Toledo*, succeeded him in all his dominions*. Some facts there are which seem to contradict the character before given of this prince; for when Don *Sancho of Arragon* attacked the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa*, our *Sancho of Navarre* received him as his tributary, and thereby secured him from being the victim of his cousin's ambition†. He also resisted all the importunities of Pope *Alexander* the second, who pressed him to lay aside the old *Gothic* form of celebrating divine worship, and introduce the *Roman* liturgy, and this notwithstanding the king of *Arragon* yielded to his demand. But he did not at all oppose the holding a council for reforming simony, and other vices, which prevailed amongst the clergy; on the contrary, he took care that the canons made for that purpose were duly executed. He was also steady in conjunction with his cousins in treating with the contempt they deserved the wild pretences of Pope *Gregory* the seventh, who by a scandalous and ridiculous forgery, as we have shewn in another place, pretended to render all the Christian princes in *Spain* feudatories to the see of *Rome*, than which there could not be any thing more idle or preposterous, notwithstanding the learned cardinal *Baronius* undertook to defend it‡. These seems to be proofs that Don *Sancho of Navarre* was not either a weak or pusillanimous prince, though he was of a very pacific disposition; or it may be that some domestic misfortunes restrained him from endeavouring to raise his reputation by feats of arms, in the same manner his father and other illustrious ancestors had done: but we can only guess at these things, the story of his reign being particularly obscure, and even the few facts that are preserved being differently related, and some of them with contradictory circumstances: however, we must take them as they are, and without pretending to help them by conjectures.

A. D.
1063.A. D.
1074.

Don *Raymond*, the brother of the king of *Navarre*, being seduced by some young men with whom he had contracted too great an intimacy, began first to treat his brother with less respect than was due to him, and next endeavoured to

* *LUCAS Tudensis Chronicon, RODERIC Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ.*

† *ZURITA Annal. Arragon.*

‡ *FERRERAS*

Historia de Espana.

*The king
is barbarously as-
saffinated
by his brother Don
Raymond.*

diffuse this spirit of contempt amongst his subjects. He treated his piety as meanness of spirit; ridiculed his constant attention to business as unworthy of his dignity; and complained that he had made no additions to his territories by conquest^a. He made no impression upon the bulk of the people, who, persuaded that their sovereign had nothing so much at heart as their happiness, were entirely devoted to his service; but he drew his sister Donna *Ermesinda* into his intrigues, and had a numerous set of ruffians, who were his partizans, and whom he protected from the punishment which the laws would have inflicted for their offences, which made them so insolent that they committed openly the greatest violences, to the terror of all the sober part of mankind^b. The king, having at first tried all methods possible to reclaim him, at length declared him and his associates, rebels and public enemies. Don *Raymond*, who either persuaded himself, or was persuaded by his bravoës, that if his brother was dead, the people would set aside his children, and receive this gallant prince for their king, with universal applause, having caused some castles to be fortified, and drawn about him as great a number of these mutinous people as he was able, he began to practise against his brother's life, and soon brought his barbarous design to bear, tho' authors differ a little about the manner in which the assassination was perpetrated. Some say, that Don *Raymond* sent a considerable number of his attendants into the city disguised, in order to defend the person who was instructed to kill the king, and that at length this was executed at *Roda*, where Don *Sancho* was stabbed by his brother's appointment^c. Others assert, that while he was hunting on the mountains between *Funes* and *Milagro*, Don *Raymond*, who was reconciled to him in appearance, observing that the greatest part of the company were left behind by the king's eagerness in pursuing a wild boar, he and his associates took that opportunity to throw him and his horse over the rocks, by which he was beat to pieces^d. This execrable act was committed on the fourth of *June*, when the king had reigned twenty-two years. His body is said to have been interred in the church of the royal monastery of *St. Maria de Najara*, universally lamented by his subjects^e.

A. D.
1076.

^a RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispaniæ.

^b ZURITA An-

nal Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Paris, 8°.

^c MARIANA L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^d Annal. Campostell. Chron. S. Joan. de rup.

RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan.

^e P. MORET.

THE

THE generality of historians tell us, that this king espoused Biscay, Donna *Placentia*, and had by her three sons, of whom the Rioja, eldest was Don *Ramiro*; and both the others were called *Garcia*; but this is a mistake, for in reality Don *Ramiro* was not his son, but the two Don *Garcia*'s were, and being very young at the time of their father's death, were carried for safety into the territories of *Castile*. The confusion was so great that very few knew what they were doing, or what they would have done; in this only they agreed, that the stain of this treason could be effaced by nothing but the blood of the infamous Don *Raymond* and his associates; upon which he fled immediately to *Almutadir*, king of *Saragossa*, who, in pity to his distress gave him a subsistence^f. Don *Ramiro*, lord of *Calaborra*, laboured to pacify the minds of the people, and engage them to place him on the throne with his brother, to no purpose; for they persisted in the strange resolution they had formed, not to admit any of the family. Don *Ramiro* upon this immediately proclaimed in *Calaborra* Don *Alonso* king of *Castile* and *Leon*; and on his detaching a considerable body of troops to his assistance, seized the provinces of *Rioja* and *Biscay*; all which wrought not in the least on the people of *Navarre*, who, in pursuance of their own inclinations, called in the king of *Arragon*, shewing no concern for the children of their deceased king, who were left to the compassion of the king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who caused them to be well educated, the younger dying a child, and the elder being killed in battle by the *Moors* as some say, though *Ferreras* conjectures from their being both of the same name that one was illegitimate, and that both died in their childhood^g. As Don *Sancho* brought a great body of troops with him to *Pampeluna*; and as Don *Alonso* reinforced his army in the province of *Rioja*, it looked as if the possession of *Navarre* was to be decided by force of arms; but the prelates and peers interceding, and representing to both princes that they were fighting the battles of the Infidels, in fighting against each other, it was at last agreed that each should keep what he had already obtained, and that the river *Ebro* should be the bounds of their respective dominions^h. It was by this unfortunate event that the kingdom of *Navarre* lost those fertile and great provinces, all communication with the ocean, and that part of *Old Castile* which had been hitherto annexed to it. As for the infant Don *Ramiro*, and the infantas Donna *Urraca*, Donna *Major*, and Donna *Ximena*, they withdrew into *Castile*,

^f MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^h P. MORET.

^g FERRERAS

tile, and were treated with all the regard due to their birth, and all the kindness their distressed circumstances demanded¹: and thus having shewn how the realms of *Navarre* and *Aragon* were again united, after a separation of upwards of forty years, we shall conclude this section.

S E C T. III.

From the Reign of Sancho the Fifth to that of Queen Joanna, who by Marriage united this Crown to that of France.

Don Sancho V.

king of Aragon and Navarre, of his hereditary kingdom, we shall confine ourselves here to such facts as have a strict relation to Navarre. He found himself frequently obliged to pay much higher respect to Don Alonso, king of Leon and Castile, than he was by any means inclined, and that on two accounts; one because of his pretensions to Navarre, which were at least as good as his own; and the other because he gave a protection in his dominions to those who had a better title than either. It was this that engaged him to assist at the siege of Toledo, where, to conceal his jealousy of that monarch's power, he contributed not a little to make him much more powerful than he was. On the other hand, Don Alonso, not satisfied either with those provinces which he had torn from his kingdom, or with the submissions paid him by Don Sancho, secretly hated him for the acquisition he had made of Navarre, and for this reason protected the Moorish princes, their common neighbours; so that during their whole reigns these monarchs lived in apparent amity and private enmity with each other, till it wrought the death of one of them². In his domestic government king Sancho was equally zealous for the welfare of his subjects and the glory of his crown; he made many good laws that are contained in a code that bears his name^b; he built the city of Estella, or Stella, in a pleasant plain, on the banks of the river Erga, covered by a strong castle, and which is now

DON Sancho Ramirez, or Don Sancho the fifth, thus mounted the throne of *Navarre* by the consent of the people, and assumed the title of Don Sancho the fifth. As we have given the history of this prince already, in speaking of his hereditary kingdom, we shall confine ourselves here to such facts as have a strict relation to *Navarre*. He found himself frequently obliged to pay much higher respect to Don Alonso, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, than he was by any means inclined, and that on two accounts; one because of his pretensions to *Navarre*, which were at least as good as his own; and the other because he gave a protection in his dominions to those who had a better title than either. It was this that engaged him to assist at the siege of *Toledo*, where, to conceal his jealousy of that monarch's power, he contributed not a little to make him much more powerful than he was. On the other hand, Don Alonso, not satisfied either with those provinces which he had torn from his kingdom, or with the submissions paid him by Don Sancho, secretly hated him for the acquisition he had made of *Navarre*, and for this reason protected the *Moorish* princes, their common neighbours; so that during their whole reigns these monarchs lived in apparent amity and private enmity with each other, till it wrought the death of one of them². In his domestic government king Sancho was equally zealous for the welfare of his subjects and the glory of his crown; he made many good laws that are contained in a code that bears his name^b; he built the city of *Estella*, or *Stella*, in a pleasant plain, on the banks of the river *Erga*, covered by a strong castle, and which is now

¹ MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ² P. MORET, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^b P. MORET, MARIANA.

looked

looked upon to be the second place in the kingdom; he made restitution and did penance for having taken the treasure of the church to support his wars against the *Moors*, who in the times of public confusion, had found means to seize several places in the mountains, of which he dispossessed them; to prevent which inconvenience from ever happening again, he gave the countries of *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorça* to his son *Don Pedro*, in his lifetime, and this as some say with the title of king^c. The last great action of this monarch's life was that which put an end to it; for having invested the city of *Huesca*, which was defended against him by the whole force of the *Moors*, not without the assistance of some *Castilians*, he was shot as he extended his arm in giving directions under it with an arrow into his body, of which wound, being carried into his tent, he speedily expired, as some say on the first, but as others on the fourth of *June*, when he had reigned in *Navarre* eighteen years^d.

A. D.
1094.

Don Pedro, reputed by some king of *Sobrarva* several years before, succeeded his father in all his dominions; and having, in conjunction with his brother *Don Alonso*, promised never to put an end to this war till *Huesca* was reduced, he,

A. D.
1096.

to fulfil that promise, gave battle to a numerous army of *Moors*, under the king of *Saragossa*, and of Christians, under the count of *Cabra*, in the great plain of *Alcoraz*, and by their total defeat made way for the surrender of that place. It was in this battle that the historians of *Navarre* pretend that *St. George* was seen fighting on horseback, at the head of one of their squadrons, and from thence they have a particular devotion for that saint^e. The best part of his reign was spent in several expeditions against the Infidels, from whom he took many strong places, and thereby extended his dominions on every side. But if he was fortunate in his wars, he was very far from being so in his family, since his son the infant *Don Pedro*, and his daughter the infanta *Donna Isabella*, died both on the eighteenth of *August*, and himself, as some say, on the twenty-eighth of *September* following, partly of a lingering disease, and partly of grief for his children, when he had governed the kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Aragon* ten years^f. He was interred with his children in the church of the monastery of

A. D.
1104.

^c ZURITA. ^d RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MARTINEZ Historia de la Foundation y Antiguidades de S. Juan de la Pena, Annal. Campostell. LUC. Tudenf. RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^e ZURITA, ABARCA, P. MORET. ^f Annal. Campostell. MARTINEZ, ZURITA, ABARCA, FERRERAS.

St. *Juan de la Pegna*, and was the last king buried there, unless it may be his successor, though in respect to this there is no certainty.

Don Alonso I. by some styled emperor of Spain, surnamed the Gainer of Battles. DON *Alonso* succeeded his brother, who died without posterity, and became in a very short space of time from the younger brother of a little king, the most powerful of the Christian monarchs, which, since the ruin of the Gothic kingdom, had reigned in *Spain*. He was the first of his name who had reigned either in *Arragon* or *Navarre*; but after his marriage with *Donna Urraca*, he entitled himself Don *Alonso*, the second of *Leon*, and the seventh of *Castile*; but that he ever entitled himself emperor is, if not false, of very doubtful authority^e. We have said so much of this gallant prince in the histories of *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Arragon*, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon his great actions here. We shall, therefore, only observe that he reduced *Saragossa*, *Tudela*, *Terragona*, *Calatayud*, *Daroca*, and all the country on the south of the *Ebro*, which he annexed to the kingdom of *Arragon*^h. He was the first who carried the arms of the Christians into the fruitful province of *Andalusia*; and so brave in his person, and so fortunate in his military expeditions, that he obtained the surname of *the Gainer of Battles*. His valour was no less conspicuous in *France*, where he took *Bayonne*, than in *Spain*, and the very fame of his exploits drew, as the custom of that age was, to his standard the most gallant knights from all the countries in *Europe*ⁱ. But this noble, and in the general acceptance of those times, pious prince, persisting obstinately in the siege of *Fraga*, and giving battle to a much superior army of *Moors*, who advanced to the relief of it, was totally defeated on the seventeenth of *July*; and having lost upon the spot most of the generous cavaliers that came to him out of foreign countries, and the flower of the nobility of both his kingdoms, escaped with difficulty to the monastery of St. *Juan de la Pegna*, and there died in two days of grief, as cotemporary writers say^k; so that there is not the least reason to credit the fables reported by some authors of his surviving this action several years, and leading a retired life in the guise of a hermit near *Jerusalem*^l. He died without issue; and by his will, which was made at *Bayonne*, left prodigious legacies to the church, and both his

^e MARIANA. ^h ZURITA, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudenf. Chron. ⁱ ABARCA, ZURITA, FERRERAS. ^k Annal. Campostell. Annal. Toletan, MARTINEZ, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. Chron. Adefons Magni. ^l MARIANA.

kingdoms to the knights templars ; but his subjects were wise enough not to suffer themselves to be disposed of in that manner, and therefore as soon as they had recovered the great consternation they were under, they convened an assembly of the states ^m.

It was of the greatest consequence to come to a speedy election, and the greatest part of the assembly had cast their eyes upon Don *Pedro Atarez*, a man of great virtue and ability, and descended from Don *Ramiro* the first, king of *Arragon*. Against this, however, Don *Pedro Tizon de Cadreita*, and Don *Peregrin Castellezuelo* set themselves violently, affirming, that he was a person of austere manners, and already excessive proud ; so that raising him to the throne would be making themselves and their countrymen miserable ⁿ. Warm debates arising, the assembly was transferred to *Moncon*, where it quickly appeared that the only means to prevent a civil war consisted in the elevation of Don *Ramiro*, brother to the deceased king, to the throne, though a monk, and in priest's orders ^o. The nobility of *Navarre* seeing this, retired home, and assembling at *Pampeluna* suddenly, unanimously elected Don *Garcia Ramirez*, and having sent for him from *Moncon*, declared him king ^p. All authors agree that he was of the royal family ; but many, and *Mariana* among the rest, will have him to be the son of Don *Ramiro*, and the grandson of Don *Sancho*, whom his brother assassinated ^q : yet upon a strict examination of the charters, and other authentic instruments of those days, it very clearly appears that he was in reality the grandson of Don *Ramiro*, the brother of Don *Sancho*, who retired into *Castile* during the troubles of *Navarre* ; so that his new subjects might be truly said to render him that justice which they had refused his grand-father ^r. He was in the flower of his age, and very capable of that high dignity to which he was advanced, personally brave, but politically cautious : jealous of the honour of his crown, but tender of his people's safety : in a word, very able to maintain war when forced to maintain it ; but by no means disposed to disturb his neighbours, or to expose those who had chosen him for their protector to gratify his ambition.

HE had scarce felt the weight of a crown before he found two princes equally desirous of easing him of his burthen : the first was Don *Alonso Raymond*, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who pretended to the sovereignty of *Navarre*, as being descended from Don *Sancho the Great* in a direct line ; the other was

^m FERRERAS, tom. iii. part v. § xii.
Adefons Magni, FERRERAS.

^p FERRERAS.

^q ZURITA.

ⁿ ZURITA, Chron.
^o MAYERNE TURQUET.

^r on his accession.

Don

Don *Ramiro*, king of *Arragon*, who conceived that as the heir of his brother he was as much entitled to one kingdom as the other *. Don *Garcia* with great address wound himself out of these difficulties. He went to pay his devoirs to Don *Alonso*, and by this condescension concluded a treaty with him much to his own advantage. With the like dexterity he insinuated to the nobility of *Arragon*, that a war would be fatal to both nations ; and that though he had just pretensions as the heir of Don *Garcia de Najara* upon the sovereignty of *Arragon*, yet he was content to remit things to an arbitration : the result of which was, that his right to *Navarre* was acknowledged, the nobility of *Arragon* being satisfied that Don *Ramiro* would have enough to do to govern one kingdom.

A. D. They insisted only, that in reverence to his age, Don *Garcia* should pay him a kind of homage, which he very readily performed, hoping in case he survived him to be chosen his successor †.

1135.

Successes of this monarch, and his decease after a glorious reign. THINGS did not long continue in this pacific situation ; for Don *Garcia* having demanded the restitution of the provinces that had been dismembered from his kingdom, and annexed to *Castile*, and having received a rough answer from the emperor, for so Don *Alonso* was now stiled, he entered into an alliance with Don *Alonso Henriquez*, prince of *Portugal*, and endeavoured to obtain it by force of arms ; but failing in this, the dispute was at length compromised †. This was succeeded by a new quarrel with Don *Raymond Berenger*, who, on the abdication of Don *Ramiro*, had assumed the title of prince of *Arragon*, and was count of *Barcelona* in his own right. The emperor Don *Alonso* assisted his brother-in-law Don *Raymond* in this dispute ; but Don *Garcia* managed the war with so much courage and conduct, that he beat the prince of *Arragon*, and obliged the emperor to raise the siege of *Pampeluna* ; and at length the peers and prelates of his realm interposing, the emperor concluded a treaty with him, by which an end was put to all their differences, and for the confirmation of it his son Don *Sancho* married the infanta Donna *Blanch* of *Navarre* †. The war with *Arragon* was still continued ; in which Don *Garcia* gained several advantages ; but his queen Donna *Margaret* dying, he thought fit, to promote his own interest, to marry Donna *Urraca*, the natural daughter of the emperor ; who compromised the disputes with *Ar-*

A. D.

1140.

* MARTINEZ, Chron. Adefons Magni, ZURITA, FERRERAS.

† Chron. Adefons Magni, MARTINEZ.

Magni, FERRERAS.

‡ Chron. Adefons Magni, RODERIC Toletan, LUC. TUDENF.

P. MORET.

ragon,

ragon, and engaged both princes to assist him in his wars against the *Moors*; which they very honourably performed, and the emperor, by their assistance, managed that war with great success^x. This was one of the last great actions of Don Garcia's life, who after managing very prudently that perplexed state in which he found the affairs of his monarchy, and having restored it to its ancient independency, died in peace at *Pampeluna* on the twenty-first of *November*, and was buried in the cathedral church of that capital, equally regretted by his subjects and by the princes his allies^y.

A. D.
1147.A. D.
1150.

DON Sancho, surnamed *the Wise*, succeeded his father, and very steadily pursued his maxims. He delivered his sister, who had been married while a child, and who was now become a woman, to the infant Don Sancho; and at the same time his mother-in-law Donna *Urraca* returned to her father's court^z. The war with *Arragon* being revived, he carried it on with great spirit and success, notwithstanding the emperor assisted Don Raymond, and at length obliged the latter to terminate the disputes that had lasted so long between the two crowns by an equitable and solid peace. After the death of the emperor he attempted the recovery of the places that to the prejudice of the crown of *Navarre* had been annexed to *Castile*; and though he failed in his first attempt, yet taking afterwards a more favourable opportunity he succeeded, and by the like prudent management hindered the coalition of the small *Moorish* principalities, by assisting the weaker against the stronger, by which he kept their forces still divided, and at the same time employed in ruining each other^a. It was from the exercise of these refined arts of policy, as well as from his diligence and attention to domestic improvements, that he obtained the surname of *Wise*, and retrieved and restored the broken forces of his monarchy in such a manner that he began to be as much considered both by the Christian and *Moorish* princes as any of his predecessors had been^b. An extraordinary instance of this comes in properly here, and shall be the more largely explained, because, though occasionally mentioned elsewhere, yet the particulars were reserved for the history of *Navarre* and the reign of this prince, to both which they naturally belong.

WE have shewn in how uneasy and precarious a situation Don Sancho's affairs stood with regard to the kings of *Arragon*

^x Chron. Adefons Magni, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^y Annal. Toletan, P. MORET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA.
^z Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Chron. Adefons Magni.
^a Annal. Toletan, GARIBAY, FERRERAS.
^b P. MORET.

By his con- and *Castile*, and the injuries he received from both; and we
currence have likewise shewn upon what motives he assisted the *Moors*:
and advice the point now in hand is to give the reader a clear idea of
Don Pedro the immediate advantages which resulted to him from a mea-
Ruiz sure that seemed to promise but very remote benefits at the
d'Azagra most. The *Moorish* prince he assisted was *Mohammed Aben-*
becomes so- *lop*, king of *Valencia* and *Murcia*, whose dominions were
veraign of scarce contiguous to his, and with whom therefore it might
Albarra- have been apprehended he had little to do^c. His auxiliaries
cin. were commanded by *Don Pedro Ruiz d'Azagra*, by whose as-
 sistance he not only repulsed and defeated his enemy, but
 likewise besieged and made himself master of *Granada*^d, and
 out of gratitude for so signal a service, the generous *Moor*
 made him a present of the town and fortress of *Albarracin*:
 This is a small place, but of great strength, standing on an
 eminence near the *Guadalquivir*, commanding a pleasant dis-
 trict on the frontiers of *Castile* and *Valencia*, as well as *Aragon*,
 within which kingdom it lies^e. The king of *Navarre* gave *Don*
Pedro leave, and furnished him with the means to fortify this
 place, to people it thoroughly, and to keep a strong garrison in
 it; so that before they were aware the kings of *Castile* and *Ar-*
ragon saw a new sovereignty erected, equally troublesome to
 both; tho' *Don Pedro*, to save appearances, stiled himself the
 vassal of our lady of *Albarracin*, because the cathedral was dedi-
 cated to the Blessed Virgin^f. This new prince, who had a long
 head, as well as a stout heart, acted constantly in conjunction
 with his old master; and whenever he endeavoured to enlarge
 his western frontier the lord of *Albarracin* was sure to make
 a diversion in his favour, by an excursion into the very heart of

A. D.
1161.

Castile. On the other hand, if the king of *Aragon* invaded
Navarre, *Don Pedro* was presently at his back; so that by
 the help of this ally, the wise *Don Sancho* stood no longer
 in awe of either, or of both these princes^g. Such were the
 effects of this singular expedient, nothing similar to which is
 perhaps to be met with in any history. But we pass to in-
 stances, though of a less striking, yet of a more general na-
 ture, which will give a true idea of this prince's govern-
 ment.

WE must allow the historians of *Navarre* to have had a
 just right to set this monarch on a level with any of those
 who flourished in his time: he entered on his dominions when
 they had been harrassed by a long war, and curtailed through

^c RODERIC Toletan. ^d FERRERAS. ^e Etat de l'Es-
 pagne, par l'Abbe VAYRAC, tom. i. p. 163.

FERRERAS.

^f P. MORET, ^g ZURITA, P. MORET, FERRERAS.

a series of ill-fortune. He had scarce a single power that was sincerely allied to him, and even in his own territories some inclined to the king of *Castile*, and more to him of *Arragon*. To balance this he kept at first on the defensive; entered into a league with *Lewis* the seventh of *France*, which subsisted during both their reigns; enlarged the privileges of most of the great towns; built some new ones and fortified all; exempted the inhabitants of the vallies that were most barren from taxes, by which indulgence they were always ready to take arms as occasion required^a. His court was the asylum of the injured and oppressed, whether Christians or *Moors*; so that he had ever in his service men of distinguished courage and great experience. He was, for those times, a prince of learning, which he encouraged amongst his clergy and nobility. He had a good correspondence throughout *Europe*, and so good intelligence, that he let slip no opportunity of recovering the places that had been torn from his predecessors. His alliance with *Portugal* was of great use to him; and his industry and activity in time of peace enabled him to make or sustain war sooner and steadier than any of his neighbours. He lost several battles, and some towns; but he rejected all offers of peace, till these were restored; and his abilities and experience furnished him with such resources, that sooner or later he procured his own terms¹. His generosity in the usage of such as he made prisoners gained him an high reputation, and was in other respects very useful; his modesty and his silence rendered his designs impenetrable; and his readiness in forgiving past offences, brought back into his dominions most of those who had retired into *Arragon* or *Castile*. He first introduced the title of count into *Navarre*; and was so ready to acknowledge whatever services were rendered him by the nobility, and paid them so much respect upon all occasions, that they let slip no opportunity of expressing their zeal, or of conforming to his will, by which he wrought so great a change in the order and oeconomy of the state, that at the same time he raised his own revenues, the people in general were much richer than before his accession to the crown^k. His address and his experience might have given him a boundless authority, if he had sought it; but, except in great emergencies, he did nothing but by the advice of the states, or at least with their consent; and was so far from abridging the liberties of the people, that in many instances he extended

Other instances of Don Sancho's prudence and policy, by which Navarre was restored to a great degree.

^a P. MORET, MAYERNE TURQUET, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. ¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^k P. MORET, FERRERAS.

them¹. When he found it impracticable to recover all *Biscay*, he insinuated to the lords of it, who were vassals to the crown of *Castile*, that hostilities might prove the destruction, but could never turn to the advantage either of the *Biscayners*, or the people of *Navarre*; and therefore he advised them to keep a tacit and perpetual neutrality when the two crowns were at war, the advantages of which were quickly so apparent, and the lords of *Biscay* became by this means so independant, that the monarchs of *Castile* could never engage them to break through it, while the kings of *Navarre* drew little less benefit from that province than they would have, done if it had been held of them; which benefit, tho' foreseen by him, was not felt in its full extent but by his successors^m.

This monarch defeats the confederacy formed for conquering and dividing his dominions.

A. D.

1173.

Don *Alonso* king of *Aragon*, count of *Barcelona*, and master of several fair estates in *France*, could never divest himself of the passionate desire he had once entertained of being master of *Navarre*; and finding the like disposition in Don *Alonso* the third of *Castile*, he took advantage of their having concluded a truce with the *Moors*, to propose the conquest of that kingdom, in order to which a kind of convention was settled between them: as both princes had numerous armies on foot, and had bound themselves by reciprocally depositing certain fortresses for the due performance of their engagementⁿ, Don *Sancho* was never in so great peril before. At the time appointed, the troops of *Aragon* entered *Navarre*, and took several places; but they were so well, and so long defended, that by the end of the campaign the army was much reduced. On the other hand, the king of *Castile* in person penetrated almost as far as *Pampeluna* with a superior army, Don *Sancho* retiring before him all the way, and suffering him to burn and pillage the country at his pleasure; but in his retreat he harassed his troops exceedingly, and recovered a great part of the booty^o. The next year the war was carried on in the same manner; but while the king of *Aragon* pleased himself with the taking of several small places, he was alarmed with the news that Don *Sancho* had made an irruption into *Aragon*, had taken *Cajuelos*, and was preparing to cut off his retreat. As for the *Castilians*, finding the country in the same manner as they left it, and meeting with no opposition, they were afraid of advancing too far, from an apprehension of suffering by that famine which they had caused. Events of the like nature followed in several cam-

¹ ZURITA, LUC. Tudenf. Chron.

AITA, FERRERAS.

^m FERRERAS.

^o P. MORET.

ⁿ Zu-

paigus,

paigns; till at length all parties weary of a war by which none were gainers, consented to leave all their disputes to the arbitration of *Henry* king of *England*, to whose court each of the princes sent ambassadors, and gave security to submit to his decision^p. In the mean time a cessation of arms took place, which continued for several years. It was in this interval of peace that two queens of *Navarre* died almost at the same time, *Donna Sancha*, sister to *Don Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, and aunt to *Don Alonso* of *Castile*, who was buried in the cathedral at *Pampeluna*, and *Donna Uracca*, the widow of *Don Garcia Ramirez*^q. The use *Don Sancho* made of this calm was to build in the province of *Alava* the beautiful town of *Victoria*, to cover his country from irruptions on the side of *Castile*; and he chose the situation so happily that in process of time it became a fine city, and the capital of this country; after it fell during the reign of his son under the dominion of the crown of *Castile*, to which it has been united ever since^r.

A. D.
1181.

THE decision of king *Henry* of *England* was not accepted; and yet the truce still continued. But the king of *Castile* reflecting that while this misunderstanding continued, it would be always the interest of *Don Sancho* to hinder as much as in him lay the success of his expeditions against the *Moors*; and also that the campaigns against that monarch were attended with great loss of blood, and little or no profit, while the common enemy was increasing in strength, which must be attended with great ill consequences in process of time, he demanded an interview with that monarch; in which, once for all, they adjusted the disputes that had so long subsisted, settled the frontier between both their kingdoms, and gave each other, according to the mode of those times, security for the due performance of this treaty, which was one of the greatest and happiest events in his reign^s. The king of *Aragon* also, tired out with unsuccessful expeditions, and desirous of applying his attention to affairs of another nature, took the like method, and concluded a definitive peace. Thus *Don Sancho* carried his two great points, and obliged both his potent neighbours to renounce those pretensions which ambition suggested, and which for such a length of time had been seconded by force^t. One thing aimed at by this treaty would have been very injurious to the interests of *Navarre* had it taken place. The two kings of *Castile*

Other memorable acts, and death of *Don Sancho* the Wise, after a long reign, and with high reputation.

^p ROGER HOVEDEN Annal. ^q P. MORET, RODERIC Toletan, FERRERAS. ^r P. MORET. ^s LUC. Tudens. ^t ZURITA.

and Arragon had thoughts of attacking, and reducing Don Pedro Ruiz de Azagra, whose independency gave them great disquiet. The opportunity was favourable: the king of Navarre could not now defend him; and against the combined forces of the two crowns, it was impossible he should defend himself. In this desperate situation Don Sancho suggested to the two crowns he might demand the protection of the Moors; and in that case, instead of being easily suppressed, he might prove a more formidable enemy than ever. The confederates, having considered this, resolved to pursue their true interest, in acting against the Moors, referring the siege of Albarracin to a more convenient season^u. Richard the first, king of England, having demanded Donna Berengara, Don Sancho's eldest daughter in marriage, he readily consented; and that princess being delivered to queen Eleanor, the king's mother, was by her carried into Flanders, and from thence on board a fleet to the island of Cyprus, where their nuptials were solemnized on the twelfth of May at Limisso^v. The very next year the English monarch being in the Holy Land, the count de Toulouse attacked his seneschal in Gascony, supposing that he should obtain an easy conquest; but the king of Navarre, being acquainted with it, sent the infant Don Sancho with eight hundred men at arms to the assistance of the seneschal, which entirely disconcerted the count's scheme^x. This was one of the last great actions of his life; for the king being seized with a consumptive distemper, sunk by a gradual decay, breathed his last on the twenty-seventh of June, leaving behind him the reputation of being the most accomplished monarch that ever sat on the throne of Navarre^y.

A. D.
1191.

A. D.
1194.

Accession of
Don San-
cho VIII.
the Strong

GREAT hopes were conceived of Don Sancho, who succeeded his father of the same name, and who in the former part of his reign was surnamed *the Strong*, or *the Brave*; but towards the end, for a reason that will be given, *the Hidden*, or *Inclosed*. He was certainly a prince of lively parts, as well as steady courage; but either he did not understand, or at least he did not pursue the maxims of Don Sancho the Wise^z. Immediately after his accession he promised Don Alonso king of Castile, to bring him a considerable reinforcement, in order to enable him to make head against the whole strength of the Moors; and there is no reason to doubt that

^u P. MORET, ZURITA, FERRERAS. ^v ROGER HOVEDEN Annal. ^x FERRERAS, ROGER HOVEDEN Annal.
^y L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MAYERNE TURQUET, P. MORET, FERRERAS. ^z RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. P. MORET.

he would have been as good as his word, as well as the king of *Arragon*, who had made the same promise, in case that monarch had given them time to accomplish their design. But by an unaccountable stroke of vain-glory, and a preposterous desire of defrauding his allies of the just share of reputation, he advanced with the troops of *Castile* against a numerous army of *Moors*, by which he lost the great battle of *Alarcos*, which might have been fatal at least to his own dominions, if the Infidels had prosecuted their victory. The kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were so much provoked at this behaviour, that they disbanded their forces : and, on the other hand, the king of *Castile* took this so ill, that having made, or rather obtained a truce from the *Moors*, he made an attempt upon their dominions ; but with little success^a. Some time after he struck up an alliance with the king of *Arragon*, and promised to assist him in case he would revive his old pretensions to the crown of *Navarre*. The king of *Morocco*, being well informed of all that had passed, as well as the forces and dispositions of these princes, began a secret negotiation with the king of *Navarre* ; by which he promised him his daughter, and offered, by way of portion, to give her all the large dominions which he held in *Spain*. Alarmed on the one side, and allured on the other, Don *Sancho*, whose strength lay rather in his arm than in his head, embraced this proposition, so far at least as to enter into conferences with the emissaries of this potent prince ; but with what view cannot be so clearly determined^b.

THIS intrigue could not be carried on so secretly as to escape the knowledge of other Christian princes ; who thereupon attacked the character of the king of *Navarre* with the utmost marks of resentment, giving out, that he intended to enter into a close alliance with the *Moors*, and perhaps to abandon the Christian religion. This induced him to send the bishop of *Pampeluna* to *Rome*, to assure Pope *Celestin* the third, that these were downright calumnies, and that he intended nothing of that kind ; and the pontiff thereupon wrote him a very tender and obliging letter, which is still extant^c. However, notwithstanding these assurances, Don *Sancho*, being perfectly informed that the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* were concluding a peace with the *Moors* in order to attack his dominions, not only persisted in his negotiations with the Infidels, but proceeded at length to quit his own dominions,

His voyage to Africa, and its consequences,

^a LUC. TUDENS. Chron. Annal. Toletan, Annal. Campostell. P. MORET. ^b ROGER HOVEDEN, FERRERAS. ^c AMBROSIO MORALES, Cronica generale de Espana.

A. D.
1199.

and with a small retinue to pass over to *Barbary*, in hopes of accomplishing his marriage^d. At his arrival in the court of *Morocco* he found the face of affairs very unexpectedly changed by the death of the king, and his son's positive declaration, that he did not intend to be bound by his father's agreement, but meant to preserve his *Spanish* dominions, and to transport a considerable body of forces from *Africa* for that purpose. Don *Sancho*, thus disappointed, and knowing what unhappy consequences must attend his absence, would willingly have returned without delay into his own territories, but was quickly made sensible that this was also impracticable; for the new monarch of *Morocco* insisted on his going with him in person against his rebels; which, not being able to avoid, he did with a good grace, and acquired great reputation by his behaviour^e.

The kings
of Castile
and Arra-
gon attack
his domi-
nions in his
absence,
and make
great con-
quests.

In the mean time the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* did not let this favourable occasion slip; but attacked the kingdom of *Navarre* with all their forces. In the very first campaign the king of *Arragon* made himself master of several places, some by force, and some by composition: but the king of *Castile*, though he had the better army of the two, was by no means able to make so rapid a progress^f. He had made an irruption into the province of *Alava*, and had made himself master of several inconsiderable places, and most of the open country; but *Victoria*, which was well fortified, and had a good garrison, made a long and obstinate resistance; so that he was obliged to leave the reduction of it to Don *Lopez de Haro*, lord of *Biscay*, who brought it by the beginning of the next spring into such a situation that the garrison and the inhabitants desired leave to send the bishop of *Pampeluna* into *Barbary*, to know whether they had any relief to expect, and promised to surrender upon his return. This was granted; the bishop went accordingly, and the king told him, that he was obliged to his faithful subjects for the long and gallant resistance they had made; but that not having it in his power to bring them any succours, he did not pretend to hinder them from making the best terms they could for themselves. Upon this the inhabitants of *Victoria* demanded, that the king of *Castile* should promise to maintain them in all their privileges and immunities; and this being granted, they immediately opened their gates. The fate of *Victoria* not only drew after it the loss of the whole province, but that also of *Gui-*

^d ROGER DE HOVEDEN, LUC. TUDENS. CHRON. P. MORET, FERRERAS. ^e ROGER DE HOVEDEN, P. MORET. ^f ROBERTIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. ZURITA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

puscoa,

pustoa, and of what yet remained to the crown of *Navarre* of *Biscay*, particularly the port of *St. Sebastian*; all which were from this time united to the kingdom of *Castile*, and was an irreparable loss to this sovereignty*. Instead of wondering that so much was torn from the territories of *Navarre*, we have reason to be surprised that any thing was left, considering the power of the monarchs who attacked it, the address by which the king of *Castile* gradually detached the crown of *France*, and the rest of *Don Sancho's* allies, and the supineness of the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal*, who had an interest in preserving a monarchy by which themselves had been more than once preserved; and this was so much the more astonishing as the alliance which had driven *Don Sancho* in a manner to despair, and the war that had deprived him of his dominions, was the pure effects of jealousy and ambition, and did not proceed from any thing this monarch had done, or at least he had given no adequate offence^b. The outcry made as to his treaty with the Infidels being fully answered by its motive, which was that ill-usage he received from Christians, without meeting with so much as one Christian friend.

A. D.
1200.

It must appear strange, that while his subjects were thus oppressed, when two foreign armies were in the bowels of his country, *Don Sancho*, who had the reputation of being so brave a prince, should remain abroad in the service of the *Moors*, and without attempting to afford them the least succour. The writers of those times, however, own that *Don Sancho* was not inexcusable. He was seized, either through fatigue or disturbance of mind, with a very dangerous fever in his passage; and this, either through the malignity of the disease, want of skill in those who treated it, or want of patience in the king himself, fell into his foot, and turned afterwards into a cancerous humour, which never could be cured. It is most probable that this happened after his expedition against those who had taken up arms in opposition to the *miramolin*, and that as soon as he was a little better he prepared for his return home^c. We are also told, that though he was in the highest credit with the monarch he had served, yet he absolutely refused to make a diversion in his favour, by attacking the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon*, though he might have done it very conveniently, because he had made a truce for ten years, and had sworn to the due observance of that

Don Sancho returns into his territories, and concludes a peace with the king of Castile.

* Annal. Toletan, Luc. Tudenf. Chron. ROGER HOVEDEN.
^b RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. FERRERAS. ^c RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MAYERNE TURQUET.

truce. But he shewed his gratitude to the king of *Navarre* another way; for on his departure he not only loaded him with presents, but furnished him likewise with a vast sum of money, that he might be the better enabled to change the face of his affairs^k. He landed at *Cartagena*, and took his measures so well that he passed from thence into his own dominions without being discovered. On the news of his arrival the *Castilians* raised the siege of a place on the very point of falling into their hands^l. There happened soon after an event of much greater importance: Don *Diego Lopez*, who thought himself ill treated by the king of *Castile* his master, revolted and withdrew with his dependants, and a good body of troops into *Navarre*, from whence he made inroads into the very heart of *Castile*. His master, Don *Alonso the Noble*, marched with the joint forces of *Castile* and *Leon* against him, and at length shut him up in *Estella*, where he made so good a defence, that the king found himself constrained to raise the siege^m. The Pope having received exact information of the situation of things in *Spain*, and the ill usage the king of *Navarre* had met with, interposed his good officesⁿ; and Don *Diego Lopez*, having made his peace with his master, remembered the obligations he was under to Don *Sancho*, and concluded a treaty for him upon the best terms that could be obtained^o. By this the consumption that wasted his state was for the present stopped.

A. D.
1201.

*He proceeds
very prudently in
his endeavours to
recover his
kingdom.*

THE king took the opportunity of this interval of peace, for the war with *Aragon* was also suspended, to put his country into a posture of defence, and to repair the losses he had sustained in some measure, by making better the dominions he had left. He was either by nature, or in consequence of his misfortunes, extremely frugal; but this disposition was so far from being grievous to his subjects, that it turned to their benefit; for, having his coffers full, he remitted several grievous impositions, proceeding on the true maxim, that wherever the people were oppressed the prince must be poor^p. This had a wonderful effect; for his subjects continually boasted that the father was the wisest, and the son the best prince ever seated on their throne: and hence followed an event

^k ROGER HOVEDEN Annal. RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan.

^l L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^m RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MARIANA.

ⁿ AMBROSIO MORALES, Cronica general de Espana, FERRERAS.

^o LUC. Tudenf. Chron. RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MORET Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarro.

^p ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

that

that no policy could foresee; for the inhabitants of *Bayonne*, and the country adjacent, finding themselves harrassed by the continual wars of the princes their sovereigns, and those who pretended to be so, put themselves under the protection of the king of *Navarre*, which was a thing extremely commodious for him in many respects. The truce still subsisting with the king of *Castile*, that monarch demanded an interview with *Don Sancho* at *Guadalaxara*, where it was renewed for five years; and *Don Alonso* at the same time undertook to mediate a peace with *Arragon*. On his return from this interview to *Pampeluna*, there fell out a dismal accident; for the king's only brother, *Don Ferdinand*, running at the ring, was thrown by his horse against a stone pillar, and died upon the spot¹.

A. D.
1207.

Don Alonso the Noble, king of *Castile*, perceiving the ten years truce with the *Moors* drawing towards a close, and *Arragon* knowing how assiduous they had been in improving the quar-
concluded.
rels amongst the Christian princes to their own advantage, represented in very strong terms to *Don Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, the necessity of turning the truce with *Navarre* into a solid peace, that they might be in a condition to act offensively against the Infidels, as the most effectual means to preserve their own territories from becoming the seat of war². Upon this remonstrance an interview was appointed between the three kings, at a place called *Mallen*, where a peace was concluded between *Don Sancho* of *Navarre*, and *Don Pedro* of *Arragon*, to their mutual satisfaction; and at the same time both kings promised *Don Alonso* to bring the flower of their forces to his assistance. But *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* intimating that his finances were in great disorder, *Don Sancho* of *Navarre* generously offered to lend him twenty thousand pieces of gold, which he also performed, and had a certain number of castles and towns consigned to him to secure the repayment³. The next year there was another congress held, and the following was entirely spent in preparations; and in the succeeding spring, the war being commenced, *Don Sancho*, in performance of his promise, marched with a fine corps of troops to join the Christian army, and was not only present commanding the right wing in the decisive victory gained *July* the 16th, but was, by the universal consent of all writers, the principal instrument of providence in obtaining it; for *Don Sancho* with his cavalry breaking the iron chain, and penetrating into the center of the *Moorish* army, compelled the

A. D.
1209.

A. D.
1211.

¹ RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. Chronique de Don Thibaud, FERRERAS.

² LUCAS Tudenf. Chron. ZURITA.

³ RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. MARIANA.

miramamolin to seek his personal safety in flight. Some authors say, that the tent of the *Moorish* monarch was assigned him as a trophy of his victory. It is, however, more certain that he returned with Don *Alonso*, and made his public entry with that monarch into *Toledo*; from whence, after a short stay, he returned home with his victorious army, himself covered with glory, and his troops laden with plunder. At his departure, Don *Alonso*, as a mark of his gratitude, restored to him fifteen places, which had been left to him by the peace; so that nothing could be more honourable or advantageous to him than this campaign, which rendered him as much revered throughout all *Spain*, as he had hitherto been in his own dominions^u.

*Resumes
his designs
for the be-
nefit of his
subjects,
and the se-
curity of
his domi-
nions.*

AT his return to *Pampeluna*, he resumed his former designs for the benefit of his subjects. He had already instituted an order of knighthood for the security of the roads, and the protection of passengers. He now caused a body of laws to be published, which had the same thing in view, as well as the suppressing robberies, murders, and whatever else, from the violence of those times, carried in it reproach to civil government^w. He caused also some convents to be repaired, and others to be erected, having chiefly in view the drawing people into his dominions, and increasing the number of towns and villages, which were commonly the effects of such foundations. His liberality appeared sufficiently upon these and other public occasions: at others he was sparing to a great degree, and indeed it could not well be otherwise. The fortress of *Viana* he constructed for the security of his country, in case the spirit of ambition should revive in the court of *Castile*; and he took his measures so well, and prosecuted his design with such vigilance, that the place was very soon in a posture of defence; and from its happy situation became in a very short space of time one of the most considerable places in the kingdom^x. He also repaired and improved the town of *Tudela*, which he made the principal place of his residence, partly on account of the excellency of its air, and partly from its vicinity to the frontiers of *Castile*; whence he judged it absolutely necessary that it should be rendered one of the strongest and most populous places in his dominions. Here, as some writers assert, he shut himself up closely in the castle, and was seldom seen by any but his domestics, on account of that cancerous humour, which in process of time extended itself from his foot upwards; and from hence it is pretended that

A. D.
1219.

^u Lucas Tudenf. Chron. RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. Annal. Toletan. ^w MORET, MARIANA. ^x MORET.

he had the surname of *Hidden* or *Retired*¹: with respect to which we pretend not to decide; only this is certain, that he did not at all relax in his care of public affairs, but continued to form and execute various schemes for increasing the number, and promoting the welfare of his subjects, in which Providence blessed him with as great success as he could desire. He was also equally fortunate in amassing wealth, by leading almost a private life, without offending his people².

WE come now to the last and most obscure point of this *Don San-* prince's history. Some writers, and particularly *Mariana*, who adopts say, that being very old and infirm his subjects began to flight *James king* his authority, insomuch that there were various seditions in *of Arra-* *Pampeluna*; that these were excited by his nephew *Thibaut*, *gon, heir* earl of *Champagne*, who being his next heir was weary of *of all his* waiting for the crown till it fell of itself, and was therefore *dominions.* desirous of shaking it off the old man's head. They add, that *Lopez Diaz de Haro*, lord of *Biscay*, had invaded *Navarre*, and committed great outrages there, which he attributed to the ambition of *St. Ferdinand*; and upon these motives, it is said, he invited *James king of Arragon* to *Tudela*, where after many conferences, in which he inveighed bitterly against the want of fidelity and duty in his nephew, and the exorbitant lust of dominion in *Don Ferdinand*, he made an agreement with the king of *Arragon*, that they should reciprocally adopt each other, in order that the survivor, being possessor of both kingdoms, might have power sufficient to defend their independency, and to protect their subjects in the enjoyment of their liberties. He also lent him at this time one hundred thousand crowns, that he might be the better able to prosecute his wars against the *Moors*³. The adoption and the loan are things certain; but the other circumstances, as they are very improbable, so they are far from being well supported. The whole of this transaction, when closely and impartially examined, may perhaps be reduced to this. *Don Sancho* being grown old, and having nothing at heart so much as the welfare of his subjects, believed that as the last heir male of *Don Garcia Ramirez*, he might call to the succession whom he pleased, by way of adoption; and he preferred *James king of Arragon*, as descended from *Sancho the Great*, in hopes that the kingdom of *Navarre* might participate of the many advantages daily flowing to *Arragon*,

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

² MORET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

³ MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

from

from the martial spirit and great capacity of this victorious prince, who, if his pretensions had not been this way admitted, might easily swallow it up by conquest. That this was really the case, and that there was no reciprocal adoption, appears manifestly from the conduct of king *James*, who the very next year, and during the life-time of this prince, caused the states of his kingdom to swear allegiance to his son, which would have been a wanton infraction of his treaty with the king of *Navarre*, had it been really made on these terms^b. It is also probable that what is said of the count of *Champagne* is said without foundation, since it is a fact out of dispute that this prince, to please his uncle, actually did homage to the king of *Aragon*, in prejudice of his own right, which certainly he would never have done if he had been of such a temper as is suggested, or if he had had so strong a party in *Navarre*: so that after all the truth seems to be, Don *Sancho* was so universally beloved by his subjects, that they submitted implicitly to his will, not because he was an absolute prince, but because a long and wise administration had given them an entire confidence in him, which is true absolute power; and his nephew Don *Thibaut* took this extraordinary step of relinquishing what he took to be his right, as well to please the people, as to please his uncle^c, who in fact had nothing else in view, but to provide for their future happiness and perfect independency, by procuring them a potent protector when he should be no more. The course of the history, we flatter ourselves, will convince the reader that these conjectures are founded in truth; and that Don *Sancho*, tho' he led a life of continual pain and misery, and was now broken with old age and many infirmities, was notwithstanding a wise, a great, and a good prince to the last.

Death of
Don San-
cho VIII.

THE generality of historians inform us, that after this Don *Sancho* led a very uneasy and unsettled life, sometimes inclined to embark his adopted son the king of *Aragon* in a war with *Castile*, and at others out of humour with that prince, as well as displeased with his own subjects^d. But it is very doubtful whether these facts be true. It is at least certain, that those who report them fall into evident confusion in respect to dates, and intermix various circumstances, as to which the historians, who lived in or near those times, are altogether silent. There may, however, be good grounds to suppose, that Don *Sancho* might be much chagrined at the foresight of those evils that were like to come upon his sub-

^b ZURITA.

^c FERRERAS.

^d MARIANA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

jects

jects by his dying not only childless, but without heirs male of the whole blood. His eldest sister *Berengara* had married *Richard* king of *England*, who died without issue. His younger sister *Donna Sancha*, who espoused the count of *Champagne* and *Bris*, had left by him a son, *Don Thibaut*, who succeeded in his father's estates, and was now upwards of thirty, whose accession to the throne of *Navarre* the king judged inexpedient for himself and for the nation; for he apprehended that if he came into *Navarre* his hereditary possessions would suffer extremely; and that on the other hand, if he paid only a proper attention to his patrimony, it would excite great disturbances and factions in *Navarre*. On the other hand, the king of *Aragon* was descended from the male line of the kings of *Navarre*, his territories had been formerly united to that crown, the laws were nearly the same, and these, with other causes, had determined the king to act as he did; and for a time all parties seemed to acquiesce in his plan^c. But the people of *Navarre* afterwards changing their minds, we may very easily conceive how their historians came to impute to age, infirmities, and a splenetic disposition, that project of their king's, which in reality proceeded from his zeal for their welfare. However this might be, *Don Sancho* ended his days at *Tudela* on the seventh of *April* one thousand two hundred thirty-four; in whom expired the male line of *Don Garcia Iniguez*, after they had held the kingdom of *Navarre* near four hundred years. His body was interred in the church of the monastery of the canons regular of *Roncevaux*, of which he is said to have been the founder^f.

THE clergy, nobility, and people of *Navarre*, as soon as the king was dead, determined, notwithstanding all that had passed, to call his nephew the earl of *Champagne* to the succession, pre-^gfering as it seems the independency of their crown to their own interests, which had been very excusable in *Don Sancho*, whatever it might be in them. However, that they might proceed with caution and safety, they sent deputies to king *James* of *Aragon*, to let him know their resolution, and to desire that he would release them from the homage which they had sworn to him at the request, and purely with a view to gratify their deceased king, which that monarch readily granted^h. Some indeed say, that he dissembled^h, and that he afterwards endeavoured to vindicate his right by arms, which does not appear; but the contrary, as will be hereafter seen very plainly. This

^c FERRERAS.^f Annal. Campostell. Kalendar Lyrens.^g FERRERAS.^h L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre; MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUEST.

point being thus settled, they sent Don *Pedro Ramirez de Pedrola*, bishop of *Pampeluna*, and other lords, to invite the earl of *Champagne* to come and accept the crown; which he very willingly did, and was with great solemnity crowned in the cathedral of that capital on the eighth of *May* following¹; the Pope also interposing vigorously, to prevent the transaction becoming the ground of a war. The reason of this interposition was the hopes the pontiff had that the new king would take upon him the cross, and join in an expedition for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, which, in pursuance of a vow made by his father, he accordingly did, tho' at the apparent hazard of his dominions. *Lewis* the ninth, better known by the name of *St. Lewis of France*, had at this time some disputes with this new king, in quality of earl of *Champagne*; but Pope *Gregory* the ninth interceded so effectually, that the king promised to suspend all his pretensions during the absence of that prince, who was now employed in raising forces in *France* as well as *Navarre*, in order to fulfil his engagement². With the same good intention he addressed himself to the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and procured from them, without any difficulty, the strongest assurances that they would take no advantage of the king of *Navarre's* absence³, whose dominions might otherwise have been easily over-run, and could hardly have been retrieved.

His expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land.

DON *Thibaut* seeing all things thus happily settled, and having received in his capital the famous Don *Roderic Ximenes*, archbishop of *Toledo*, ambassador from *Castile*, to convince him of the friendship and esteem of his master *St. Ferdinand*, he took his leave of the nobility, and having settled the government, went into *France* to join the army of the *Crosses*^m. The dukes of *Bretagne* and *Burgundy*, the counts of *Bar*, *Vendosme*, and *Montfort*, with several other great lords, having taken part in the same design, chose him generalissimo of this holy leagueⁿ; and the next year embarked with a potent army at *Marseilles*, and other places in its neighbourhood, for *Syria*, where they arrived without any considerable accident. This expedition, however, though begun with the greatest hopes, ended the next year without the smallest success; for the princes quarrelling amongst themselves, and the duke of *Burgundy* making a very unadvised attempt upon *Gaza*, in which he lost the best part of his troops, this increased

A. D.
1239.

¹ FERRERAS.

² RAINALD.

³ Annal. Toletan,

ZURITA. Annal. Arragon. Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.

^m Chronique de Don Thibaud.

ⁿ FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL Histoire de France, MAYERNE TURQUET.

their

their misunderstandings to such a degree, that Don *Thibaut* seeing plainly there was no good to be done, and that the whole army would be gradually wasted, embarked such of the troops as would obey his command, and returned into *Europe* not a little chagrined at this misfortune, which, however, did no prejudice to his reputation, since it was on all hands allowed that his behaviour was without blame; that the mischiefs which had happened arose from disobeying his orders; and that it was owing to his prudence and patience that so great a part of the army was preserved and brought home^o. His subjects received him with great satisfaction, and the posture of affairs in *Spain* left him at full liberty to gratify his natural inclination to improvements of all kinds, which he pursued to his own satisfaction, and to the no small pleasure of his subjects, by whom he was generally and deservedly beloved.

THE preceding monarchs of *Navarre* had bounded their views by erecting fortresses, churches, or convents; but Don *Thibaut* introduced elegance and magnificence, as well as utility. His genius, admirable in itself, had been cultivated by an excellent education, and by travel, which furnished him with notions much superior to those of princes unassisted by these advantages. He brought with him from the *East* many different kinds of rich fruits into his territories in *France*, and these he transplanted again into *Navarre*, to which the people of that country owe their most delicate wines, very little inferior to those of *France*; and an excellent sort of pears, which in honour of him, and to perpetuate the memory of this prince, are called *Thibaudines*. He was still more careful with regard to agriculture, which hitherto his subjects had practised but rudely, and in such a manner that the soil and climate were unjustly reproached for what was in truth owing to their want of skill and application. He built some palaces himself, which remain no contemptible monuments of his taste; and, led by his example, many of the nobility did the like, so that in a short time the court of *Navarre* became one of the most brilliant in *Spain*^p. But as human happiness is never solid or sincere, so what Don *Sancho* had foreseen, in process of time came actually to pass; that is, the nobility began to form cabals against him, which he was compelled to pacify by grants of offices and lands, to the great impoverishment of his treasury, and with some diminution of his

A. D.
1240.

His return to, and mild government of his dominions.

A. D.
1247.

^o P. MORET, MAIMBOURG Histoire des Croisés. ^p L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

authority,

A. D.
1248.

authority. The most remarkable of these disputes was that which he had with Don *Pédro Jacolas*, bishop of *Pampeluna*, on account of the castle of *St. Stephen*, which belonged to that prelate, in right of his see, and which the king caused to be fortified for the benefit of his subjects; for which high offence the bishop, retiring into *Arragon*, cast an interdict upon his whole diocese, which threw the kingdom into the utmost confusion¹. At length, after a tedious struggle, the king accommodated matters with the bishop, who thereupon removed the excommunication². There remained, however, so many doubts and scruples on the minds of the more ignorant part of his subjects, that he found it absolutely requisite to go to *Rome*, in order to obtain a general absolution from the Pope, which was gradually granted to him³.

Remainder
of his reign
and death.

A. D.
1253.

AFTER his return things went on quietly enough; and he continued to govern and to adorn his territories with the love of his subjects, and the esteem of his neighbours, to the time of his decease, which happened on the eighth of *July*, when he was in the flower of his age, and very little turned of fifty. He had a graceful person, was excellently skilled in music and poetry, a great lover of learning and learned men. His reputation for courage so well established, that none of his neighbours were willing to provoke him; and his ambition so regulated by his respect to justice, that he made no attempts to their prejudice⁴. He was thrice married; first to the daughter of the count of *Metz*, from whom he was divorced by the Pope, and by whom he had no issue; the second was the daughter of the lord of *Beaujeu*, by whom he had Donna *Blanca*, who espoused *John*, surnamed *the Red*, duke of *Bretagne*⁵. His last consort was *Margaret*, daughter to the count of *Feix*, by whom he had three sons, *Thibaut*, *Pedro*, and *Henry*, the first and last successively kings of *Navarre*; and a daughter, Donna *Agnes*, whom others call *Leonor*, married ten years before her father's death to Don *Alvaro Perez de Azagra*, lord of *Albarracin*⁶. On his death-bed he recommended the queen and her children to the protection of the king of *Arragon*, with whom he had always lived in peace and friendship. An incontestable proof that *Mariana* and the rest of the historians who suspect his can-

¹ P. MORET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

² L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ³ P.

MORET. ⁴ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA,

MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁵ FAVIN Histoire de Navarre,

MARIANA. ⁶ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRE-

RAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

dour,

dour, in the renunciation of his title to *Navarre*, injure his character. His corpse was interred in the cathedral church of *Pampeluna*².

THE same historians, who represent king *James* of *Arragon* as a dissembler in the case of his renunciation, bestow on him the highest praises, in regard to that spirit and punctuality with which he executed his charge as guardian to the royal family of *Navarre*. They tell us that he went in person to *Pampeluna*; contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with the young king against *Castile*; treated of a marriage between him and his daughter; and entered into other engagements, which were ratified and confirmed by a subsequent treaty, after the king of *Navarre* became of age¹. But perhaps those come nearer the truth who content themselves with saying, the king of *Arragon* discharged his trust with fidelity, by which the two kingdoms enjoyed peace and happiness for several years. The queen dowager, *Donna Margaret*, went to make a tour into her son's estates in *France*, where she was seized with a distemper that very soon conducted her to her tomb, which she found in the monastery of *Clervaux*. The death of the queen his mother made it requisite for the young king to take a tour into *France*, and was on the very point of beginning his journey, when he understood that some of his subjects had made an inroad on the territories of the king of *Arragon*. Upon this he gave that king the strongest assurances, not only of its being done without his privity or consent, but also of his sincere intention to give him adequate satisfaction, in case any of the offenders should fall into his hands², by which he prevented any misunderstandings between the two crowns, and gave the world a just idea of his own character. He then proceeded in his design of visiting his territories in *France*, where his presence was very acceptable, and where, by his mildness and affable behaviour, he established his reputation as a most accomplished prince, which induced *St. Lewis* to invite him to his court, and to propose to him a very advantageous alliance, which he received with great respect, and very willingly accepted both the invitation and the proposition that attended it, as being equally honourable in itself, and very advantageous as his affairs were then circumstanced, which was a father proof of his penetration and capacity, and proved in many respects highly beneficial to his subjects.

Thibaut II. succeeds his father, under the protection of James king of Arragon.

A. D.
1256.

¹ FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ² L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ³ P. MORET, FERRERAS.

He goes
into
France,
and espouses
the princess
Elizabeth,
or Isabel,
daughter
to St.
Lewis.

THE precise time at which the king made this journey, and more especially that of his marriage, is not easily settled, for in the transactions of these times the more authorities that occur, the more differences commonly happen with regard to dates; but as to facts we may report them with greater certainty. King *Lewis* consented to his marriage with his daughter *Isabel*, provided he compromised the claim made by his sister the dutchess of *Bretagne* upon parts of his estates in *France*, which was done by the grant of an annuity of three thousand livres *per annum*, which, as the *French* historian observes, fall but little short of thirty thousand livres at this day^a. This and all other points being adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of both princes, the marriage was celebrated at *Melun*, where Don *Thibaut* received, as the portion of the princess *Elizabeth*, ten thousand livres, being the same sum that was given to her sister^b. This marriage gave him a great interest at the court of *France*, which he employed in favour of his friend and guardian the king of *Arragon*; and was very instrumental in making that treaty by which all disputes were compromised, and all claims regulated between the two crowns^c. He continued for some time after this in *France*, where he constituted his brother, the infant Don *Pedro*, governor of *Champagne*, which, however, he did not long enjoy, being removed by death when he was a very young man^d. On his return into *Navarre* some disputes arose between him and his nobility, who entered into a league against him, and chose one of their number to oppose all acts of their sovereign, which they judged to be inconsistent with their privileges. But the Pope, having intelligence of this, directed the archbishop of *Bourdeaux* to make a tour into *Navarre*, and to use his best endeavours to put an end to these heart-burnings and jealousies, which he did very effectually^e. This Pope was *Urban* the fourth, who died the same year, as appears by the king's letters of felicitation to his successor.

A. D.
1264.

Returns
thither
again, and
together
St. Lewis
takes the
Cross.

THE death of his brother before-mentioned made it requisite for the king to return again into *France*, as well to procure a fit marriage for the infant Don *Henry*, his only surviving brother, as to put him in possession of the government of *Champagne*, and other measures for the benefit of his family.

^a P. DANIEL *Histoire de France*, tom. iv. p. 190. FAVIN *Histoire de Navarre*.

^b *Inventaire des Chartres*, tom. ii. cap. vi. N° 97, *Histoire & Chronique de St. Louis de France*, par Sire DE JOINVILLE, Seneschal de *Champagne*, Contemporain du dit Roy, 4°.

^c *Memoires de du Puy*, tom. ii.

^d FERRERAS.

^e RAINALD, AMBROSIO MORALES.

The lady upon whom he had cast his eyes was Donna *Constantia*, the daughter and heiress of Don *Gaston de Moncada*, viscount of *Bearn*, which would have been a very advantageous alliance if it had taken place. In his return to *Navarre* he received for his vassals the counts of *Conforans*, *Comminges*, and *Estarac*, not that their estates fell to the crown of *Navarre*, as some have thought, but because it was the custom in those days for the lesser nobility to engage themselves in the service of great princes, to follow them in their wars when required, for which they had an annual pension in time of peace^f. In all probability the king might then have in view the expedition which he soon afterwards undertook. Pope *Clement* the fourth having prevailed upon St. *Lewis* of *France* to assume the Cross, in which expedition he was accompanied by his sons-in-law *Thibaut* king of *Nayarre*, and *Edward* prince of *England*. This, and the preparations requisite for assembling an army, and equipping a fleet, took up a considerable space, during which the king negotiated and concluded a marriage between his brother the infant Don *Henry*, to whom he committed the regency, and the princess *Blanch*, daughter to *Robert* count of *Artois*, brother of St. *Lewis*, with whom he obtained the county of *Rheims*^g. On the return of his brother into *Navarre*, he confided to queen *Isabel* the government of *Champagne*, and the rest of the territories that he held in *France*; and, by the interposition of St. *Lewis*, he renewed for five years more a truce formerly concluded under the same mediation with the king of *England*, in respect to the town of *Bayonne*, upon which he formed some pretensions. In fine, all obstacles being removed, he embarked with his troops in order to follow his father-in-law, who was already sailed with his fleet and forces to *Sicily*^h; and with him went many lords of *Champagne* and *Navarre*.

A. D.
1265.A. D.
1269.

In the absence of the king a civil war broke out in *Castile*, and the infant Don *Philip*, who embarked therein against his father, went into *Navarre*, to persuade the regent to support him and the rest of the nobility in their pretensions; but tho' Don *Henry* might easily have drawn them to have made large concessions in his favour, with respect to those provinces and their dependencies, which had been detached from the kingdom of *Navarre*, with little appearance of right, in former reigns, yet he very wisely answered, that tho' he administered the government, he wanted regal authority in *Navarre*, and

His brother Don Henry governs the kingdom with much prudence in his absence.

^f P. MORET.^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre,

FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, FERRERAS.

^h Nangius in

gestis Lodovici, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

could not therefore, consistent with the trust reposed in him by his brother, enter into a measure which must involve the nation in a foreign war¹. *Mariana* seems to intimate that there was some jars between him and the king of *Arragon*, which, however, is not probable, considering the engagements he was under to the king his brother, and that himself was hardly returned to his dominions from an expedition which he had attempted with a view of passing into the *Holy Land*; but being shipwrecked on the coast of *France*, thought it more expedient to lay that design aside, and resume the government of his own territories. But if any such disputes really happened, it must have been after *Don Henry* became king, in his own right, and in support, as the writer before-mentioned says, of the old claim under the will of *Don Sancho* the eighth, which, at such a distance of time, would have been a very stale pretence, contrary to all rules of justice, and to his own conduct with respect to the father and the brother of *Don Henry*, as we have already stated it, in speaking of the accession of both kings².

The king,
in his re-
turn from
the siege of
Tunis,
dies at
Trapani
in Sicily.

WHEN the king of *Navarre* arrived in *Sicily*, with the *French* lords who accompanied him, he was very much surprized, to find in the first council of war that was held, that he had not been admitted into the secret of the design, *St. Lewis* declaring it his intention not to proceed to *Syria*, but to the coast of *Africa*, where he intended to besiege *Tunis*. Thither *Don Thibaut* accompanied him, and was present when he died of the plague, or some other contagious distemper, before the place, on the twenty-fifth of *August*, as appears by a letter of the king of *Navarre's* writing, which is still extant, and in which he gives a very distinct account of the circumstances that attended it³. He did homage in the same camp to the new king *Philip the Hardy*, for the estates he held in *France*; and after the peace was made with the king of *Tunis*, he returned with him into *Sicily*, where he was scarce arrived before he fell sick at *Trapani*, and after a short illness deceased on the fifth of *September*, one thousand two hundred and seventy^m. His queen *Elizabeth*, or *Isabel*, who either accompanied or followed him, deceased likewise in the spring of the succeeding year, at or near *Marseilles*, on her return to *France*ⁿ. In the spring the corpse of the king was

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

² FERRERAS.

³ P. DANIEL Histoire de

France, tom. iv. p. 263.

^m FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.

FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ⁿ FAVIN Histoire de

Navarre, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS.

transported

transported into *France*, and buried in the church of the convent of *Cordeliers* at *Brie*. As he was a monarch of sincere piety, endowed with many amiable qualities, and particularly remarkable for the sweetness of his temper, he was caressed and admired by all the princes his neighbours; and by his own irreproachable character maintained his dominions in peace during his whole reign, which caused him to be generally and justly lamented by his subjects.

HENRY, surnamed *the Gros* or *the Fat*, his brother dying without issue, was proclaimed king at *Pampeluna*, in the month of *March*. He is said to have been of a more reserved temper than his brother; but is allowed to have governed well in his absence, and to have supported his dignity after his accession to the throne with spirit, notwithstanding the misfortunes that he met with in his family, and the opposition given him by the infant *Don Pedro* of *Arragon*, who pretended to revive those pretensions which his father, still living, had disclaimed. This king having married the niece of *St. Lewis*, depended on the friendship and assistance of his cousin king *Philip*; and governed so steadily that tho' his neighbours were willing enough to have given him disturbance, yet perceiving him always in a condition to defend his territories, they did not think fit to attack him^o. He had by his queen a son, called after his father and brother *Thibaut*, who was bred up at *Estella*, where, as some writers say, his nurse let him fall out of a gallery, by which he was killed upon the spot^p. Others affirm, that it happened thro' the carelessness of his governor, who in a fit of despair threw himself from the same gallery, and perished with him^q. Besides this son he had a daughter, the infanta *Donna Joanna*, about two years old at the time this lamentable event happened, whom he immediately caused to be acknowledged heiress of the crown by the states^r. He not long after made a treaty with *Edward* the first, king of *England*, by which he promised to give this princess in marriage to one of his sons, when she should attain to a fit age^s. But it is very probable this circumstance was not made public, since many historians affirm, that *James* king of *Arragon*, in hopes of marrying her to a prince of his blood, concluded an alliance with king *Henry*, which was of no small advantage to his affairs. He did not, however, survive long enough to avail himself of

Henry the Fat succeeds his brother, and enjoys the regal dignity but a short time.

A. D.
1271.

^o L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, **MARIANA**, **MAYERNE**
TURQUET. ^p **FAVIN** Histoire de Navarre. ^q L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^r **P. MORET**. ^s **FERRERAS**, **P. MORET**.

G g 3

those

those troubles that might have given him an opportunity of recovering some of the provinces which he claimed, as dismembered from his monarchy by the kings of *Castile*; for as most writers agree, he was choaked with fat on the twenty-second of *July*, one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, leaving his daughter sole heiress of his dominions, under the tutelage of the queen dowager^t, whom some historians call *Blanch*, others *Joan of Artois*, and *Ferreras* mentions her by both names. He left likewise a natural son, born, before he was married, of the heiress of the house of *Lacarra*, who bore his own name, and became afterwards marshal of *Navarre*^u. He was buried in the cathedral church of *Pampeluna*, with great solemnity; and in him ended the male line of the counts of *Champagne*, kings of *Navarre*, after having possessed that kingdom above forty years.

Donna Joanna, under the tutelage of her mother, becomes queen of Navarre at three years old.

DONNA Joanna was scarce three years old when she became a queen. It is said that her father directed by his will that she should not marry a prince of *Castile* or *Arragon*, but of *France*. It is, however, not impossible that this circumstance might be invented after such a marriage took effect. Be that as it will, the queen dowager called an assembly of the states on the twenty-seventh of *August* following, in order to make choice of a person who might assist her in the administration of the government, when *Don Pedro Sanchez Montagu* was chosen^v. Many historians assert, that this measure was absolutely against the queen's will, and that she resented it extremely; but those who lived in and nearest to these times maintain the contrary, which is indeed the most probable.

It was not long before a strong party was formed against *Don Pedro*; at the head of which was *Don Garcia de Almoravides*, who had recourse to the crown of *Castile* for protection, which was promised him; and this obliged *Don Pedro Sanchez de Montagu* to apply himself to the king of *Arragon*, with the like success^x. As both these princes had in view the marriage of the heiress of *Navarre* into their families, the queen, who was equally averse to either, resolved to secure her own safety, and that of her daughter's, by flying into *France*, and demanding the protection of king *Philip*, which she accordingly did, and was received with all the respect due to her dignity, and all the kindness which her distressed circumstances required^y. This is a succinct and sincere state of the

A. D.
1275.

^t FAVIN, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ERNE TURQUET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

^u FAVIN, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^v L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, FAVIN.

^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^y case;

case; but as the transaction before us is in itself of a very curious nature, one of the most important that ever happened with regard to the kingdom of *Navarre*, and which had some degree of influence on the affairs of *Europe* in general, it is requisite that we should explain it more particularly; the rather because both the *French* and *Spanish* historians, who have treated this subject, are not in all respects so impartial as one could wish; and therefore it is necessary to consider and compare the several relations they have given us, in order to discover the truth, which is all we aim at, as not having any kind of bias to sway us either on this side or on that in the dispute^z.

AT this juncture Don *Alonso*, surnamed *the Wise*, governed *Castile*; but as we have shewn in another place his administration, notwithstanding that high title, was not either steady or successful^a. His eldest son, the infant Don *Ferdinand de le Cerda*, was a prince of parts and spirit, but withal very ambitious. He had married *Blanch*, daughter of St. *Lewis*, by whom he had two sons, who were children at this time, of whom he intended to marry the eldest to the heiress of *Navarre*; and knowing the confusion the kingdom was in would prevent any army from taking the field against him, he marched with an army into the country, not doubting but that he should make a cheap and speedy conquest; and this once effected, or even in part effected, the marriage he had in view would be esteemed a favour^b. But the policy of the kings of *Navarre*, who kept their frontiers always well fortified, and their subjects in exact discipline, prevented this; for tho' he became master of some small open places, yet *Viana*, the first strong place he besieged, made so good a resistance, that after considerable loss he was obliged to retire^c. On the other side, *James* king of *Aragon* was grown old and feeble in body and in mind; the infant Don *Pedro*, his heir apparent, set up, as we have observed, a kind of claim to *Navarre*, but managed it with a great shew of temper and moderation; offered the states the choice of either of his sons for the young queen, and to leave him in the entire possession of the kingdom, with a promise of such succours as should be necessary to defend them against *Castile*^d. It was this that

Philip the Hardy contracts his son Philip the Fair to the young queen of Navarre.

^z MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

^a GARRIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.

^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MARIANA.

engaged Don *Pedro Sanchez de Montagu*, and other noblemen of the first houses in *Navarre*, to lean to his party; so that the kingdom in general, most of the great towns in particular, and the city of *Pampeluna* more especially, stood divided into three factions, the *Castilian*, the *Arragonian*, and the *French*. *Philip the Hardy* had received and succoured the queen with great generosity; but he likewise had his views, and was in truth more nearly interested than either of the other princes*. The young queen was heiress of *Champagne* and *Brie*, in the very heart of his dominions; he judged, therefore, and it was very natural for him to judge, that there could not be a more expedient match for this young princess than one of his sons, and he had three by his first queen, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. His own inclination was to marry her to the eldest; but Pope *Gregory* the tenth, tho' he had a great kindness for the king, would not hear of this; and a dispensation, according to the mode of those times, being necessary, he was obliged to accept that favour in behalf of *Philip*, who espoused, or rather was contracted to that princess by the consent of the queen her mother†: and this answered the king's purpose much better than his own choice would have done; for *Lewis* being quickly after poisoned, *Philip* became his heir, and consequently all the dominions and estates of the young queen, which was what he aimed at, were annexed to the crown‡. Having stated this matter clearly, let us now proceed to the thread of the history.

Sends a
viceroy
with an
army into
Navarre,
and afterwards
the count
d'Artois.

As soon as things were thus far settled, the queen dowager of *Navarre*, by the advice of king *Philip*, declared *Eustace de Beaumarchais* seneschal of *Thoulouse*, viceroy or regent of *Navarre*, and sent him with a good corps of troops to take possession of his government. He met with greater success than could well have been expected; for he not only penetrated into *Navarre*, but got possession also of part of the city of *Pampeluna*h. A foreigner, with the title of regent, supported by an army of strangers, could not be very welcome to a free people, who had enjoyed them long, and were therefore very jealous of their liberties. But *Eustace* was a wise man, behaved with great moderation to such as submitted, and punished those who, taking advantage of the situation things were in, committed either murders or robberies, with great

* L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, MAYERNE TURQUET.

† P. MORET, FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL.

‡ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

h ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FAVIN, P. DANIEL.

severity,

severity, which soon gained him respect, and in process of time affection¹. However, Don *Garcia Almoravides* held one part of the city, with his faction, in favour of *Castile*; Don *Pedro Sanchez de Montagu* had also a corps of troops with-out, and looking upon *Eustace* as one who had deprived him of his post, patched up an agreement with Don *Garcia*, constrained the *French* viceroy and his garrison to retire into the castle, and held them there besieged. As soon as this was known in *France*, an army was assembled for the relief of *Navarre*, and the command of it given to the king's uncle, *Robert* count of *Artois*, and father to the queen dowager². The malcontents had seized all the passes in *Navarre*; but the count making a feint, marched his army thro' the territories of *Arragon*, and appeared before *Pampeluna* on *Christmas-eve*. Don *Garcia de Almoravides* suspecting Don *Pedro de Montagu*, caused him to be assassinated, and demanded very importunately the aid of *Castile*: upon which Don *Alonso* marched a powerful army to support him; but understanding the strength of the count *de Artois*, and how well he was posted, suddenly retired¹. Don *Garcia*, having early intelligence of this, pretended to receive news of a very different kind; and causing great rejoicings to be made in that quarter of the town which he held, took an opportunity in the night to slip out, and withdrew with his chief partizans into the dominions of *Castile*. His faction, thus deserted, sent to the count of *Artois* to demand terms, who directed the constable *Imbert* to settle the capitulation. While this was doing, some of the soldiers perceiving that the garrison had quitted their posts scaled the walls, and having admitted their companions, put to the sword all they met with, so that greater cruelties were scarce ever exercised than in this place. At length, the viceroy issuing from the castle with his garrison, put an end to these disorders, and protected the people that were left. He afterwards recovered as much of the plunder as he was able; and by restoring it to the right owners, acquired much honour and esteem, from an event that must otherwise have rendered the *French* nation odious in *Navarre* to the last degree².

COUNT *Robert* of *Artois*, perceiving how great a terror this had struck throughout the whole kingdom, and being very

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

² FAVIN, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, P. DANIEL.

² L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

strongly

He reduces
the rebels,
and settles
the king-
dom in or-
der and
quiet.

strongly solicited by such as had firmly adhered to the interests of the two queens, followed his blow, and speedily reduced the whole kingdom, a few castles on the frontiers only excepted, which being in the hands of the malcontents, they had time to call in the *Castilians* or the *Arragoneses* to their assistance^a. The war being very warm between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*, on account of the setting aside of the children of the infant Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, Don *Alonso the Wise* desired a conference with the count of *Artois*, who, by the permission of the king of *France*, made a tour to his court, and left the command of the army, as well as the direction of civil affairs, to the viceroy *Eustace Beaumarchais*, who brought all things into good order, and made the people of *Navarre* very sensible that their welfare was the principal object of his care^o. His successors followed his example closely, which, by degrees, reconciled the whole nation to a match, which at first appeared to them in the light of a great misfortune. It may be, the comparison of their own circumstances with those of the subjects of *Castile* and *Arragon*, might contribute to keep up this disposition, since both countries were at this time perplexed with civil and foreign wars, which spread discord and distress quite thro' them, and in a short space of time exhausted their wealth and power^p.

Donna
Joanna's
marriage
solemnized
with Phi-
lip le Bel.

WHEN the young queen Donna *Joanna* entered into her fifteenth year, the marriage was solemnized with great magnificence between her and the *French* prince *Philip*, afterwards surnamed *le Bel* or *the Fair*, who was then about seventeen, and who assumed the title of *Philip* king of *Navarre*, till by the death of his father he added it to that of *France*^q.

This marriage was extremely pleasing to the inhabitants of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and not disagreeable to the people of *Navarre*, who by the assistance they had received from *France* had rendered themselves so formidable to the subjects of *Arragon*, that even the haughty Don *Pedro* was glad to negotiate a truce, which they were suffered to conclude; though the war continued as warm as ever between that kingdom and *France*^r. Thus we have conducted this history to the end of the period prescribed to this section, and to its first conjunction with that crown, to which, in title at least, it stands at present united.

A. D.
1284.

^a FAVIN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

toire du Royaume de Navarre.

MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^o L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^p ZURITA Annal. Arragon,

^q FAVIN, MARIANA, P. DANIEL.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

*From the Union of Navarre with the Crown of France,
in the Person of Philip, to its Conjunction with
those of Arragon and Sicily.*

THE disputes between *Philip the Hardy* and *Don Alonso the Sage*, king of *Castile*, ran very high, and brought both monarchs sometimes into the field, but negotiations generally intervened; and as war was alike difficult to both parties, so, without reconciliation or friendship, interest drew them from time to time to conclude truce after truce^a. The chief reason of this was, that if *France* had made war in earnest, the seat of war must have been in *Navarre*, which being at this juncture united to *France*, she was inclined to spare. But it was far otherwise with regard to king *Philip's* quarrel with the house of *Arragon*, on the score of the *Sicilian Vespers*, in which the *French* having received a national injury, the king employed the whole force of his realm to revenge it, supporting at that time the thunder of *Rome* by that of his arms^b. King *Philip* of *Navarre* attended his father in his expedition into *Catalonia*; in which, with a prodigious expence of men and money, he with much difficulty made himself master of *Gironne*: a conquest equally dear to both kings; for *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* soon after breathed his last, chiefly thro' the excess of fatigue, which he had endured in the last campaign; and king *Philip* expired at *Perpignan*, in his return to his own dominions, of a disease which he had got at the siege^c. These wars, however ruinous to other countries, were highly serviceable and beneficial to *Navarre*, where the viceroys, tho' frequently changed, were all of them tied by their instructions to act upon the same plan; and this consisted in the improvement of the interior part of the country, and in finding employment for restless spirits on the frontiers, or sending them to exercise their valour in the armies of *France*, where they were always well received, and some of the nobility highly advanced and amply rewarded^d.

A. D.
1285.

^a FAVIN *Histoire de Navarre*, P. DANIEL *Histoire de France*, FERRERAS.

^b L'*Histoire du Royaume de Navarre*, FERRERAS.

^c FAVIN *Histoire de Navarre*, L'*Histoire du Royaume de Navarre*, FERRERAS.

^d L'*Histoire du Royaume de Navarre*.

PHILIP

History of
the trans-
actions in
Navarre,
to the death
of Donna
Joanna I.

PHILIP the Fair, now king of both realms, in right of himself and his consort, pursued the war against *Arragon* with vigour, but continued the truces with *Castile* to the demise of king *Sancho*, when the viceroys of *Navarre* altered their measures, adjusted their differences with *Arragon*, and endeavoured to avail themselves of those intestine troubles, which disturbed the kingdom of *Castile*. The apparent reason of this alteration in their conduct, was the conjunction of the two crowns, in favour of *Don Alonso de Cerda*, whom they pretended to advance to the thrones of *Castile* and *Leon*; but the genuine and real cause upon which they acted, was to extend the territories of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, at the expence of the young monarch of *Castile*, whose affairs were administered by the queen dowager his mother^c. It was to save appearances in some measure that *Alonso de Roleed*, being viceroy of *Navarre*, and very active in this confederacy, sent a knight of *Navarre* with a message to the queen regent of *Castile*, demanding restitution of all the places and provinces of which their majesties predecessors had been despoiled, by the ancestors of the king of *Castile*; and this claim went as far as *Atapuerca*, at no great distance from *Burgos*. The queen gave a soft answer, and the viceroy, having obtained his master's consent, acknowledged *Don Alonso de la Cerda* for king of *Castile*, by which all the country as far as the river *Oia* was yielded to *Navarre*^f. But king *Philip*, being engaged in the war of *Flanders*, could not assist the confederates so powerfully as to enable *Don Alonso* to comply with his agreement. While this war was carried on slowly, and with little success, died *Donna Joanna*, queen of *Navarre*, on the fourth of *April*, one thousand three hundred and five, when she had borne that title thirty-one years^g. The most memorable action of her life was the building the college of *Navarre* at *Paris*, for promoting useful literature, and which she liberally endowed with lands in her county of *Champagne*. She had by her husband the following children, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, successively kings of *France*, *Robert* who died young, *Margaret*, *Isabel* who espoused *Edward* the second of *England*, in whose right *Edward* the third her son, claimed the *French* crown, and *Blanch* who died young^h. This queen is much blamed for her hatred to the *Flemings*ⁱ.

^c ZURITA, FAVIN, FERRERAS.

^f L'Histoire du Roy-

aume de Navarre.

^g ZURITA, FERRERAS, P. DANIEL.

^h L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, MAYEUX

TURQUET.

ⁱ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

LEWIS

LEWIS HUTIN, that is *the Quarrellsome*, assumed the *The reign* title of king of *Navarre*, on his mother's death, being then of *Lewis*, about fifteen years old; and espoused the same year *Margaret*, *firmamed* daughter to *Robert* duke of *Burgundy*, by *Agnes*, daughter of *Hutin*, *St. Lewis*^k. The death of the queen was no sooner known in *over Na-* her dominions than the states of *Navarre* sent a deputation to *varre, in* the court of *France*, desiring that their young king might be *whom* sent into his own dominions; which demand they supported *came a* by so many reasons, that both the kings admitted them to be *new line* just, and promised to comply with them. The circumstances *to the suc-* of their affairs, however, were such, that it was two years be- *cession.* fore he went thither; and on his arrival at *Pampeluna* was so- *A. D.* lemnly crowned in the cathedral, with the acclamations of *1307.* all his subjects^l. He did not continue to reside there long; and even during his stay there happened some disputes, occasioned by his imprisoning two noblemen of *Navarre*, who had opposed the *French* viceroys, and whom he carried with him at his return into *France*. He was likewise attended by two hundred young noblemen and gentlemen, all of whom he provided for, and thereby attached so many families to his person and government, as rendered his administration quieter than otherwise it would have been^m. The quarrels on the frontiers of *Arragon* were about this time renewed, which *James* then king of that country so much resented, that he sent an army to invade *Navarre*, which was defeated, and the royal standard of *Arragon* taken by the militia of the town of *Sanguessa*; for which reason, by a grant from *Lewis Hutin*, they have borne it ever since in their armsⁿ. The king of *Navarre* being at *Lyons*, to pacify some troubles that had arisen there, a strange misfortune befel him and all the royal family; for *Margaret*, queen of *Navarre*, *Jane*, wife to his brother *Philip*, and *Blanch* of *Burgundy*, who had espoused prince *Charles*, were all charged with adultery; and the first and last of these princesses were on a strict trial found guilty, and imprisoned in the castle of *Galliard*, where not long after the queen of *Navarre* was strangled by her husband's orders^o, now become king of *France* by his father's death. He then married the princess *Clemence* of *Hungary*, and died after a very short and troublesome reign, *June* the fifth, one thousand three hundred and sixteen, at the castle of *Vincennes*, as is said of poison^p. At his decease he left one daughter, *Donna*

^k FAVIN, P. DANIEL, MAYERNE TURQUET.. ^l L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^m L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ⁿ FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^o P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

^p L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA, P. DANIEL.

Joanna,

Joanna, by his first queen, and his new-married princess big with child, which threw the affairs of both kingdoms into some confusion ^q. At length *Philip*, surnamed *the Long*, brother to the deceased king, was declared regent of *France* and *Navarre*, till the king, in case the queen should be delivered of a son, attained the age of fourteen. This happened, and the son was baptized by the name of *John*; but as he lived only a week, his name was never inserted in the lists, either of the kings of *France* or *Navarre*, tho' he had an unquestionable title to both, and one would have thought should have been proclaimed upon his birth ^r.

The reign
of Philip
II. of Na-
varre.

PHILIP the Long, so called from his extraordinary stature, assumed the regal title immediately upon the death of his nephew, and made all the haste he could to be crowned. But notwithstanding this, *Eudes* duke of *Burgundy*, uncle to *Donna Joanna*, the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, declared publicly that her right to *Navarre* was incontestable, and that he held her claim to the crown of *France* to be as good ^s. In this he was supported by the count of *Nevers*, the dauphin of *Viennois*, and which is very extraordinary, by *Charles the Fair*, the king's only brother. Their intrigues did not hinder his coronation, and his right was afterwards solemnly confirmed by an assembly of the nobility and clergy ^t. However, to appease the malcontents he gave his eldest sister in marriage to the duke of *Burgundy*, with the county of the same title; another sister to the dauphin, and conferred various favours on the rest, which had so good an effect that he assumed the title also of king of *Navarre*, to the apparent prejudice of his niece, but without the least contradiction from the duke of *Burgundy* ^u. He did not long enjoy the regal dignity. As to the kingdom of *Navarre*, he added to the viceroy a royal council, that his power might be the more restrained, and that a greater number of ears might be open to justice. His only son *Lewis* died in his cradle; and he died himself on the third of *January*, one thousand three hundred twenty-two ^v.

Charles
the Fair
assumes the
title of king
of Na-
varre, to
the preju-
dice of his
niece.

CHARLES the Fair succeeded his brother, and assumed the title of *Navarre* as well as *France*, tho' the young queen was already married to *Philip* count de *Evereux*, son to *Lewis* count de *Evereux*, brother to *Philip le Bel*, who espoused the queen of *Navarre*; but in truth she was still a child, and therefore it was said that *Charles* only assumed the title, as

^q MEZERAY Histoire de France, FAVIN. ^r P. DANIEL.

^s L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MEZERAY, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^t P. DANIEL.

^u L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^v P. DANIEL.

his

his brother had done in quality of guardian to his niece^x. He had as little inclinations as his predecessor to visit that country, where the nobility on the frontiers took great liberties, and made frequent excursions into the territories of *Castile* and *Aragon*, which provoked their neighbours to make reprisals, for which in return the people of *Navarre* were not at all slow in taking revenge. In one of these expeditions they received a severe check at *Baltibar*, wherein the best part of their troops were cut off by the inhabitants of *Guipuscoa*^y. On the side of *Aragon* they were more successful, insomuch that the king of that country complained to king *Charles* in *France*, who promised redress, and sent orders for that purpose into *Navarre*, which were but indifferently obeyed. It seems the nobility had no great opinion of the uprightness of his intention; for when *Alonso Robora*, his viceroy, demanded an oath of allegiance, they absolutely refused it, insisting that in *Navarre* tho' they obeyed their princes wherever they were, yet they never swore to any but in their presence^z. The disorders that had broke out in the former reign, increased extremely under this; insomuch that all things had a strong tendency to anarchy and confusion, at the time of this monarch's death, which happened the first of *February*, one thousand three hundred twenty-eight, when he had just entered the seventh year of his reign^a. At the time of his demise he left his queen, the sister of the count de *Evereux*, big with child, upon which *Philip de Valois*, son of *Charles de Valois*, and grandson of *Philip the Hardy*, in quality of first prince of the blood, was declared regent of *France*, not without some distaste to the rest, of whom there were about thirty^b.

THE death of king *Charles* was no sooner known in *Navarre*, than the common people laid hold of this as a favourable occasion to wreck their spleen on a race of men whom they hated beyond measure, and who it is not improbable might have given too much cause for their hate. These were the *Jews*, of whom vast numbers were settled in *Navarre*, since it fell under the dominion of *France*, and more especially after their expulsion out of that kingdom, towards the close of the reign of *Philip the Long*^c. These the commons of *Navarre* accused of oppression and extortion; and falling first upon those of foul characters, extended their insolence and

Donna Joanna II. declared by the states queen of Navarre, and regents appointed in her name.

^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^y FAVIN, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^z L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

^a MEZERAY, P.

DANIEL.

^b MEZERAY.

^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

rapine

A. D.
1328.

rapine by degrees, till they plundered and murdered, as some historians relate, not fewer than ten thousand^d. In order to appease these tumults, the viceroy and his council summoned the clergy and nobility to assemble at *Pont-a-la-Royne*, where they took order indeed for suppressing these disturbances; but instead of putting an end to their sessions, the states adjourned to *Pampeluna*, where they undertook to examine and decide the disputes that had arisen about the succession of the crown^e.

The daughters of *Philip the Long*, and *Charles the Fair*, put in their claims, on account of their father's dying, as they affirmed, possessed of the crown of *Navarre*, which was but little regarded. But *Edward* the third of *England* had a strong party. His pretensions arose from his being the son of *Isabel*, the daughter of *Philip the Fair*, by *Joanna* queen of *Navarre*^f. At length, after much debate and mature deliberation, the states took upon them to declare that the right was in *Joanna*, daughter to *Lewis Hutin*, the son of *Philip the Fair*, by *Joanna* queen of *Navarre*^g. *Philip de Valois*, in the same assembly, which decided in favour of his right against *Edward* the third, disclaimed all pretensions to *Navarre*, which he acknowledged to belong to *Philip* count of *Evreux*, his brother-in-law, in right of his consort^h. But the states of *Navarre* did not either wait for or take notice of this, but proclaimed her queen immediately, appointing *Don Juan Corboran de Lebet*, and *Don Juan Martinez de Medrano*, lord of *Arroniz*, to administer public affairs in her name, with the title of regentsⁱ. A solemn embassy was also sent to *Rome*, in the name of the queen, which was extremely well received. As for the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, both the *French* and *Spanish* historians say, that *Philip de Valois* gave his brother-in-law, *Philip de Evreux*, *Angouleme*, *Molain*, and *Longueville* for them; but this is a matter not to be run over lightly, and which deserves a strict discussion, as it will enable us to form a right idea of the terms upon which the two last kings, *Philip* and *Charles*, held the country of *Navarre*, and their kind intentions towards their niece^k.

THE states of *Navarre*, in pursuance of what they had already done, sent to invite their sovereign queen *Joanna*, and

^d FERRERAS. ^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^f FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.
^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^h P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ⁱ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^k FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET, P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

her

her consort *Philip de Evreux* to *Pampeluna*, which with the consent of the *French* king they accepted, and upon their arrival were received with all possible marks of joy as well as respect¹. When these transports were a little over, the states acquainted *Philip* the third, and *Joanna* the second, so they were now stiled, that it was with unfeigned pleasure and satisfaction they beheld their lawful sovereigns in the capital of their dominions; but that it was fit they should be informed that as for many years past there had been scarce any face of government, by which their subjects were not only grievous sufferers, but also the form, and even the essence of their ancient constitution in danger of being lost, they took it therefore to be for their honour and interest, as they were sure it was their duty, to restore both: that they had sufficiently shewn a spirit of justice and loyalty in asserting their rights, and bringing them to the peaceable possession of their dignity; but having done this, they were now bound to discharge their trust to the people, which they could no otherways perform than by presenting them a bill of rights, to the due observance of which they were to swear at the time of their inauguration, beseeching them to believe that as their freedom consisted in living according to the known laws of *Navarre*, so the prerogative and succession of the crown, being described and ascertained by those laws, they were ready to support and defend both^m. The king and queen accepted this paper very graciously, and having signified their approbation of it, were solemnly crowned in the cathedral of *Pampeluna*, on the fifth of *March*, with the universal applause of their faithful subjectsⁿ. At the same time they swore to the maintenance of the people's rights, and what these were will appear at the bottom of the page (A). By this firmness in the states the old constitution in the kingdom was revived and confirmed.

The king and queen of Navarre go into their own dominions, and are crowned.

A. D:
1329.

KING

¹ FAVIN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
toire du Royaume de Navarre.

^m L'HISTOIRE
^a FERRERAS, MAYERNE
TURQUET.

(A) We may justly stile these articles the bill of rights in the kingdom of *Navarre*; and as we have in these an authentic sketch of the old constitution in this legal and limited monarchy, it may afford the reader great pleasure to review and to reflect upon it. They might be reduced to ten (1). I. To maintain the rights, laws, customs, liberties, and privileges of the realm, written and not written, and not to diminish but rather augment them. II. That they should disannul all that had

(1) *Favin Histoire de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet.*

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been

The king returns into France, and after some time goes back into Navarre.

KING Philip being invited by his brother-in-law to accompany him in his wars in *Flanders*, he returned into *France*; but left the queen at *Pampeluna*; and having given great proofs of valour in the famous battle of *Cassel*, he returned into his own dominions°. He had not been long at home before he clearly perceived that the power of Don *Alonso* of *Castile* was so great, that war could not be undertaken against him with any probability of success; and that, on the other hand, the disordered state of their own dominions required such regulations, as could never be carried into execution but in a time of profound peace. These reasons determined the king and queen first to compleat the one, and then to attempt the other, which resolution of theirs, as it was wisely taken so it was also worthily performed. Their ambassadors acquainted the king of *Castile*, that as it was many years since their dominions had enjoyed the presence of a sovereign, they were not unacquainted that some extravagancies had been committed, more especially by their youth upon the frontiers; that being now in *Navarre* they determined to put an end to such practices, to live in strict friendship with all their neighbours, and to respect in a particular degree the king of *Castile*. Don

° FAVIN, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS.

been done to the prejudice thereof, by the kings their predecessors, and by their ministers, without delay. III. That for the term of twelve years they should not coin any money, but such as was then current within the realm, and that during their lives they should not coin above one sort of new money. IV. That they should not receive into their service above four strangers. V. That the command of forts and garrisons of the realm should be given to gentlemen born and dwelling in the country, who should do homage to the queen, and promise to hold them for her and the lawful heir. VI. That they should not exchange nor involve the realm for any other estate whatsoever. VII. That they should not sell nor mortgage any of the

revenues of the crown, or do any act to prejudice the realm, nor against them that by law were to succeed. VIII. That to the eldest son which God should give them, coming to the age of twenty years, they should leave the kingdom free and without factions, upon condition that the states should pay unto them for their expences a hundred thousand pieces of gold. IX. That if God gave them no children, in that case they should leave the realm after them free, with the forts in the hands of the states, to invest in them those to whom by right they should belong. X. That if they infringe any of these articles, or any part of them, their subjects should be looked on as free from their oath of subjection.

Alonso

Alonso knew the motives and the scope of this embassy, which fell exactly in with his views. He answered, therefore, that he rejoiced sincerely to see the lawful sovereigns of *Navarre* in quiet possession of their dominions; that he was well pleased to find they entertained such notions so just of their own affairs; that he accepted their kind offers, and would maintain the peace between the two crowns with the utmost punctuality^p. This great affair thus adjusted, their majesties made a thorough reform throughout their dominions; placed natives in all posts of honour and profit, civil and military; and having established a new parliament to redress grievances, and to render justice in all causes, and to all persons, they named such to have seats and voices therein as were recommended to them by the states, which gave great content^q.

A. D.
1331.

It was not long after this that either the affairs or the inclinations of the king and queen led them back to the court of *France*, leaving *Henry de Solibert*, or as he is more generally called *Henry de Solis*, their viceroy in *Navarre*, but with a power more limited than that of former viceroys^r. He judged the most effectual method of extending this, was to fall in with the passions of the nation. It was with this view that he set on foot a negociation for the marriage of the infant *Joanna of Navarre*, with the infant *Don Pedro of Arragon*, in order, with the assistance of that crown, to fall upon the dominions of *Castile*, where he had long had a close correspondence with the malcontents. In the course of this negociation *Don Pedro* altered his mind, and made choice of the younger sister *Donna Maria*, which was soon after concluded, and ratified by an assembly of the states^s. This alliance had no sooner taken effect than the viceroy and his new ally began to assemble an army, for the invasion of *Castile*. *Don Alonso* endeavoured to prevent this, by informing *Henry de Solis* that if his subjects had done any wrong to those of *Navarre*, he was ready to make satisfaction. The viceroy was so bent upon the war that he knew not what would content him; and besides, he thought he had taken his measures so well that victory and conquest must of necessity attend his arms^t. In conjunction, therefore, with the troops of *Arragon*, he made an irruption into *Castile*, where, chiefly thro' his own temerity and indiscretion, he was heartily beaten, as

By the indiscretion of the viceroy *Henry de Solis*, there happens a war between *Castile* and *Navarre*.

A. D.
1335.

^p L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^q FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^r L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^s L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^t FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.

we have shewn in the history of that kingdom: however, *Gaston count de Foix*, embarking in this quarrel, the fortune of war might have changed, if the court of *France* had not interfered; first, in obliging the count *de Foix* to return into his own dominions; and next, in prevailing on the king of *Navarre* to consent to a negociation^a. The reason of this moderate and just behaviour in the *French* monarch, was the distress of his affairs thro' the war with *England*. By this interposition, therefore, a kind of congress was established at *Pampeluna*, under the mediation of the archbishop of *Rheims*; their majesties of *Navarre* having also sent a new viceroy, *Salazin de Anglera*, with full powers to conclude a peace, which was soon after signed, upon terms very honourable for them^w.

Don Philip III. dies of an indisposition, caught at the siege of Algezira in Andalusia. IN some time after the peace was concluded between *Aragon* and *Castile*, *Don Pedro*, now seated on the throne of the first-mentioned kingdom, consummated the marriage concluded some years before with the infanta *Maria* of *Navarre*. As soon as the affairs of *France* permitted him to retire with decency, king *Philip* resolved to return into his own dominions, together with the queen his spouse, where their presence was become highly necessary^x. These disorders were scarce redressed before the news of the siege of *Algezira*, carried on by *Don Alonso* of *Castile* against the *Moors*, alarmed in a manner all *Christendom*. We have described it particularly elsewhere, and shall therefore say nothing of it here but what is strictly connected with our subject. The king of *Navarre* piqued himself so much on the character of an accomplished Christian knight, that he resolved to present himself before the walls of *Algezira*. He sent provisions and his equipage by sea; and with a small corps of choice troops marched by land into *Andalusia*. He had all the honours paid him in his passage that would have been paid to *Don Alonso* himself; and on his arrival in the camp, was treated with all possible marks of respect^y. His conduct and his valour are highly commended by *Spanish* historians; but thro' some irregularity in his diet, he was seized with a malignant fever, which obliged him to retire; and his malady increasing, he died at *Xeres* in his return home, on the twenty-sixth of *September*, one thousand three hundred forty-three, in the sixteenth year of his reign. His body was carried to *Pampeluna* by his troops, having all possible honours shewn it in its passage, and

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^w FERRERAS.

^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^y FAVIN Histoire de France, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

was there interred in a manner suitable to his rank ^a. His memory was highly revered in *Spain*.

THE queen Donna *Joanna* governed the kingdom of *Navarre*, after her husband's decease, with equal dignity and discretion. She made choice of the wisest and ablest of her subjects, to whom she gave a place in her council, and regulated all her actions by their advice ^a. Her affection to *France* induced her to send a body of good troops to the assistance of king *Philip*, in whose service they acquired great reputation ^b. The martial spirit of the nation, however, gave her some trouble; for the inhabitants of *Tudela* and *Corella* having made an inroad into *Castile*, on account of some differences they had with the people of *Alfaro*, the inhabitants of the marches of *Castile* assembled to revenge this breach of the peace; but the king Don *Alonso*, out of pure regard to the queen, restrained them, and took upon himself to make them satisfaction. But what happened once on the side of *Castile* fell out often on that of *Arragon*, and yet Don *Pedro* seldom troubled her with complaints. He knew that it was against the queen's intentions, and that she had done all she could to prevent it; and he knew that a war would only increase the evil, which, by strengthening his frontiers, and such other methods as prudence directed, he laboured to remove. Besides, he knew the queen had a great influence in the court of *France*, which she was always ready to exert on his behalf ^c. The death of *Bona* of *Luxemburgh*, the wife of *John* duke of *Normandy*, eldest son to the *French* king, gave that monarch an opportunity of shewing his high respect for this princess, since he immediately thought of a marriage between her daughter Donna *Blanca*, or *Blanch*, and the heir apparent of his crown. At his request, therefore, the queen conducted her to court, where the king, who was but lately become a widower, was so much struck with her beauty and merit, that he married her himself, notwithstanding the inequality of their age ^d. The queen of *Navarre* did not long enjoy this felicity, for the marriage was solemnized in the month of *August*, and Donna *Joanna* died at *Consans* on the sixth of *October* following, in the twenty-third year of her reign, and was buried in the monastery of *St. Dennis*, near

Death of
queen Jo-
anna II.

A. D.
1346.

A. D.
1348.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRE-
RAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE
TURQUET.

^c BALUZ in vit. Clemen. VI. ^d L'His-
toire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TUR-
QUET.

^e FAVIN, MEZERAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.

the body of king *Lewis Hutin* her father^c, of whom she looked on herself as the sole heiress.

Her issue
by king
Philip.

THIS princess, by *Philip of Evertux* her consort, had *Charles*, who succeeded to the kingdom of *Navarre*; *Philip* count of *Longueville* and *Normandy*; *Lewis* count of *Beaumont le Rogere*, who had a son of the same name, who espoused the daughter of the count of *Mauleon*, and became standard-bearer of the kingdom of *Navarre*. After the death of this countess he espoused *Joanna*, daughter and heiress of the duke of *Duros*^f. Their daughters were *Joanna*, who espoused the viscount of *Roban*, after she had been refused by the king of *Arragon*; *Maria*, who married that prince; *Blanch*, the last wife of the French king *Philip de Valois*; and *Agnes*, who espoused *Gaston Phæbus*, count of *Poix*. These alliances, almost wholly owing to the consummate prudence and high reputation of the queen, had rendered the house of *Navarre* infinitely more powerful than in times past, and gave them so great a weight both in *France* and in *Spain*, as made them much more considered and respected than could have resulted from their dominions; tho' these were so situated, and their subjects had acquired so great a character for their military virtues, that they might, generally speaking, have held the balance, before the rest of the kingdoms of *Spain* came to be united under one head^g. But all these advantages, tho' great in themselves, required such a degree of prudence, and such a dexterity in management, as is very rare amongst princes; and therefore it might have been easily foreseen, upon the death of queen *Joanna*, that the next reign must either have been the most glorious, or the most unhappy, to the people of *Navarre*, that they had ever seen. The character of the young prince, heir apparent of their crown, gave them reason to hope the former; but experience taught them that nations may be sometimes deceived in prospects of affection as well as parents.

Charles
the Wick-
ed ascends
the throne
of Na-
varre; his
character
and con-
duct at that
juncture.

CHARLES LE MEAUVAIS, or as the *Spanish* writers stile him, *Don Carlos the Wicked*, succeeded his mother; and having attended her into *France*, in order to be present at his sister's marriage, received there the deputies of the states, who came to invite him home. This young prince was then in the eighteenth year of his age, had been brought up chiefly in the court of *France*, and was one of the most accomplished persons of his time^h. He was courteous, well-bred, eloquent

^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, P. DANIEL.

^f FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.

^g L'Histoire du

Royaume de Navarre.

^h P. MORET, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

in a supreme degree, easy in his address, popular without losing his dignity: qualities which attracted the admiration of all *Europe* before he ascended the throne; and which he afterwards abused in such a manner, as to be the object of their detestation¹. He received the addresses of his subjects very graciously, and promised, that as soon as he had adjusted some affairs of great consequence to his family in *France*, he would return to *Navarre*. He did so; and after making the usual concessions, and taking the accustomed oaths, he was crowned with great solemnity in the cathedral church of *Pampeluna* on the twenty-seventh of *June*^k. There broke out not long after a rebellion, under pretence of a violation of privileges: in which it is said the king was not at all to blame; but having dissipated these mutineers, he punished many of them with such severity on the *Pont de Meluce*, which is less than a mile from *Pampeluna*, that it alarmed his subjects, and gave them an ill impression of a reign, the first page in the annals of which was marked with blood^l. But the king troubled his head little with what was said: he followed on all occasions his own opinion; and though he changed this very often, yet it was commonly without reason, and always without advice.

A. D.
1350.

DON *Pedro the Cruel* had just mounted the throne of *Castile*. *Treats with Don Pedro of Castile, and afterwards with Don Pedro of Arragon, and has interviews with both.* In point of age there was no great inequality, and in point of temper these princes were but too like each other. Don *Carlos*, who was really a politician, believed it to be for his interest to have a personal acquaintance with the princes who were his neighbours: he took therefore the first fair occasion of making a tour to *Burgos*; and the *Spanish* writers say, that there never was any interview more magnificent, or better conducted^m. The two kings were as yet unstained in their characters; young, gay, and splendid in their courts; extremely well pleased, and perfectly complaisant one to the other, so that the alliances between the two courts was speedily concluded; and they parted, as they met, with equal satisfaction on both sidesⁿ. This interview did not at all please Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, who hated Don *Pedro* of *Castile*, and was jealous of Don *Carlos*. He sent, therefore, two lords of great distinction to the court of *Pampeluna*, to renew the treaty between the crowns of *Arragon* and *Navarre*; to

¹ MEZERAY, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^k L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^l FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^m GARIBAY, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ⁿ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

offer him a princess of the house of *Sicily*; to desire him to hinder the marriage of the king of *Castile* with queen *Blanch*; and to request an interview. Don *Carlos* renewed the treaty; excused himself on the subject of the marriage, as being desirous to match in *France*; assured him that his fears as to his sister were ill grounded, since the dowagers of that crown did not contract second marriages; and consented to the interview, which took place about *Midsummer* at *Monblanc*, where, after several conferences, the monarchs parted with less opinion of each other than before the interview^o. He spent the autumn in *Languedoc*, where he had the title of his lieutenant from the *French* king *John*, and where he acted with almost absolute authority^p.

He goes to
the French
court, es-
pouses the
princess Jo-
anna, and
becomes
not-with-
standing a
malcontent.

A. D.

1353.

It was now time for him to make his appearance at the *French* court, where he had great views. He began with demanding the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and formed pretensions also upon the dutchy of *Burgundy*. The king was not much inclined to give him satisfaction; but to soothe and soften him, if possible, he gave him his sister the princess *Joanna*^q. As this was one of the points Don *Carlos* had in view, it was very acceptable; but it was scarce celebrated before he set up new demands; for the truce being expired with *England*, he thought king *John* durst deny him nothing. He complained that *Angouleme* had suffered so much during the war that he drew nothing from it. King *John* thereupon gave him the towns of *Mante* and *Meulan* in exchange, with which he was very well pleased, as it strengthened his interest in *Normandy*, where he was desirous of making himself considerable^r. But it happened unluckily that the king bestowed the county *Angouleme* upon the constable *Charles* of *Spain*, who was his favourite. This *Charles* was the son of Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, and the king of *Navarre* hated him mortally. This gift of a county that had been his, inflamed him to such a degree, that hearing the constable, who suspected nothing, was at *Aigle* in *Normandy*, he went thither with his brother *Philip*, and a small retinue of determined men, surrounded the inn where the constable was, and caused him to be murdered in his bed^s. In order to avoid the punishment due for this murder, his next thing was to raise a rebellion. He fortified several places in *Normandy*; wrote circular letters to justify what he had done to most of the great

^o GARIBAY, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^p Histoire de Languedoc. ^q FAVIN, P.

DANIEL, FERRERAS.

^r P. DANIEL Histoire de France, ^s L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS.

cities in *France*; and entered into a correspondence with *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, son to *Edward* the third. King *John* found himself at this time in great perplexity; his dignity and his disposition inclined him to severity; but he found it equally dangerous to declare his resentments, or to dissemble them: yet, upon mature deliberation, the last seemed most expedient; the two queens-dowagers of *France*, one the aunt and the other the sister of the king of *Navarre*, interposing powerfully on his behalf^t.

A NEGOCIATION being set on foot, the king of *Navarre* made very high demands in satisfaction for his pretensions to *Champagne* and *Brie*; and king *John*, who had already taken his resolution to content him if was possible, after a little altercation, consented to them all, provided the king of *Navarre* came and demanded pardon in person for his offence; to which he yielded: but on the other hand insisted upon having the king's son, the duke of *Anjou*, as a hostage for his safety; to which, the necessity of his affairs requiring it, the king consented^u. Things being thus settled the king held his solemn bed of justice, where the king of *Navarre* appeared, excused himself for the death of the constable, which he acknowledged to have been done by his orders, but upon just motives, as at a proper time he promised to shew; expressed great sorrow for the offence given to the king; and desired that he would be graciously pleased to pardon him. King *John* ordered the constable of *Bourbon* to arrest him, which he did, and carried him prisoner out of the court. The two dowagers, his aunt and sister, then threw themselves at the king's feet, to implore his grace; and after some time the constable was ordered to produce his prisoner; and the king having granted him his pardon, according to what had been stipulated, he was set at liberty; but, as the reader will easily believe, the two kings were far from being reconciled^w. *Charles* after this retired into *Normandy*, where he fortified most of the towns in his possession, and put strong garrisons into such as were capable of making the best defence^x. He then went secretly to *Avignon*, where conferences were held for a peace between the crowns of *France* and *England*; and having had several private interviews with the duke of *Lancaster*, he withdrew with all possible secrecy into *Navarre*, with a resolution to carry into execution, in a proper season, the measures he had concerted.

A formal but insincere reconciliation between the two kings, thro' the mediation of the dowagers.

A. D.
1354.

^t FAVIN *Histoire de Navarre*, P. DANIEL, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^u L'*Histoire du Royaume de Navarre*, MEZERAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^w FAVIN, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS.
^x MEZERAY *Histoire de France*,

THESE

He contrives new schemes, to the prejudice of king John, and seduces his son the dauphin from his duty.

A. D.
1355.

THESE proceedings being made known to king John, he marched immediately with a considerable army into *Normandy*, and seized the best part of the estates which the king of *Navarre* held there into his hands; but *Evreux*, *Pont-au-demer*, *Cherbourg*, *Avranches*, *Mortain*, and *Gavre*, were too strong, and their garrisons too numerous to be reduced. The king of *Navarre* demanded a safe conduct, and offered to clear himself of all that was laid to his charge. King John granted it; but instead of coming in the manner he expected, he landed at *Cherbourg* in the month of *August*, with a body of troops. However, he entered into a new negociation; and upon the promise of a hundred thousand crowns, professed that he was fully satisfied, and that he meant not to set up any farther claim or pretence¹. In the month of *September* he went to *Paris*, saw the king, and gave him in person the same assurances, which he either believed or seemed to believe, so that they parted in all appearance good friends. But in the beginning of the next year, the king of *Navarre* acted a new part; and setting up for a patriot, endeavoured to hinder the king from levying taxes and impositions, tho' by authority of the states of *France*. This offended the king but very slightly, in comparison of an intrigue which he had been some time carrying on, and which was now discovered². He had seduced the dauphin *Charles*, then about eighteen; and by that pestilent eloquence; of which he was master, persuaded him that he was extremely ill used in not having a government. He advised him, therefore, to retire to the court of his uncle the emperor *Charles* the fourth; promised to accompany him thither; and laid down a method of proceeding, by which the king's person was to be seized; after which he was to be dealt with as they thought expedient. The king pardoned his son, and gave him the duchy of *Normandy*; upon which he gave a hint to the king of *Navarre* that they were suspected, and all things were buried in oblivion for the present, that is, in appearance; for the dauphin seemed to be deterred from acting by the king's suspicions, but to persist in his sentiments³.

THIS young prince, to make some amends for his offence, or rather in consequence of that disposition which led him into it, contrived in conjunction with his father to seize the king of *Navarre*, with whom he still lived in all possible intimacy. That the blow might be the more effectually struck, they

¹ FAVIN, P. DANIEL.
varre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
du Roy de Navarre,

² L'Histoire du Royaume de Na-
³ M. S. Proces

would

would precipitate nothing. At length the dauphin invited the king of *Navarre*, and some of the principal persons of his party to dine with him, on the fifth of *April*, in the castle of *Rouen*, where they were surprized, just as they were sitting down to table, by the king in person, having with him his brother the duke of *Orleans*, his son the count de *Anjou*, some other great lords, and a handful of resolute men^b. The king caused the count de *Harcourt*, the lords of *Gravelle* and *Maubue*, and *Oliver Doublet*, to be beheaded in a field adjacent: the next day the king of *Navarre* was carried prisoner to the castle of *Gaillard*, and transferred from thence to the chatelet at *Paris*. His schemes, however, were so well contrived, that what king *John* hoped would have put an end to them all, served rather to promote them^c. His brother *Philip* put himself at the head of the troops; *Jeffry Harcourt* raised a great party in *Normandy*, to revenge the death of his brother; the duke of *Lancaster* quickly landed with a reinforcement from *England*; and *Lewis*, the king of *Navarre*'s third brother, went into that kingdom to take the best measures he could to spread confusion on all sides, and if possible to engage the king of *Aragon* to break with *France*, and to make an irruption into the provinces adjacent to his dominions. It is true that a part of these schemes failed; but it is also true that the greatest part of them took effect, inasmuch that Don *Carlos* was more at ease in his prison, notwithstanding he was threatened with a process against him for treason, than the king whose prisoner he was, and who became himself a prisoner the next year, by the loss of the battle of *Poitiers* to the *English*^d.

CHARLES of *Navarre* had been removed, that he might be more safely kept, to the castle of *Arleux* in *Cambresis*; and after king *John* was taken prisoner, and all *France* in confusion, his brother Don *Philip* resolved to make some bold attempt for restoring him to his liberty. With this view Don *Roderic Urtiz*, Don *Corbaran Lehet*, Don *Ferdinand Ayanz*, and Don *Carlos d'Artieda*, four valiant knights as any in his service, accompanied by a few determined persons, and conducted by *John* the brother of Monsieur de *Pequignez*, to whose custody he was committed, went to the fortress in the disguise of colliers, scaled the walls, and carried him to *Amiens*, though not without suspicion of collusion in the governor^e.

^b FAVIN, Historique & Chronique de JEAN FROISSART, cap. clvi. MEZERAY. ^c MARIANA, L'Histoire du Royaume de

Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, MEZERAY.

^d FAVIN, FERRERAS, MEZERAY. ^e Contin. NANGUI,

MEZERAY, L'Histoire du Royaume de *Navarre*.

He

He was there met by his brother *Philip*, and both began to raise forces. In the mean time the people of *Paris*, having differed with the dauphin, who had assumed the government of the kingdom, with the title of lieutenant, invited the king of *Navarre* thither, and when he came, treated him with great respect. It was upon this occasion he made his famous harangue to about ten thousand persons of all ranks in an open square. He chose for his text these words, *Iustus Dominus et justitiam dilexit*, i. e. 'The Lord is just, and in justice is his delight.' He began with the zeal and affection which every man ought to have for his country and the public good: he glanced on the fierceness and haughtiness of the king's temper, mentioned the iniquitous death of the count *d'Eu*, constable of *France*, beheaded on false suspicions by the artifice of *Juan de la Cerda*, who was rewarded with his place; justified the manner in which he caused that man to be put to death; exclaimed against the heavy taxes that had been laid upon the kingdom; insisted that his greatest crime was endeavouring to prevent them; deplored the mischiefs arising from a disputed title; hinted that his own was better than either of the competitors; expatiated on the sufferings he had gone through in eighteen months confinement; and concluded with assuring them, that they were pleasant to him in comparison of his sorrow for the distresses of *France*^f. The people wept all the time he was speaking; and his party grew so strong, that the dauphin was obliged to promise him full satisfaction, let his demands be what they would. He gave upon this occasion a new specimen of his art: he did not set them very high; but he demanded that the memory of those who had suffered when he was taken prisoner should be restored, their families reinstated, and a general amnesty granted to all who had assisted him before or since^g. After public testimonies of reconciliation with the dauphin, he left *Paris*, and went to *Rouen*; where upon *Innocent's-day* he went accompanied by the clergy, nobility, and people, and standing on foot under the gibbet, caused the bodies of his three friends to be taken down, (for that of the count *de Harcourt* had been taken away by his relations before) embraced, put them into chariots, caused them to be interred with the utmost solemnity; and not only assisted himself at the ceremony, but made a funeral oration in their praise, which was often interrupted by the seeming

A. D.
1357.

^f Histoire & Chronique de JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGI, Annales de France. ^g JEAN FROISSART, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

vijolence

violence of his grief^h. This had all the effect he could desire upon the *Normans*, who attached themselves to him as if they had been his subjects.

THE conditions with the king of *Navarre*, as they were made by force, were but indifferently performed: the places that were to have been yielded to him in *Normanny* refused to open their gates in obedience to the dauphin's orders, their governors pretending they were placed there by the kingⁱ. The war upon this broke out afresh; and having obtained some assistance from the *English*, he began to waste the country on one side, while his brother Don *Philip* did the like on the other. At this time the dauphin was at *Paris*, where he had called an assembly of the states; but having some way disoblged the people, they invited the king of *Navarre* thither, and turned the dauphin out^k. But carrying with him some of his *English* auxiliaries, this gave colour for a rumour, that he intended to put the capital into their hands: upon which the people in his turn forced him out, and recalled the dauphin; which provoked him to such a degree that he declared, he would never acknowledge the princes of the house of *Valois*: that he looked upon himself to have a better title to the crown than they, and would make his claim good by force of arms^l. When he published this he made no question of recovering *Paris* by the help of *Stephen Marcel*, provost of the merchants, and others of his adherents; but at the time they were opening the gates, they were attacked and slain: notwithstanding which he continued the war. He paid his troops so liberally, behaved towards them so courteously, and gave them in all respects so great encouragement, that he had soon a very numerous army, with which he blocked up the dauphin in *Paris*, and brought him to such distress as forced him to offer any terms. The *French* historians acknowledge, that upon this occasion the king of *Navarre* behaved with great generosity; and when their respective plenipotentiaries were on the point of breaking off the conferences, he desired an interview with the dauphin at *Pontoise*, where he told him in few words, that the kingdom must be undone by the continuance of the war, and that by rendering him his inheritance in *Normandy* the peace should be made^m. His brother Don *Philip* was so much offended at this, that he retired to the

Brings France by his intrigues to the brink of ruin, and then is content to save it by a peace.

A. D.
1359-

^h Contin. NANGII, Annales de France, MEZERAY. ⁱ JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, P. DANIEL. ^k JEAN FROISSART, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ^l Contin. NANGII, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ^m JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, Annales de France.

English;

Has an interview with Don Pedro the Cruel of Castile, who forces him into a war with Arragon.

English; but the king adhered to his promise; raised the blockade, and appeared sincerely reconciled^a.

HE left his only son *Don Carlos*, who was born at *Mantes*, to be educated by his sister, who was queen dowager of *France*, and returned into his own hereditary dominions of *Navarre*, where he found all things in very good order; thro' the care of his brother *Don Lewis*, who with the title of lieutenant-general of the realm had managed public affairs with great mildness and moderation^o. *Don Pedro* of *Castile* sent his ambassadors to compliment his brother of *Navarre*, to assure him of his friendship, and to desire an interview with him, which was very acceptable to *Charles*, who had now fresh schemes in his head; the death of the young duke of *Burgundy* having opened a passage for him to that valuable succession, and to which he had in truth a very plausible title, in support of which the friendship of the king of *Castile* might be of some consequence. In the spring he went to *Soria*, to that conference which *Don Pedro* had so earnestly pressed; and there, after he had been magnificently entertained, *Don Pedro* informed him of his design to enter *Arragon* by surprize, and demanded his assistance. *Don Carlos* was chagrined at this proposition, which he did not expect; but he was too well acquainted with the character of *Don Pedro* to make any scruple of promising all that he demanded, so that they parted good friends^p; and *Don Carlos* did the next year appear on the frontiers of *Arragon* with an army, that he might seem to perform this promise. But tho' he took the castles of *Sos* and *Salvaterra*, and threatened *Jacca* with a siege, it is very possible, and the subsequent part of this history will shew, that it is not improbable the king of *Arragon* had reason to believe that he had not much to fear from him^q.

A. D.
1362.

Enters into a confederacy with Don Pedro of Arragon, and Henry count of Trastemara, against Don Pedro of Castile.

DON Pedro king of *Arragon*, perceiving clearly that the safety of his dominions must depend on his withdrawing the king of *Navarre* from the party of *Castile*, proposed an interview, which the other accepted, but with a great deal of caution, as remembering the hazard he had ran the year before. In this interview it was agreed, that the king of *Arragon* should support the monarch of *Navarre* against *France*; a point which with all his art he had never before been able to gain: it was also settled, that the prince *Don Juan* of *Arragon* should

^a JEAN FROISSART, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

^o Chronica del Rey Don Pedro, PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^p PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA.
^q L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

espouse

espouse the infantá Doñna *Joanna*, sister to the king of *Navarre*: but the great point of all was the dethroning Don *Pedro*, and the dividing his dominions between the new confederates, which, as far as it could be done in a conference, was also concluded¹. It was, however, found necessary to have another meeting, to which *Henry* count of *Trasemara*; brother to Don *Pedro*, was to be admitted; and the place agreed upon for this purpose was the castle of *Sos*; but the count would have it put into the hands of Don *Juan Ramirez*, before he would consent to trust his person there. And if we may depend upon some of the best historians, that prince was not at all to blame, since, having drawn from him all the lights they could desire, the two kings would have prevailed upon Don *Juan* to have suffered their troops to enter, who had orders to cut the count *de Trasemara* and his adherents to pieces, for which they promised Don *Juan* an immense sum; who answered that he knew reputation was to be purchased, but not with money, and therefore they must excuse him for parting with it on any such consideration².

KING *John* being dead in *England*, and his son *Charles* He concludes a new peace with France, executes his treaty with Aragon, and succeeds.
seated on the throne of *France*, the king of *Navarre*, notwithstanding the great design he had entered into nearer home, resolved to renew the war, which he did, as well by an open declaration, as by sending orders to the troops of *Navarre* in *Normandy* to begin hostilities without delay³. The new king had annexed *Burgundy*, to which *Charles* of *Navarre* had as good or better title, to his crown; and not satisfied with this, had likewise united to his domain, in a more solemn manner than his predecessors, the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, without troubling himself about the pretensions of the king of *Navarre*, and this the latter could not bear. *Charles* sent *Bertrand du Guesclin* to command his forces in *Normandy*; and the king of *Navarre* sent thither *John de Grailli* capital, that is, lord of *Buch*, with a reinforcement, to command his; but he was defeated at the *Cocherel*, on the sixteenth of *May*, and taken prisoner⁴. The king, notwithstanding this, sent his brother Don *Lewis*, his other brother Don *Philip* being dead, with a new army into *Auvergne*, where he committed terrible disorders, and gave out that he would unite himself again more closely with the *English* than ever, in order to be

¹ PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERRERAS.

² ZURITA Annal. Arragon, PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

³ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, JEAN-FROISSART, MEZERAY.

⁴ JEAN-FROISSART, CONTIN. NANGII, Annales de France.

revenged

A. D.
1365.

revenged for the injuries he had received^w: for Don Carlos insisted that some places were taken from him by surprize before he declared war; that several adhered to him during the troubles at *Paris*, contrary to the amnesty that had been granted them; and whatever his faults were, this prince was remarkably firm to such as had risked their safety in his cause. The captal *de Buch*, who was extremely well treated by the *French* court, discovered that there was a secret negociation on the carpet with the king of *Aragon*; of which Don Carlos having notice, he was so much alarmed that he sent the queen of *Navarre*, tho' big with child, to *Paris*, to conclude, by the advice of the captal *de Buch*, a solid peace with her brother; and after much altercation it was accordingly concluded and signed on the sixth of *March*^x. By this treaty the safety of his friends, and the release of the captal *de Buch*, were first stipulated; in the next place the county of *Evreux*, and all that he still held in *Normandy*, were confirmed to him; and in full satisfaction of his pretensions, as well on the dutchy of *Burgundy* as the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, he had *Montpellier* with its dependencies yielded to him. He not only ratified this treaty as soon as that was demanded, but likewise sent the *French* monarch a heart curiously wrought in gold, as a testimony of the cordiality of their reconciliation^y. The peace was proclaimed at *Paris* on the twentieth of *June*, which made way for the expedition of the disbanded troops that oppressed *France*, under the command of *Bertrand du Guesclin* against Don Pedro of *Castile*, in which the crowns of *France*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre* concurred, and as he was deserted by his own subjects, it was without difficulty executed^z; as we have shewn at large in the history of that kingdom, and in consequence of which *Henry* count of *Trastemara* was seated in that throne.

Enters into
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both.

THE revolution in favour of *Henry* of *Trastemara* was in various respects favourable to the king of *Navarre*; for the court of *France*, taking a great share in its success, executed their promises with unusual punctuality, so that the town of *Montpellier* was delivered to the captal *de Buch*, for the use of this monarch. The queen, lately delivered at *Evreux* of the infant Don Pedro, was sent home with rich presents, and carried with her her eldest son. The subsidies for provisions were exactly paid; and besides all these, various restitutions

^w JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, MEZERAY. ^x JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^y Histoire de C. du Guesclin. ^z PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERRERAS.

were

were to be made^a. But *Don Pedro the Cruel*, having obtained the protection of *Edward the Black Prince*, threatened to avenge by the sword the wrongs he had received. This alarmed the king in possession, who, discerning clearly that his safety depended on the conduct of the king of *Navarre*, invited him to a conference, where a treaty was concluded between them, in which *Henry* promised to make a cession of *Logroño*, and paid him, as a great historian says, sixty thousand pistoles in gold^b, upon the king of *Navarre's* undertaking to defend the passages into his country, which he might easily have done. The archbishops of *Toledo* and *Saragossa*, with the count of *Ribagorça*, and several other persons of distinction, were witnesses to this treaty^c. *Don Pedro* and the prince of *Wales* were no sooner acquainted with it than they likewise entered into a negociation with the king of *Navarre*, and promised him not only *Logroño* but *Victoria*; upon which he concluded a treaty with them^d. All the world imagined that he could execute but one of these two treaties; but the monarch of *Navarre* flattered himself, notwithstanding the engagements were contradictory, that he should be able to execute both. With this view, when he heard the army of the prince of *Wales* had begun their march, he sent for *Oliver de Mauny*, the cousin of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, for whom he held the fortress of *Borja*; and having promised him the government of *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*, and the sum of three thousand franks, if he managed the design dextrously, directed him to lie in wait with a small party, and to take him prisoner as he rode a hunting, which *Oliver* performed. While the king was thus prisoner at *Borja*, *Don Pedro* and the prince of *Wales* passed thro' *Navarre* with their army, and were well supplied with provisions^e. After the battle of *Najara*, as the *Spaniards* call it, or of *Navaret*, as it is stiled by the *French*, in which *Henry* was defeated, and by which *Don Pedro* was restored, the king, whose purpose was now answered, desired *Oliver de Mauny* to set him at liberty; to which he answered, "With all his heart, provided he had " a large ransom paid him in ready-money." To this, without seeming at all offended, the king yielded; and leaving his son the infant *Don Pedro* with the garrison, carried *Oliver*

A. D.
1367.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS. ^b ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^d JEAN FROISSART, PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, P. DANIEL. ^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

and his brother with him to *Tudela*, where they were to be paid the money; but they were no sooner within the place than he commanded the gates to be secured, and ordered them if they valued their lives, to send for his son. *Oliver* submitted; but his brother, making some resistance, was killed. However, the garrison of *Borja* absolutely refused to deliver the child; but the king of *Navarre*, having demanded the assistance of the king of *Aragon*, on the frontiers of whose dominions it lay, he, to preserve a good understanding with a neighbour, who, in this perilous juncture, was able to do him much good or much hurt, forced the garrison of *Borja* to part with the child; so that in this base and artificial contrivance he very effectually carried his point^f.

After Don Henry recovered the kingdom of Castile, a war breaks out between him and the king of Navarre.

THE French were so much displeased with the king of *Navarre's* conduct, that they seized upon the town of *Montpelier* and its dependencies, which it was out of his power to prevent; but which having been giving him as an equivalent, and a very poor one too for his pretensions, it perhaps had been as prudent, and to the full as just, if they had suffered him to keep it^g. *Henry* count of *Trafemara* was to the full as eager to make a new attempt as his competitor had been; and as it was evident that things would be again left to the decision of the sword, new negotiations were set on foot, and the kings of *Aragon* and *Navarre* treated with both the kings of *Castile* at once, and made pretty near the same demands upon each: those of the king of *Navarre* were, that the prince for whom he acted was to make an absolute cession to him of the provinces of *Guipuscoa* and *Alava*, with all their fortresses and dependencies; *Alfaro*, *Tisero*, *Tudegen*, *Calahorra*, *Navarette*, *Logroño*, *Trifino*, *Najera*, *Briones*, *Haro*; and in a word all *Rioja*, as far as the mountains of *Oca*^h. The French and Spanish historians declaim loudly upon this, without considering that all these places had in times past been taken from *Navarre*, in times of such confusion, and were never like to be recovered but at such a conjuncture. The count *Don Henry* made his passage into *Castile* thro' the kingdom of *Aragon*, and was well received wherever he came. *Victoria*, *Salvaterra*, *Logroño*, and other places, were equally pressed by the troops of *Don Henry* on the one side; and those of the king of *Navarre* on the other; of which *Don Pedro* being informed, he sent the inhabitants orders to surrender

^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, PEDRO DE LOPEZ DE AYALA.

^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Histoire de Languedoc, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^h PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

rather

rather to the count of *Traflemara* than to the king of *Navarre*: which directions, however, they did not think it expedient to obey; but, to free themselves from danger, received the king of *Navarre's* garrisons¹. Don *Henry* was scarce seated on the throne of *Castile* before he discovered plainly that he meant not to comply with the treaties he had made with *Arragon*, and that he was disposed to take a severe revenge upon the king of *Navarre*; in both which designs he was vigorously supported if not excited by *France*^k. For this reason, therefore, the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon* entered into a defensive alliance; and the former continued his negotiation with the *English*, in breach, say some writers, of his alliance with *France*; in revenge, say others, for the loss of *Montpellier*¹. In facts of this nature one cannot decide with too much caution, or leave things too open.

THROUGH the prudent, or as some will call it, the artificial conduct of *Charles* the fifth, *France* had in a great measure, tho' not totally, recovered the miseries of that long war, which she had been oppressed; in consequence of which he began to undermine the power of his neighbours. By his alliance with the new king of *Castile*, he availed himself of the great naval power of that crown against the *English*, and of his numerous and victorious armies against the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*. At the same time he encouraged the great lords, who were feudatories to the prince of *Wales* in *Aquitaine*, to stand upon their privileges, and to oppose them in every thing, while the nobility in *Normandy* shewed a like spirit from the like hopes of support^m. The king of *Navarre* saw thro' these designs perfectly; and, by the advice of *Eustace d'Auberticour*, a knight of great reputation, resolved to unite himself more closely than ever to *Edward* the third of *England*, as the only prince whose alliance could defend him from the mischiefs that he feared. In consequence of this resolution he went himself to the court of king *Edward*, tho' with great secrecy, and there laid the plan of a definitive treaty, which was afterwards signed at *Clarendon*, and ratified at *London*ⁿ. The scope of this treaty shews how considerable a prince *Charles* of *Navarre* was in the opinion of *Edward*, than whom there could not possibly be a better judge. By this

A. D.
1368.

Treaty between Edward III. as king of England and France, with Don Carlos of Navarre.

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre; PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, MARIANA.

^k PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, Histoire de C. de Guesclin, JEAN FROISSART.

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, JEAN FROISSART, Histoire de Langue-

doc. ^m JEAN FROISSART, MEZERAY, Histoire de C. de

Guesclin. ⁿ P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

A. D.
1370.

His treaties, disputes, and compromises, under the mediation of Pope Gregory XI. with the crown of France.

treaty the two kings were to act, not only against those of *Castile* and *France*, but also, if necessary, against the king of *Aragon*, who it was known had begun to negotiate with these princes. On the part of *Edward*, it was stipulated, that as soon as it was in his power he should put the king of *Navarre* in possession of the duchy of *Burgundy*; of the counties of *Brie*, *Champagne*, *Mante-Meulan*, and *Longueville*; of the town and barony of *Montpellier*; of the county of *Mans*; and of other places upon which he had just pretensions. *Edward* farther agreed, that, in consideration of the losses he might sustain from the superior power of the king of *Castile*, he would yield him *Sauveur-le-Vicomte* in *Normandy*; and also yield to him *Briquebec* and *Coutances*, as soon as they should be taken. He farther agreed to give him the viscounty of *Limoges*, and all its dependencies, together with the county of *Angouleme*; and to advance him four hundred thousand crowns in specie to begin the war. On the other hand, the king of *Navarre* undertook to do homage to *Edward* as king of *England*, for all the places yielded to him within the principality of *Guienne*; and to do him likewise homage as king of *France*, for the counties of *Brie* and *Champagne*; and he was likewise to put into king *Edward's* hands *Nogent-le-Roi*, *Nancourt*, *Anet*, and *Ivry*. In consequence of these engagements, and indeed before the treaty was concluded, *Don Carlos* passed into *Normandy* with a view to carry it into execution; but he did not find either the troops or the money that he expected, so that he was under a necessity of observing a kind of neutrality^o. Those who charge the king of *Navarre* with breaking this alliance should shew he was enabled to comply with it.

WHILE the king was thus employed, *Don Henry* of *Castile*, in consequence of his engagements with the crown of *France*, and with a view of recovering the places the king of *Navarre* had taken during the late troubles, made an irruption into his dominions, took several places of less consequence, and besieged *Logrogno* and *Victoria*, to deliver which the queen-regent, *Donna Joanna*, by the interposition of the Pope's legate, entered into an agreement with that king to put the two places into the hands of a nobleman, who was to hold them in the name and on the behalf of the Pope, till the disputes between the two crowns should be terminated by a negotiation^p. On the other hand, the king of *Navarre* being in-

* JEAN FROISSART, Annales de France, Histoire de C. du Guesclin.
 P L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS.

formed

formed of this, and perceiving that the advantages he expected from his alliance with *England* were very doubtful, he consented to an interview that was proposed with the *French* monarch at *Vernon*, where, after several conferences, in which the two kings behaved towards each other with all apparent marks of friendship and goodwill, a peace was concluded, by which *Montpellier* was restored to the king of *Navarre*, who, having now nothing farther to do in *Normandy*, made a tour to *Paris*; and leaving there the two young princes his sons to be educated, he returned by way of *Avignon* into his hereditary dominions¹. The *French* historians charge the king of *Navarre* with persevering in his intrigues, notwithstanding the peace². But it appears, from very authentic evidence, that the causes of these misunderstandings were the proceedings of the *French* court, who, on the declension of the *English* power, began to question Don *Carlos's* right to the barony and town of *Montpellier*. These new differences were left to the arbitration of Pope *Gregory* the eleventh, who adjudged the possession to the king Don *Carlos* for four years; at the end of which space he was to accept an equivalent, and the seigniory was from thence forward to be united to the crown of *France*: in consequence of which arbitration the king of *Navarre* went thither in person, made his public entry on the twentieth of *March*, confirmed the people's privileges, received their oaths of homage and fealty, and set out from thence on the twenty-second of *July*³ for *Pampeluna*, where he was received by his subjects with great joy, as hoping he would redress many grievances, under which they had laboured, during his absence, from the bishop of *Pampeluna* and the dean of *Tudela*, in whose hands he intrusted the government, and whom he called to a severe account. The bishop indeed fled to *Avignon*; but the dean was arrested, and all his effects confiscated⁴.

A. D.
1371.A. D.
1372.

THE king of *Castile*, notwithstanding the treaty of pacification made with the queen of *Navarre*, having compromised his disputes with *Arragon* and *Portugal*, marched all his forces to the frontiers of *Navarre*, and demanded *Victoria* and *Logroño* to be surrendered. Don *Carlos*, who had not either troops to defend, or allies to support him, desired the affair might be left to the arbitration of cardinal *Guy*, the Pope's le-

¹ P. DANIEL, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET. ² DU TILLET Chroniques des Rois de France, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ³ Histoire de Languedoc, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS. ⁴ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

Henry of
Castile in-
wades Na-
varre ;
Don Car-
los con-
cludes a
peace with
him, and
endeavours
to draw
him into
his party,
and into a
league
with Eng-
land.

A. D.

1373.

gate : to which the king of *Castile* assented, desiring the car-
dinal might repair to his camp, which he accordingly did,
and the king of *Navarre* with him^u. There the two kings
and the legate eat at the same table ; and after several confe-
rences peace was made upon these terms, that the towns
should be delivered to the king of *Castile*, but that he should
pay a considerable sum of money to the king of *Navarre* for
the expence he had been at in fortifying them ; and to put an
end once for all to the differences between the two crowns,
the infant Don Carlos of *Navarre*, when of age, should es-
pouse the infanta Donna Leonora of *Castile*, and receive with
her a very large portion in ready money. The two kings,
having signed the treaty, and given reciprocal security to each
other for the due performance of it, separated : but the car-
dinal legate, being sick, remained and died there ; upon
which a rumour prevailed that he was poisoned by the king
of *Navarre's* order ; into which the Pope, having caused a
very strict enquiry to be made, declared it to be absolutely
false, and void of all foundation^w. The queen of *Navarre*
had been sent by the king, in the month of *March*, to take
upon her the government of his *French* dominions. She re-
sided all the summer at *Montpellier* ; and departing from
thence in *September*, went to *Evreux* in *Normandy*, where
she died on the third of *November* ; and her body, being trans-
ported to *Paris*, was interred near that of her father, in the
monastery of *St. Dennis*^x. About the time of the queen's
death Don Carlos made a journey to *Madrid*, where he re-
presented to the king of *Castile* all the injuries that he had
received from *France*, and the just reasons he had to fear they
would allow him to keep nothing they could take from him.
At the same time he magnified the power of *England*, and the
wisdom and courage of *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*,
whose claim to *Castile*, in right of his wife Donna *Philippa*,
he suggested to Don Henry, might be compromised for a sum
of money, provided he entered into the general alliance against
France, which would determine the king of *Aragon* to the
same measure^y. Don Henry answered, that he owed his
crown to the assistance of *France*, and would not therefore en-
ter into any alliance to her prejudice ; but in regard to com-
pounding with the duke of *Lancaster* for his pretensions, it
was a step to which he was by no means averse. He is also

^u L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, PEDRO LOPEZ DE AY-
ALA, FERRERAS.

^w RAINALD.

^x L'Histoire du

Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^y PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA.

said to have explained his system to Don Carlos, and pressed him exceedingly to close with France².

A PEACE being at length concluded between the kings of *The infant Castile and Arragon*, the former having appointed *Soria*, on the frontiers of *Castile*, for the place where the ceremony was to be performed of the marriage of his heir-apparent to the prince of *Arragon*, summoned the king of *Navarre* to the performance of his contract, on behalf of the infant Don Carlos, who came accordingly the first to the proposed interview, where he was treated with all possible respect and kindness; and, having received 5000 pistoles as a marriage-portion with the *infanta*, king *Henry* paid at the same time 20,000 more, in full satisfaction for the repairs made to the places which had been rendered to him by the last treaty². The next year Don Carlos, king of *Navarre*, caused Don Rodrigo Urriz, one of the principal lords of his court, to be arrested, upon an information that he had embarked in a design of betraying *Tudela* and *Caparroso* to the king of *Castile*. Upon enquiry it appeared that this nobleman was about to marry and retire into the dominions of that prince; and on this and other circumstances he was secretly put to death^b. Some writers have condemned, and others justified, the conduct of the king of *Navarre*^c. A celebrated *Spanish* historian, having reported this fairly, inclines to the former, because Don Henry had a fairer character than Don Carlos^d, which perhaps the critics of other countries may not think this ought to be taken for granted. We come now to those transactions of this king's life which bear the hardest on his memory, and of which the *French* historians assert the most authentic testimonies are still remaining. We shall endeavour to state things clearly and concisely, without leaning to either party.

AT the time of the queen of *Navarre's* death, the infant Don Pedro and the *infanta* Donna Maria were left in *Nor-Navarre*, whither they had accompanied their mother. The king of *Navarre* sent his eldest son to fetch them, and withal to pay his duty to his uncle at *Paris*, and to acquaint him with his marriage^e. There was, however, a secret meaning in this journey, which regarded a treaty he had made

² L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, (MAYERNE TURQUET. ^a ZURITA Annal. Arragon, Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^b FAVIN, AYALA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^c AYALA, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^d FERRERAS. ^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

A. D.
1377.

with the king of *England*, in relation to his dominions and his pretensions in *France*. The king of *Castile* was, it seems, acquainted with the whole affair, which he opposed; but tho' Don *Carlos* frequently altered his resolutions, yet he did it rarely by the advice of his friends. The young prince of *Navarre*, amongst other persons of distinction, carried with him *James de la Rue*, his father's chamberlain; *Peter du Tertre*, his secretary; and the baron *Ortubias*. These in their passage thro' *France* were arrested; and the prince complaining of this, and desiring an audience of his uncle, was likewise seized^f. The chamberlain being put to the torture, confessed that the king of *Navarre* had a project of causing the king to be poisoned, and with this view had corrupted one of his physicians, and had laboured to corrupt other servants of his. *Peter du Tertre*, being also tortured, discovered the treaty with the king of *England*, which seems to have been no other than that before-mentioned; but he positively denied having any knowledge of the design laid to poison the king^g. Upon the reading their confessions in parliament the chamberlain was condemned to be hanged and broke upon the wheel, which was executed; the secretary also was condemned to be beheaded, and, as some say, suffered; but others assert, that after a year's imprisonment he was set at liberty^h. Upon this the *French* king immediately sent a great body of forces into *Normandy*, under the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, and the constable, where they reduced, without difficulty, all the places belonging to the king of *Navarre*, *Cherbourg* only accepted; and these fortresses were dismantled as soon as they were taken. The infant Don *Pedro*, and the infanta Donna *Maria*, were also made prisoners; and the town of *Montpéllier*, with its dependencies, was likewise reduced; so that Don *Carlos* was compleatly stripped of his estates in *France*, and this too in a manner that left him no hopes of seeing them restoredⁱ.

A. D.
1378.

Some doubts is regard to the guilt of the king of Navarre, but none as to the seizing his lands.

THE king of *Navarre* avowed his having made a treaty with the crown of *England*, by which he gave up all his possessions in *Normandy* for equivalents in *Guienne*, which, lying nearer his own dominions, were more convenient, and like to be more easily kept. It may be also observed, that if he had corrupted one of the *French* king's physicians, and some

^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Chronique de St. Dennis.

^g P. DANIEL, Chronique de St. Dennis, Procès M. S. du Roy de Navarre.

^h Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ⁱ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS.

of

of his domestics, it was a strange thing to send his eldest son and his principal ministers into *France*, where they might have been probably sacrificed if his plot had taken effect. There was another circumstance still stranger, which was, that the governors of the principal places in *Normandy* likewise accompanied the prince, were taken with him, and it was by this means those places fell so easily into the hands of the *French*. It is certain and incontestible that they were great gainers by these events, and that there are many circumstances very inconsistent in their own relations of this matter, which are perfectly well calculated to blast the character of the king of *Navarre*, and to cover this extraordinary proceeding of depriving him of his children and dominions at once^k. We must also observe, that the *French* writers positively assert the king of *Navarre* had caused their monarch to be poisoned, while he bore only the title of dauphin; that the emperor's physician saved his life by opening, or rather keeping open, a fistula in his arm; and that after consuming for twenty years, by the effects of this venomous drug, he died of it at last^l. Stories of this kind were more easily believed in those days than they have been since, and whether true or false they had a great effect in rendering the king of *Navarre* odious, and in qualifying the violent proceedings by which he was deprived of great countries, to which he had very plausible titles, as well as in his own opinion to the crown itself, the declaration of which was indeed the principal cause of all his misfortunes, since it hindered the *English* monarch from supporting him powerfully, because he made the like claim, and left the kings of the house of *Valois* no other way of maintaining their own possession, than by depriving him of all means to maintain a claim, which in the person of his mother some of the peers of that kingdom had judged to be better than their own^m. Such was his principal crime, and such the punishment attending it.

THESE extremities did not force the king of *Navarre*, as *A new war between the kings of Castile and Navarre, which,* was expected, to an absolute submission. On the contrary, he renewed his treaty with *Richard* the second, and procured, thro' the friendship of *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, a considerable body of *English* troops, who served him very gallantly in his war against *Castile*ⁿ. But, notwithstanding this

^k L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, *which,*
FERRERAS. ^l Chronique de St. Dennis, MEZERAY, P. *however,*
DANIEL. ^m L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ⁿ FER- *is quickly*
RERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Na- *terminated,*
varre.

assistance,

A. D.
1379.

assistance, he found himself utterly incapable of supporting that war; and therefore applied himself by his ministers to Don Henry, in order to know upon what terms he might expect peace. These ministers were well received; and it was intimated to them, that notwithstanding the great advantages gained by the arms of *Castile*, the king desired nothing more than that he would detach himself entirely from the *English*, and sequester some of his principal fortresses by way of security, for his performing duly what should be stipulated in the intended treaty. The king of *Navarre* represented, that in the distressed circumstances of his affairs he was willing to accept of these terms, and to quit allies to whom he could now be of no use, and who were but of very little use to him; but there was one obstacle he knew not how to get over, which was, that he was indebted to the *English* troops a large sum, which it was absolutely out of his power to pay. The king of *Castile*, desirous of compleating his own scheme, or touched with compassion for this unfortunate prince, promised to advance him twenty thousand pistoles as soon as the peace was signed, which he accordingly performed; and the *English* succours returned into *Guienne*°. After the conclusion and ratification of this treaty, the king of *Castile* invited his brother of *Navarre* to his head-quarters, for at the time of this transaction he was in the field with a numerous army. Don Carlos accepted the invitation, and was received by the *Castilian* monarch, as the writers of these times, and of that nation, say, with all possible marks of kindness and esteem, which surely agrees not over well with the story of his attempt on the person of Charles the fifth of *France*°. These kings, after remaining some time together, parted in great friendship; and immediately after Don Henry died, with strong suspicion of poison. It fell out very happily for the king of *Navarre* that it was said to be discovered. This wicked fact was perpetrated by the orders of the king of *Granada*; for otherwise, in all probability, it had been placed to his account, notwithstanding it was visibly against his interest, as he had now all things to hope and nothing to fear on the part of that powerful prince°. His son and successor Don Juan, as soon as decency would permit, notified to him his accession, assured him of his friendship, and promised to give him marks of it, by interposing his good offices with the court of *France*, where king Charles the fifth, his old antagonist, was also

° AYALA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre.

P FAVIN, AYALA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, AYALA, FERRERAS.

dead;

dead; and in the minority of his son things were exceedingly altered^r.

In consequence of that long series of misfortunes to which this prince had been exposed, and of the temper also of the times, some of his nobility began to take great liberties with him, and aimed at mending their own fortunes at his expence, and that of the public. With something of this kind, and even with some intention against the king's person, the baron of *Agramont* charged the baron of *Affian*, who denied it, and challenged the other to single combat, according to the received doctrine of those times, that private men as well as princes might appeal to God by arms. But as this nobleman was allied to the best families in *Navarre*, they interposed with the king, and desired that some other end might be put to this matter, according to his discretion; upon which the king committed the baron of *Affian* to the castle of *Tafalla*, and sent the baron of *Agramont* prisoner to St. *Jean-pie-de-Port*, till either this matter could be thoroughly looked into, or their private quarrels some way adjusted. The garrison of *Tafalla* were *Picards*, whom the baron *de Affian* won so much to his service, that they not only set him at liberty but revolted, and put him in possession of the place^s. In all probability they had flattered themselves with the hopes either of a general revolt, or of a foreign assistance: but their expectations were disappointed; for the inhabitants of the adjacent country immediately invested the place, and the king refusing to listen to any terms, caused the place to be carried by storm, and the garrison to be put to the sword, except the baron *de Affian*, who was taken and beheaded. The baron *de Agramont* was soon after set at liberty^t. There is something of severity, but nothing of injustice in this proceeding, which also shews that the king was in the main respected and obeyed by his subjects. Indeed the historians of *Navarre* say, that being a great patron of learning and learned men, he had the clergy much at his devotion; and yet, whatever his own vices were, he would suffer none in them, that the dignity of their order might not be lessened in the eyes of the people. In this no doubt he acted discreetly; for a vicious, and consequently a contemptible clergy, could have been of no use^u.

*An insur-
rection
suppressed.*

A. D.
1381.

^r L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS, MEZERAY, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^s L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^t Chronique de Navarre. ^u GARIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ABOUT

The infant
Don Carlos
re-
leased.

ABOUT this time the young king of *France* was so kind to the infant Don Carlos of *Navarre*, that he restored to him the lordship of *Montpellier*, and allowed him to receive the revenues of all his father's estates in *France*; and it is certain that the infant, with the consent of the duke of *Berry*, the king's uncle, took possession of *Montpellier* on the first of *November*; but it is also as certain, that before the year came about again, this barony was seized into the king's hands, and annexed to the crown; but upon what motives this was done does not so clearly appear*. The *Spanish* historians, and those of *Navarre*, agree that Don Juan, king of *Castile*, being extremely pressed by the king of *Navarre*, and by his own sister Donna *Lemera*, to intercede with *Charles* the sixth for the discharge of the infant Don Carlos, he accordingly interposed by his ambassadors, and at length obtained it; upon which the infant and his consort, after his return home, went into *Castile* to visit the king their brother, and to testify the just sense they had of this application, on the behalf of Don Carlos, since, if what we are going to mention has any thing in it of truth, nothing but the intercession of so powerful and so necessary an ally could have procured him, though innocent, his liberty*.

A. D.
1199.

King of
Navarre
charged
afresh
with form-
ing designs
against the
lives of the
French
king and
his uncles.

THE *French* historians relate, though not very consistently, that the king of *Navarre*, being extremely irritated against the *French* court, had recourse to his old art; and finding, as he apprehended, an instrument very fit for his purpose, dispatched him by the way of *Bayonne* to *Paris*, with instructions to poison not only the king, but also his brother *Lewis*, count of *Valois*, afterwards duke of *Orleans*; the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, *Bourbon*, and several other great lords. This man, having furnished himself with a sufficient quantity of arsenic at *Bayonne*, came to the *French* court with a full resolution of executing the orders he had received in their utmost extent; but being happily detected he was put into prison, and, having continued there upwards of a year, was convicted and publicly executed, as he well deserved*. Upon this a prosecution was commenced against the king of *Navarre*, as count of *Evreux*, before the parliament; and after being summoned to appear, he was, for contumacy and for various enormous crimes committed against the king, but for the honour of the family, without any specific declaration of those crimes, declared attainted, and convicted of high-treason.

* Histoire de Languedoc.

MAYERNE TURQUET.

Roy de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

* GARIBAY, FERRERAS,

P. DANIËL, Proces M. S. du

But

But notwithstanding this is so particularly set forth, and that from the very process, yet it is subject to various objections, which are not easy to be solved; and it is very probably owing to this that in some ancient, and in some modern histories, the whole affair, though of so a remarkable a nature, is buried in oblivion^z.

THE king Don Juan of Castile having, as we have shewn in its proper place, very strong pretensions upon Portugal, in right of his consort, the only daughter and heiress of the deceased king, and being determined to support those pretensions by force of arms, his brother-in-law, the infant Don Carlos of Navarre, out of gratitude as well as affection, thought himself obliged to march to his assistance with a considerable body of forces. He joined the army of Castile at the siege of Lisbon, and was received with all possible testimonies of esteem by the king, and of joy and satisfaction by the whole army. The next year he made an inroad into Portugal, under that monarch's orders, but was not in the fatal battle of Aljubarrota, which gave him an opportunity of saving several small corps of the Castilian army, that in their escape from that disaster would otherwise have been surrounded and cut to pieces by the Portuguese^a. He went afterwards to Seville to console that prince under his misfortunes; and having accompanied him to Valladolid, where he held an assembly of the states, the infant Don Carlos returned from thence into his father's dominions^b. About this time his sister Donna Joanna espoused John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, which was an alliance, in all respects, very favourable to the family, and contributed not a little to its support. The news of the duke of Lancaster's sailing to Portugal, with a numerous fleet, and a powerful army on board, with a view not only to support the master of Avis, who had now taken the title of king of Portugal, but to assert his own right to Castile, so much alarmed the king Don Juan, that he applied himself to the Pope, Charles the sixth of France, and his other allies, for assistance; upon which the infant Don Carlos of Navarre put himself once more at the head of his father's forces, marched them to the relief of his brother-in-law, and remained with the king of Castile all this year^c.

The infant Don Carlos goes to the assistance of his brother-in-law the king of Castile.
A. D. 1384-

A. D. 1385-

A. D. 1386-

^a DU TILLET Chroniques des Rois de France, Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M. LE GENDRE MEZERAY. ^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, AYALA. ^c GARIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^e FAVIN, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

Death of
the king of
Navarre.

WE are assured, by the historians of *Navarre*, that the king *Don Carlos* was become miserably infirm thro' a leprosy, or some other grievous distemper, brought upon him by his debauches, which disabled him from appearing in public, and inclined him to bend all his thoughts towards preparing himself for his last hour; for notwithstanding the detestable character given him by the *French* writers, he certainly affected to be thought religious, and did every thing that might contribute to impose upon the world in that particular^d. But while the king was thus in some measure confined, one *Andrew de Torrellas*, a person of mean rank, excited a sedition in *Pampeluna*, under colour that the city was not sufficiently supplied with corn, and the public revenue but indifferently managed: but the king, feeble and infirm as he was, exerted himself in such a manner, that the tumult was quickly suppressed, *Andrew Torrellas* apprehended and hanged, and some of his principal associates severely punished^e. This was the last effort of his authority; for soon after he fell into a low and languishing state, and having prepared himself for death, with all the exterior marks at least of a deep and sincere repentance, breathed his last on the first day of the new year, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign, and was buried in the cathedral church of *Pampeluna*, with the usual ceremonies^f.

Strange
stories in-
vented
about it.

BUT historians are as much divided about the manner of his death, as in regard to the principal events of his life, and it may be justly expected that out of regard to truth we should say something of these. The common story which we find usually inserted in the *French* chronicles is this. The king, having in a great measure dissipated and extinguished the natural heat of his body, by the vices to which he was addicted, was wont to be wrapped up in large sheets, or fear-cloths, dipped in aqua vitæ, and powdered over with sulphur, in which being sewed up as usual, one of his pages, instead of cutting the thread with a pair of scissars, went to burn it with a wax-candle, by which the wrappers about the king's body took fire, and before it could be extinguished his bowels were so burnt, that, after lying three days in excruciating torment, he expired^g. The inferences that are copiously drawn from hence, as to its being an apparent judgment upon him for his horrible crimes, make this fact and those crimes equally sus-

^d FERRERAS. ^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^f Chronique de Navarre, FAVIN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Annales de France:

picious.

picious. The historians of *Navarre* have shewn this story to be a fable, tho' there was a circumstance thrown in to make the judgment lean a little on their side, by alledging that he had imposed a tax of two hundred thousand florins upon his dominions, against which, the deputies from several provinces being sent to *Pampeluna* to remonstrate, he had ordered them all to be put to death, from which they were saved only by his ending his life suddenly in this manner^b. *Froissart*, who at this very time was in the county of *Foix*, and consequently very near *Pampeluna*, relates the matter as he had it from persons belonging to the court of *Navarre*, very differently. He says, that the king used to have a globe of metal filled with hot water, and other things, to put on his bed to keep him warm, and that by means of this the bed-cloaths some way or other took fire, by which he was so much injured that it proved the cause of his death, tho' he survived a fortnight^c. Bed-cloaths set on fire by hot water is certainly very extraordinary, and unless we are disposed to take it for a judgment, will hardly be believed. But in a very ancient history, composed when these things were fresh in memory, there is preserved a letter from the bishop of *Acs*, who was prime-minister to this prince, written to his sister queen *Blanch*, dowager of *Philip de Valois*; in which he acquaints her, that the king his master died of a most painful and tormenting disease, in which he gave the strongest marks of sincere penitence, and supported the misery he endured with invincible patience, and the most perfect resignation to the will of God^k. Not a word here of the flaming winding-sheet, or the scalding water setting the bed on fire; upon which a modern historian very candidly observes, that it is very likely the extreme hatred the *French* bore to this monarch induced the *French* writers to invent those stories, that his death might have the more in it of a judgment from heaven^l. We may venture to add, that they might also propose giving an air of justice to their own proceedings; and at the same time stamp the character of authenticity on all the horrid stories told by them of this monarch, of whom *Ferreras* says truly, that he was far from being a saint, but that he was as far from wanting good qualities; and that we ought not to believe all that is said of him by those who were bound in interest to blacken him, that they might acquit themselves.

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^c Histoire & Chronique de JEAN FROISSART.

^k Chronique de St. Dennis.

^l P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, Nouvelle Histoire de France, par. M. LE GENDRE.

*Accession of
Don Car-
los III. the
Noble.*

DON *Carlos* the third, at the time of his father's demise, was with the queen his consort and their children at *Penafiel* in *Castile*, with her brother the king Don *Juan*. He immediately prepared for his departure to his own dominions, where his presence was absolutely necessary; and the *Castilian* monarch, to shew how grateful a sense he had of the friendship shewn, and assistance given him by this prince, not only remitted the castles and fortresses which had been sequestered for the debt due to his father, but also forgave that debt, and the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, which he had engaged himself to pay, as a ransom for an *English* nobleman, who was prisoner in *Castile*. He was received on his arrival at *Pampeluna* with all possible marks of joy and satisfaction, and with much solemnity proclaimed on the 28th of *January*; but for various reasons his coronation was deferred^m. He was at this time about twenty-five years of age, possessing, as the *Spanish* writers say, all the great qualities of his father; and as the *French* writers own, without any tincture of his defects. In a word, if we may depend upon any thing in the histories of those times, we may conclude that this young king was a most accomplished prince; as the strongest proof of which we may alledge that he was stiled *Charles the Noble* by his neighbours, and *Don Carlos the Liberal* by his own subjects. The first public act of his reign was acknowledging *Clement* the seventh, who resided at *Avignon*, for the true Pope, notwithstanding the claim of *Urban* the sixth, who had fixed his residence at *Rome*ⁿ. This was contrary to his father's maxim, who, tho' he had always shewn a great respect for the church, kept an exact neutrality, and would acknowledge neither, alledging very prudently that it did not become a layman, tho' a king, to decide who was the successor of *St. Peter*; but till this could be determined by a proper authority, he affirmed the supremacy in all causes to be in him. His son, indeed, did it with this restriction, that his acknowledgment was subject to the decision of a general council. This, however, was a very strong measure, as it plainly proved to the world, that he had embraced a new system, and was gone over to the *French* side, since the *English* and their allies were zealous partizans of Pope *Urban*^o.

HE took care to notify his accession, and to send ambassadors to the principal powers in *Europe*, particularly to those

^m L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

ⁿ GARIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^o L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

of *France and England*^p. He demanded from the former the restitution of the estates belonging to his family; but in mild and modest terms, so as to shew at once that he was determined not to depart from his claims, and that he was by no means averse to the receiving a suitable satisfaction. He presented to the latter, that several places in *Normandy* belonged to him that were in their hands, and that he made no doubt of their being restored to him. He had a conference with Don *Juan* king of *Arragon*, in reference to a marriage between their families, and to the maintaining a strict correspondence between the two crowns, as the surest means of supporting the splendour and independency of them both^q. He regulated the march of the *French* succours, under the duke of *Bourbon*, to *Logrogno*, where they received the subsidies that had been stipulated, and the orders of the king of *Castile* to advance no farther. He contributed not a little to the treaty of pacification between that monarch and *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*; and when it was in some degree settled he had an interview with his brother-in-law, to regulate with him the measures that in so critical a conjuncture were fittest to be taken. While his mind was thus intent on these great objects of government, he was alarmed by the indisposition of the queen, and the more so when she intimated to him that she had no hopes of recovery but from returning to and remaining some time in her native country. He resolved to comply with her desires; and having conducted her and the princesses his daughters to *Navarete*, where he had another conference with the king of *Castile*, he left them behind and returned to his own capital of *Pampeluna*^r.

A. D.
1388.

THE situation of affairs in *Europe* was at this time so embarrassed, that Don *Carlos* saw plainly his endeavours to obtain the restitution of his estates ought to be reserved for a more favourable opportunity. He applied himself, therefore, with great industry to rectify whatever might be amiss in the civil oeconomy of his own dominions. He reviewed the grants of his ancestors; he examined into the state of the principal cities and great towns; he had an eye on the affairs of the church: but he acted with such moderation in all things, and shewed so strong an inclination to render all ranks of people easy, that the reformation which would have been attended with murmurs at least, if not with an insurrection, un-

Fruitless
endeavours
to prevail
on his queen
to return
out of
Castile.

^p FAVIN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS.
^q ZURITA Annal. Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^r GARIBAY, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

der any other prince; not only passed quietly under him, but even rendered him more beloved. However, the clergy and nobility pressed him very much on the head of his coronation, which they would not have suffered another king to have delayed so long, because hitherto he had taken no oath to maintain the immunities of the church, the privileges of the nobility, and the liberties of the people^a. The king thereupon sent his ambassadors to the court of *Castile* to desire his consort might return, that they might be crowned together. Donna *Leonora* would by no means consent to this; she insisted upon her brother's protection; complained that she was very ill used in *Navarre*, where the people were wanting in their respects to her, or at least to her attendants; that the revenue assigned her was ill paid; and that her distemper was owing to certain dangerous drugs given her by a *Jew* physician, whom the king had refused to disgrace. Don *Carlos*, being informed of this, acquainted the king of *Castile* that his subjects indeed were not accustomed to act so submissively towards their sovereigns as in *Castile*; that his dominions were very much impoverished during his father's reign, but that his finances were now in good order; and that as to the affair of the *Jew* physician, he was willing to submit the examination of it to such as the king of *Castile* shall appoint; when it would appear, as indeed it did, that the queen and not the doctor was to blame, who prescribed what was proper enough for the queen's indisposition, if it had been such as she gave out; but as it was only a fiction, she had only herself to blame^b. The truth of the matter was, the queen was mightily pleased with the honours paid her in *Castile*, and with the splendour of that court; and therefore insisted that her husband should engage the Pope and the king of *France*, to guaranty her being well used: to which Don *Carlos* answered, that the *French* king should never interfere in his affairs; and having sent for his two eldest daughters, he proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great solemnity in the cathedral at *Pampeluna* on the twenty-fifth of *July*, when the Pope, to shew his respect to the king, promoted Don *Martin de Zalva*, bishop of *Pampeluna*, to the rank of a cardinal^c.

A. D.
1390.

THE death of king *John* of *Castile*, and the accession of his son Don *Henry*, a minor, created a great change in the face

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^b GARIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

of affairs at that court, where Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Navarre*, in quality of aunt to the reigning prince, entered deeply into the intrigues of the court; and, as we have shewn in its proper place, contributed greatly to pacify those factious heats that would otherwise have thrown all things into confusion. It was in vain, therefore, that the king Don *Carlos* solicited her return, and represented to her how injurious her absence was to him, how displeasing to his subjects, and how destructive to their family. But Donna *Leonora* loved pomp and power; and, while her faction prevailed, was sure of preserving both; whereas, in *Navarre*, the king lived equally in great familiarity with his nobility, and administered public affairs by the sole advice of his council^w. His eyes were continually turned on the vast possessions which had been torn from his family in *France*; and, in order to make some effort for their recovery, he sent Don *Carlos de Beaumont*, standard-bearer of *Navarre*, and Don *Martin Henriquez de Lacarra*, his ambassadors, to *Richard* the second of *England*, in order to obtain the restitution of *Cherbourg*, and some other places which the king held by no other title than that of his grandfather's troops being admitted into them, as the auxiliaries of the deceased king of *Navarre*. This point being strenuously insisted upon by the ambassadors, and several great lords of the court of *England* knowing the thing to be really as they stated it, a resolution was at last taken to do him that justice which he required; and accordingly *Cherbourg* and the rest of the places were actually restored^x. Upon this he renewed his application to the *French* court, representing, that it would be very hard to treat a prince of the blood royal worse than strangers had done; but the disorders in *France* were so great, and those in power were so little pleased at seeing Don *Martin Henriquez de Lacarra* established in the government of *Cherbourg*, that he found himself obliged to postpone his expectations on that side, till the state of their affairs should wear another aspect.

He was more successful in his negotiation with the king of *Arragon*, who amicably regulated the frontiers of their respective dominions, and entered into all his views with regard to a perpetual defensive alliance between the two crowns. But his applications to persuade his queen to return were as ineffectual as ever; neither could she be persuaded to send her two younger daughters back into *Navarre*, though her nephew king *Henry* the third joined his solicitations to those

Obtains the restitution of Cherbourg from the English, but fails in his application to the court of France.

A. D.
1393.

Donna Leonora returns to Navarre.

^w FAVIN, *Chronique de Navarre*, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

of the king her husband ; for, upon his taking the government into his own hands, he found it requisite to recal some, and to reduce all the pensions that were paid out of the public revenue ; and as his aunt's was not excepted, this had created a misunderstanding between them. By degrees these differences rose higher ; for the queen, taking part with the malcontents, and presuming so far as to refuse the king entrance into *Roa*, which was one of the places assigned for her subsistence, he came before it with a body of troops : upon which the inhabitants, who had no share at all in the quarrel, opened their gates, and the queen was constrained to submit herself ; and, tho' received with much seeming favour and complaisance, yet the king told her plainly, that as *Don Carlos* had offered all that she could possibly demand, she must absolutely think of returning with the princesses her daughters, and content herself with acting the queen in her own dominions. Yet that every thing might be transacted in a manner suitable to the rank of the parties concerned, the king with his whole court attended the queen to *Alfaro* ; and *Don Carlos*, having sent the archbishop of *Saragossa*, with the principal lords of his kingdom, to *Tudela* to receive her, she was accordingly conducted thither, and soon after met by the king himself, who received her with all possible demonstrations of joy and satisfaction, which, with the improved state of the country, reconciled her entirely to *Navarre* ; and the sense she had that a new retreat into *Castile* was impracticable, made her so affable and obliging to her subjects, that she met with every testimony of respect and submission she could desire¹. The next year the king held an assembly of the states at *Pampeluna*, in which the succession to the crown was regulated in favour of his daughters, in the order of their respective births, to prevent any disputes if the king should die without male issue².

He makes
a journey
into
France.

THE cathedral at *Pampeluna*, had, for some years, lain in ruins, with the sight of which the citizens, and indeed all the inhabitants of *Navarre*, were very deeply affected ; but the expence of rebuilding it was so high, that however well-inclined, their circumstances rendered them unable to undertake it. The king saw this, and, after mature deliberation, assigned the fortieth part of his revenues for this service, which agreeably surprised the people, and rendered them less uneasy at his departure for *France*, upon the very eve of which

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ² FERRERAS, FAVIN, Chronique de Navarre.

he did this pious and generous action^a. The queen was not long after delivered of a son, who at his baptism received his father's name; and this was another very acceptable event. But in *France* the king found his ambassadors had represented things to him very truly; for tho' *Charles* the sixth had some lucid intervals, yet being then entirely in the hands of his ministers, who represented his affairs to him in what light they pleased, the king of *Navarre* chose to return home without doing any thing, rather than make any bargain with those who held their authority by so uncertain a tenure, as the will of a distracted prince^b. After he came back to *Pampeluna*, he obliged the clergy, nobility, and people, to take an oath of fidelity to his son *Don Carlos*, as heir-apparent to the kingdom, though he was at that time scarce a year old. The next year he renewed the treaties subsisting with the crown of *Arragon*, upon the accession of *Don Martin*; and interposed his good offices for composing the disputes subsisting between that monarch and *Archambaud de Grailli*, count of *Foix*, which was at length effected, much to the satisfaction of both parties^c. This negociation produced another of yet greater consequence; for the king married his eldest daughter *Donna Joanna* to *John de Grailli*, son of the count of *Foix*^d. In a short time after he married his third daughter, the princess *Blanch*, to *Don Martin* king of *Sicily*, son to the king of *Arragon*; but very soon after this marriage took effect, the infant *Don Carlos* died, as also his younger brother *Don Louis*; upon which *Donna Joanna* was acknowledged for the presumptive heir of *Navarre*; which, tho' it could not be pleasing to the king, yet since it appeared to be the will of Providence, the king submitted without repining, and his example quieted the minds of the nation, tho' they had the disagreeable prospect of a foreign successor in view^e.

A. D.
1399.A. D.
1402.

THE king, desirous of having his claims settled in *France*, and being invited thither by the princes of the blood, resolved to make another tour into that kingdom, and declared the queen regent in his absence, and at the same time made his testament, that as far as in him lay he might remove all sources of intestine troubles, in case he should not live to return. On his arrival at *Paris* he found things in great disorder, the king's health rather more unsettled than ever, and

Goes thither a second time, and adjusts all his claims for a slender equivalent.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b P. DANIEL, FERRERAS, Chronique de Navarre.

^c ZURITA Annal. Astagon.

^d FERRERAS, FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

K k 3

a war.

A. D.
1404.

a war with *England* in a manner inevitable. This dismal prospect induced him to use all his interest, in order to conclude a treaty without loss of time, which was accordingly signed on the fourth of *June*, and to which his brother *Don Pedro*, earl of *Mortain*, acceded. By this agreement he relinquished all his pretensions to the counties of *Champagne*, *Brie*, and *Evreux*, as also to the rest of the places which his ancestors had held in *Normandy*; and also gave up *Cherbourg*, in consideration of the town and district of *Nemours*, which was erected into a duchy in his favour, together with an annual pension of twelve thousand livres, and the farther sum of two hundred thousand crowns, by way of indemnification for the revenues of which he had been deprived^f. A great *Spanish* historian says truly, that this was a poor compensation for such vast estates; but there is great reason to doubt whether, in the situation of their affairs, he could have obtained even these from the princes who governed *France*, if he had not rendered services to some, and made presents to others, that some end might be made of a controversy that had subsisted so long, and had cost both parties so dear^g. The troubles which broke out on the death of *Philip the Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*, obliged him to remain in *France* longer than he intended; and it was in virtue of his decree, in conjunction with the king of *Sicily* his son-in-law, and the dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, dated the seventeenth of *October*, that the pacification took place between the dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*. At length, having contributed all in his power to restore the public peace, and having concluded a marriage for his fourth by birth, but his third surviving daughter, with *Jacques de Bourbon*, count de la *Marche*, one of the most accomplished princes of that age, he set out on his return into his own dominions^h, leaving an high opinion of him in the *French* court.

A. D.
1405.

Pursues his
true inter-
ests at his
return.

AT the request of *Don Martin*, king of *Arragon*, *Don Carlos* passed thro' *Catalonia*, and was received by him at *Lerida*, with all possible marks of affection and respect. From thence the two monarchs went together to *Saragossa*, and after a short stay there, they parted perfectly well satisfied with each other, and *Don Carlos* returned to *Pampeluna*, where his subjects received him with the most sincere transports of joy and affection. In the beginning of the month of *September* arrived *Jacques de Bourbon*, count of *Marche* and of *Castro*, attended by a great train of *French* lords and gentlemen; and

^f P. DANIEL, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS. ^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, DU TILLET Chroniques des Rois de France, MARIANA. ^h MAYERNE TURQUET.

there

there his marriage with Donna *Beatrix* of *Navarre* was celebrated with the utmost magnificence¹. As Don *Carlos* brought with him a great mass of money from *France*, he began to consider with himself what course was best for him to take, in order to distribute it amongst his subjects; and, after mature deliberation, he determined to build two palaces, one at *Olita*, and the other at *Tafalla*, each in a very pleasant situation, and at no more than a league's distance. By this project the money was very speedily dispersed into the hands of the industrious, and artists of every kind were encouraged and employed²; for with all the qualities of a hero and a statesman, Don *Carlos* had likewise the talents and the taste of a splendid and magnificent prince, corrected by a due regard to œconomy, and directed, as all his measures were, to the general welfare of his subjects. It was a full persuasion of this that rendered him in a country where liberty was idolized almost an absolute prince. *Pampeluna* had been more than once on the very brink of destruction, from its being divided into three parts, each under a distinct government; from whence, for the most part, there were in this city three factions, hating and thwarting each other as much as lay in their power. Former monarchs had seen and deplored this; but durst not attempt the removal of an evil, for fear of uniting against themselves those who never could agree in any other measure. Don *Carlos* proposed and accomplished it at once, in consequence of his never having shewn the least partiality for any of them, and by his offering to their acceptance a new constitution, more favourable than the old one to them all. He knew that factions was the bane of all limited governments, and therefore removed all supports of it to the utmost of his power¹.

THE war between the crown of *Castile* and the *Moors* of *Granada* gave the king of *Navarre* an opportunity of sending some of the most accomplished knights in his court to the assistance of his neighbour, under the command of the count de *la Marche*, his son-in-law, who carried with him into *Andalusia* a chosen corps of illustrious cavaliers; for which he is highly commended by the *Spanish* historians, who are pleased to allow him the character of one of the bravest and most accomplished princes that age produced^m. It is not likely that Don *Carlos* ever thought of making another journey into *France*; but the barbarous assassination of the duke of *Orleans*,

Obliged to
make a
new tour
to France.

¹ Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS.

² FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET, Chronique de Navarre.

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^m GARIBAY, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERRERAS.

by the order of *John* duke of *Burgundy*, excited such convulsions in the court and kingdom, that the queen and the rest of the princes of the blood sent a pressing invitation to the king of *Navarre* to come and assist them with his advice, as well as to add weight to their authority by his presence. He could not well refuse this; and, therefore, leaving the queen again regent, he went to *Paris*, where he was received with the utmost kindness and respect, and where he exerted his utmost abilities in support of the unfortunate *Charles* the sixth, and his family. He was very instrumental in bringing about the two pacifications of *Chartres* and *Bicestre*; and in this last, when it was stipulated that all the princes of the blood should remain at a proper distance from the court, his brother *Peter*, earl of *Mortain*, was excepted^a. One reason, probably, why such respect was paid to *Don Carlos* and *Don Pedro*, in *France*, might be from their close alliance with *England*, where *Henry* the fourth had married *Donna Joanna*, dutchess-dowager of *Britanny*, their sister; yet they did not avail themselves at all of that alliance, otherwise than to promote the peace and safety of the kingdom. At length, understanding that his daughter *Donna Blanch*, queen of *Sicily*, was besieged by some seditious barons in a castle in that kingdom, he returned speedily into his own dominions, but so as to take *Barcelona* in his way; where he found an assembly of the states sitting, who paid him great honours, and promised to exert themselves powerfully on the behalf of his daughter^o. He conferred also with *Don Martin*, king of *Arragon*, their sovereign, who even then was apprehensive of troubles in his dominions, and to whom he promised powerful succours if ever they should be demanded, which he very honourably performed. After his return to *Pampeluna*, the duke of *Benavente*, who had been long a state-prisoner in *Castile*, made his escape, and took shelter in his dominions, where the king caused him to be arrested; but directed that he should be treated at the same time with great lenity and respect. This great man had been of queen *Leonora's* faction, which might induce him to hope the countenance of the court of *Navarre*; but *Don Carlos*, well acquainted with his turbulent behaviour, would not trouble the peace of his dominions for the sake of such a person^p. He promised, therefore, that *Don Frederic*, duke of *Benavente*, should be forthcoming, and delivered up to the king of *Castile*; which, however, was not performed till three years after;

^a Contin. NANGII, P. DANIEL, LE GENDRE: ^o L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERRERAS. ^p MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

wards,

wards, and then upon certain assurances that he should not be harshly used, or questioned for this escape.

It was in a great measure owing to his care that the neighbouring kingdom of *Arragon* was preserved in some tolerable degree quiet; during the interregnum, which happened on the death of the king *Don Martin*; and it was due to his friendly assistance, that the infant *Don Ferdinand* of *Castile* came so peaceably as he did to the crown. Indeed the attention and respect of *Don Carlos* was so great, not only to the affairs of his own country, but of all the kingdoms round him; and his justice and moderation so apparent, that though he interfered in many, if not most of their quarrels, yet he took part in none, but by his good offices and authority composed them all⁹. The long peace he had procured to *Navarre*, and the many amiable qualities of this prince, had so enriched, improved, and peopled his dominions, that he was far more powerful, and had a much more extensive influence than any of his predecessors. One great and singular instance of his excellent temper was the harmony in which he lived with queen *Leonora*, notwithstanding the reluctance she had shewn in returning to him from the court of *Castile*; and this happy union continued to the time of her death, which fell out on the twenty-seventh of *February*, in the year one thousand four hundred and fifteen, at the new palace of *Olita*, from whence her corpse was carried to *Pampeluna*, and there interred in the choir of the cathedral, with all possible demonstrations of sorrow in the king, and the nation in general^r. Many expected as he had no sons the king would not have continued long a widower; but he was so good a father, and thought the succession so well settled, that it does not appear he thought of a second marriage.

JOHN DE GRAILLI, count *de Foix*, who had married the eldest daughter of the king *Don Carlos*, was at this time a widower, and without issue, which rendered him very desirous of marrying her sister *Donna Blanch*, queen-dowager of *Sicily*. It might possibly be with this view, that in making his pilgrimage to *Campostella*, he took *Olita* in his way, and spent some time there with the king of *Navarre*, with whom he judged this business of the marriage to be so far advanced, that he had procured a dispensation from the Pope; but while he was intent on his devotions at the tomb of *St. James*, his neighbour (but at the same time his enemy) the count *de*

The death of queen Leonora.

Relieves the count de Foix.

⁹ FAVIN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre. ^r L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

Armagnac,

Armagnac, invaded his dominions, and laid them waste with fire and sword^a. He no sooner received advice of this than he returned with all speed into *Navarre*, and solicited the king for his assistance, who generously assembled a body of forces, which, under the command of his natural son, *Godfrey count de Cortes*, he sent to the relief of the count; and having afterwards drawn together a superior army, he marched in person to join the count *de Foix*, and with him marched into the county of *Armagnac*, where, by way of reprisals, they committed great devastations, and returned afterwards in triumph^c. One great reason of doing this was to prevent excursions of this kind in the neighbourhood of his dominions; and indeed the readiness with which he afforded succours to his allies, and the efficacy of those succours when afforded, contributed not a little to his spending, as he did, the best part of his reign in peace. In the present case, this correction had so good an effect, that *John* count of *Armagnac* entered immediately into a negociation, and some years after married *Donna Isabella*, one of the king of *Navarre's* daughters, with whom he had a fortune of one hundred thousand crowns, which in those days was looked upon as an immense sum^d, and much beyond what, in the like cases, was ever done by any of his predecessors.

A. D.
1418.

*Donna
Blanch
espouses
Don Juan
of Castile,
who be-
comes
thereby the
presump-
tive heir
of Na-
varre.*

In all disputes between the king *Don Juan of Castile*, and the king and infants of *Arragon*, who were also princes of his own house, the king of *Navarre* observed an exact neutrality, and interposed no otherwise than by his good offices. He acted with the like circumspection when the emperor *Sigismund* made a tour to *Perpignan*, sending thither his son *Godfrey* count of *Cortes* to compliment him; but would not enter into his scheme of settling the papacy farther than as it should prove consistent with the decree of a general council, being very attentive to prevent, as far as possible, any ecclesiastical or civil disputes from arising amongst his subjects. It was with this view that he acted with so great caution in the marriage of the queen of *Sicily*, who was to be his heiress; and whom he disposed of at length to the infant *Don Juan of Arragon*, the son of *Don Ferdinand*, and the brother of *Don Alonso*, kings of *Arragon*. By the contract of marriage this princess had four hundred and twenty thousand crowns by way of dowry; and it was farther stipulated, that in case he sur-

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, *MARIANA*, Chronique de Navarre.

^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, *FERRERAS*, *MAYERNE TURQUET*.

^d Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, *MAYERNE TURQUET*.

vived her, he should enjoy the crown during his life. These points settled, and a dispensation obtained from Pope *Martin* the fifth, the infant Don *Juan* sent Don *Diego Gomez de Sandoval*, and the bishop of *Calahorra*, with his full powers to conclude the marriage; which was accordingly celebrated at *Olita*, on the fifth of *November*, to the entire satisfaction of the courts of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*^w. But the consequences of this marriage by no means answered the hopes excited from it.

A. D.
1417.

THIS great point once settled, he began to indulge the natural bent of his inclination to magnificence, and the cultivation of the arts of peace; in which he succeeded so much the better, as all the kingdoms round him were in a state of confusion; so that men of abilities in all professions retired into *Navarre*, and became the ornaments of a court, where politeness might be said to reign. On the nineteenth, or as others say, on the twenty-ninth of *May*, the queen *Donna Blanch* was delivered at *Arevalo* of a son, who was named *Carlos*, in honour of his grandfather, and whose sponsors were Don *Juan* king of *Castile*, and at his request Don *Alvaro de Luna*^x, who was so intoxicated with this honour that he seemed unacquainted with moderation ever after. As soon as the young prince was weaned, the good old monarch sent for him to his court; and having erected that seigniory into a principality, declared him prince of *Viana*, and heir of *Navarre*, with great solemnity, and, by a law published the twentieth of *January*, invested the heir-apparent of the crown of *Navarre* with that title, and with the lands annexed to it for ever^y. About five months after he obliged the states of the kingdom to acknowledge the young Don *Carlos* in that quality. He had the satisfaction on the ninth of *June*, in the year following, to see his daughter delivered of the infanta *Donna Blanch*^z; but he was not so fortunate as he expected in his endeavours to prevent a rupture between the crowns of *Aragon* and *Castile*, which did not hinder him from pursuing, with indefatigable diligence, so good a design. On *Saturday* the eighth of *September*, one thousand four hundred and twenty-five, he was seized with a fainting fit, in his palace at *Olita*, which was followed by an apoplexy that removed

*The death of Don Carlos the Noble.*A. D.
1423.

^w L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^x Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^y P. MORET.

^z L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^a Chronique de Navarre, GARIBAY, ZURITA, FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA.

him

him from this life the same day^a. His daughter Donna *Blanch* was then with him, and caused his body to be buried in the cathedral church of *Pampeluna*, with all possible solemnity^b. He was, says *Ferreras*, a prince equally illustrious by the nobleness of his sentiments and of his actions, and enjoyed the true felicity of a great king, that of being tenderly beloved by his subjects. He died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign; and by his own order his body was interred by that of his deceased queen *Leonora*. His daughter, the queen Donna *Blanch*, after three days mourning, sent the royal standard of *Navarre* to the camp of the king of *Arragon*, where it was displayed for the infant Don *Juan* her husband, which brings us to the end of this section^c.

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c ZURITA Annal. Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

S E C T. V.

From the Accession of Don Juan and Donna Blanch of Navarre and Arragon, to the Union of the Crowns of France and Navarre, in the Person of Henry of Bourbon.

*Accession of
Donna
Blanch,
and in her
right Don
Juan of
Castile, to
the king-
dom of
Navarre.*

THE very beginning of the new reign was disturbed with suspicions. The nobility and the clergy were not well pleased with sending the royal standard out of the kingdom, or with being constrained to acknowledge a foreign prince for their sovereign, before he had sworn to respect their privileges, and to maintain the liberties of the people, who speedily caught the same spirit of uneasiness; and when a nation is once generally indisposed, they are seldom and with great difficulty recovered. Queen *Blanch* quickly perceived this; and therefore pressed the king, as soon as the peace was made with *Castile*, to make a tour to *Navarre*, which he did; but he neither staid long, nor took much pains to render himself agreeable^a. He had great estates in *Castile*, where himself and his brethren enjoyed vast power; and, in consequence of their cabals, held the king as it were in leading strings. In *Arragon* he met with the same kind of respect, being the brother and presumptive heir of one of the most

^a ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARIBAY, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

generous

generous kings that ever reigned, himself very brave, much attached to his countrymen, and procuring them great establishments in *Castile*, sometimes by interest, and sometimes by force^b. He went therefore but by starts into *Navarre*; where, finding himself more restrained, and his authority bounded by limits which he would not give himself the trouble to understand, he conceived a notion that he was great as a prince and little as a king, which rendered him so cool and unattentive to their concerns, that it was near four years before he was crowned. At length this ceremony was performed on the fifteenth of *May*, at *Pampeluna*, when himself and his consort took the usual oaths; and, according to a custom that had prevailed from the time of the *Goths*, the king and queen were exposed to the public view of their subjects, each of them seated on a buckler, supported by the deputies from the principal towns in their dominions^c.

A. D.
1429.

THE king of *Arragon* and his brother, in conjunction with the malcontents of *Castile*, having renewed the war against the king, that monarch in revenge commanded the people of *Biscay*, and the adjacent provinces, to make irruptions into *Navarre*, which they did, and committed terrible devastations. He likewise declared the king of *Navarre*, his brother the infant Don *Henry*, and their adherents, rebels; confiscated all their estates; and, as the surest way to reduce them, distributed those estates amongst the most potent of the nobility in *Castile*, which had its effect, and at the same time mortified the people of *Navarre* extremely^d. The conventions and treaties made from time to time between the princes of *Arragon* and Don *Juan* of *Castile*, subsisted no longer than either their own or the interests of their respective favourites directed. It was in pursuance of this maxim that the king of *Navarre* contracted his younger daughter Donna *Leonora* to *Gaston de Foix*; and we have an indubitable mark of the declension of this kingdom, in the fortune he gave her, which was fifty thousand crowns^e. The desire of aggrandizing his family induced the king of *Navarre* to accompany his brother into *Italy*, where he was taken prisoner in an engagement at sea, to the great grief of the queen his consort, and the astonish-

The death
of the queen
Donna
Blanch.

A. D.
1433.

A. D.
1435.

^b FAVIN, *Chronique de Navarre*, MAYERNE TURQUET, ZURITA.

^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERREAS, ZURITA *Annal. Arragon*.

^d FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, *Chronique de Navarre*, MARIANA, ZURITA.

^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, JUAN DE MENA, FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

ment

A. D.
1439.

ment of his subjects ^f. He was released either at the close of that, or the beginning of the next year, when he returned into *Spain*, with his head filled with new projects ; in seeking to execute which, he exhausted the forces and the treasure of *Navarre* and *Aragon*. The hopes of his subjects in the first-mentioned kingdom rested entirely on his son Don *Carlos*, prince of *Viana*; and, it was to gratify their desires, that he negotiated and concluded a marriage for him with the princess *Anne*, daughter to the duke of *Cleves*, and niece to the duke of *Burgundy*^g. He had before engaged his eldest daughter Donna *Blanch* to Don *Henry*, prince of *Asturias*; and being summoned to complete this marriage, he carried her with the queen his consort, and the greatest part of the nobility, to *Valladolid*, where on the fifteenth of *September* she was married to the infant Don *Henry*^h, with such pomp and rejoicings as till then had not been seen in *Spain*; notwithstanding which, this alliance began and ended in sorrow, Don *Henry* proving impotent, which the strict honour and modesty of that princess induced her to conceal, till his own folly and fury exposed it. The ceremony was scarce over, before, thro' the intrigues of the king of *Navarre*, the prince put himself at the head of a party against his father; and the sense of these misfortunes, joined to the foresight of the consequences that were like to attend them, broke the heart of queen *Blanch*, who had remained in *Castile* from the time of the marriage, and who left all to her son Don *Carlos*; but with an express command not to assume the title of king, without the leave of his father. She deceased at *Santa-Maria de Nieva*, *April* the third, one thousand four hundred and forty-one, in the sixteenth year of her reign, leaving her son about the age of twenty-one, and her daughter Donna *Blanch* about seventeen ⁱ.

The death
of the prin-
cess of
Viana.

THE king, after the decease of his consort, tho' he retained that title, yet left the affairs of *Navarre* to be administered by the prince of *Viana*, who was very justly considered as the most amiable person of his rank in that age ^k. He had a fine person, excellent parts, and having been educated by those great men, whom the virtues of his grandfather had in-

^f Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^g FAVIN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA.

^h FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, GARIBAY, MARIANA.

ⁱ ALONSO DE PALENCIA, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^k L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

vited

vited to his court, he had a thorough tincture of all polite literature. He disapproved his father's measures in fomenting the troubles of *Castile*, more especially after his marriage with *Donna Joanna*, daughter of *Don Frederic Enriquez*, constable of *Castile*, purely with a view to unite him and the rest of the malcontent lords more closely to his party. He also disliked the seducing the prince of *Asturias*, his brother-in-law, from the duty he owed to the king his father; and it was upon these principles that when the king *Don Juan* of *Navarre* had caused some inroads to be made on the side of *Navarre* into *Castile*, chiefly by the *Gascons* in his pay, by whom some places were taken, the prince *Don Carlos* caused them immediately to be restored. He opposed, from the same motive, tho' he had a singular regard for the governor, his father's marching to the relief of the castle of *Mauleon de Soule*, in which he acted as an auxiliary to the crown of *England* against the *French*, being desirous, if it had been possible, to maintain a strict tranquility in *Navarre*, which he perceived to be the secret his grandfather used to render his dominions rich and flourishing, while a contrary conduct weakened and impoverished those of his neighbours. The king his father did not relish his advice; but on the contrary, instigated by his mother-in-law, began to look with an eye of suspicion on all his actions. About this time, that is on the sixth of *April*, died his consort the princess *Anne* of *Cleves*, at the castle of *Olita*, from whence her corps was transferred to *Pampeluna*, and buried in the cathedral with all suitable ceremony, the king being present¹.

A. D.
1448.

THE king of *Navarre*, partly from his own aversion to the king of *Castile*, and partly thro' the instigation of his queen, tho' she was also of the blood royal, as descending in a direct line from *Don Frederic*, brother to the count of *Trastemara* and *Don Pedro the Cruel*, continued to practise every method possible to disturb the peace of that country, and to augment the misunderstandings in the royal family, which, in the end, turned every way to his own disadvantage; his sisters, the queen-dowager of *Portugal* and the reigning queen of *Castile*, being removed by poison, his brother *Don Henry* slain in the field, himself beaten, and, which he resented most of all, after being amused with a fallacious treaty, his son-in-law, the prince of *Asturias*, taken entirely out of his hands, and reconciled to the king his father by the constable *Don Alvaro de Luna*, who so far merited his master's favour, as that by these expedients he delivered him from his difficulties, and put

*Disputes
between
the king
and his
son.*

¹ FAVIN, ZURITA, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS.

it in his power to revenge the injuries he had received from the king of *Navarre*, by sending his son the prince of *Asturias* to invade his dominions, and following him with a superior army. We have already touched this matter in the histories of *Castile* and *Aragon*; but there is a necessity of retouching it here, not only to preserve the thread of the history, but also to set right some facts which *Mariana* and other *Spanish* historians have misrepresented; for they suggest that this war was undertaken by the crown of *Castile*, in support of *Don Carlos*, prince of *Viana*, against his father: whereas, in truth, their differences were so far from causing the commencement of the war, that they sprang only out of the conclusion of it. The prince of *Asturias* inclined at first to besiege *Viana*; but finding that place well provided, he amused himself with taking some towns of less importance, till upon joining his father they concluded to invest *Estella*. If the prince of *Viana* had been a wicked man, and a thorough politician, he would certainly have remained quiet at *Pampeluna*; more especially if he had had any intelligence with the *Castilians*, since the queen his mother-in-law was in the place, and if taken must have fallen into their hands: but he, as soon as the news reached them, demanded a safe-conduct, went to the camp of the king of *Castile*, and having concluded with him a treaty of neutrality for *Navarre*, engaged him and the prince his son to raise the siege, and to retire into their own dominions. The king of *Navarre* refusing to ratify this treaty, and with a body of troops from *Aragon* committing on the side of *Navarre* hostilities against *Castile*, occasioned the breach between them, the prince of *Viana* thinking himself obliged to adhere to that treaty which his father disapproved ^m.

The prince
defeated
and taken
prisoner.

BUT the great source of the war was the state of the kingdom itself. Wealth, ease, and luxury had revived and nourished that spirit of faction always too common in that country. The *Beaumonts*, at the head of whom was the constable of *Navarre*, adhered to *Don Carlos*: they persuaded him that he had an immediate right to the kingdom; that it was his duty to maintain and exercise this right for the preservation of his subjects, since the activity and intrigues of his father would otherwise exhaust and ruin it. The *Gramonts*, on the other hand, who had at their head the marquis de *Cortes*, a bastard of the royal blood, made their court to the king, by assuring him that he had a clear right to the crown during his natural life; that his measures were perfectly prudent,

^m MARIANA, ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

and

and would certainly be attended with success if not counteracted by his son; and that the people of *Navarre* in general were very desirous of espousing his quarrel against *Castile*. Don *Juan* and Don *Carlos* were both princes of good qualities and shining abilities, and yet were both imposed upon and misled by the insinuations of persons much inferior to them in all respects. This brought on a battle, in which the king's life was in the utmost danger; and at the close of which the prince of *Viana* was taken prisoner by the king's natural son Don *Alonso*ⁿ, who, notwithstanding, had a great affection for him; and *Mariana* assures us the prince was so sensible of it, and so much afraid of his mother-in-law's sinister designs, that he would take no food during the time of his confinement but from his brother^o, which precaution, well or ill founded, rendered her universally detested.

A. D.
1457.

THE king Don *Juan* took great pains to secure the person of his son, sending him first to the castle of *Tafalla*, then to the fortress of *Mallen*, and from thence to that of *Monroy*^p. These precautions served only to heighten suspicions, and to increase the jealousies of his subjects. The states of *Navarre* were the open partizans of the prince: his uncle the king of *Aragon* interposed in his behalf; and the states of that kingdom interceded for him with great warmth^q. In *Castile* the prince of *Asturias*, who had long maltreated his wife, the king of *Navarre*'s daughter, now to shew his hatred of him, procured a divorce, and sent home the princess *Blanch*^r, who being as ill treated by her mother-in-law as the prince Don *Carlos*, it served to heighten the ill opinion the world entertained of that queen, which was but too strong before. At length Don *Juan*, to satisfy the desires of all *Spain*, admitted of a treaty, by which his own revenues were to be restored to Don *Carlos*, those of the kingdom to be divided between them, and the prince restored to his liberty; which last article was executed after many delays, and with such reluctance as shewed that the peace would not continue long^s. It would require some time and space to point out the pretences on which the troubles of *Navarre* were renewed. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that they were no better than pre-

A. D.
1453.

* L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Aragon, Chronique de Navarre.

° Historia general de Espana. ^p L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

¶ ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FERNAN PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA.

¶ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERRERAS.

tences; and that the severity of the father on one side, the ambition of the son on the other, and the determined opinion of both that they were in the right, were the real motives which frustrated all negotiations for a solid peace, and rendered them after every conference less disposed to a reconciliation than they were before it. Besides, the prince Don Carlos relied upon the affections of the people, who were in reality much attached to him, upon the good-will of the king of *Castile*, tho' in truth that proceeded only from hatred to his father, and the hopes that the states of *Aragon* and *Catalonia* would interpose in his favour. On the other hand, the king Don Juan piqued himself upon his authority and experience; his military skill, as indeed he was a great captain; and his ability in managing political intrigues, in which he always took, and often followed the advice of his queen, who was a princess of great address.

A. D.
1454.

Progress of
these disputes.

At length the civil war broke out again in *Navarre*, where it had never been thoroughly composed. Those of the prince's party began it by surprizing St. *Jean de Pie de Port*, the king being then at a distance, which gave him an opportunity of subduing the best part of *Navarre*, the princess *Blanch* giving her brother all the assistance she could*. This provoked Don Juan to such a degree, that, losing all sense of paternal tenderness, he established such a commission as declared, upon the evidence he produced to them, that both the prince Don Carlos and the infanta Donna *Blanch* were guilty of high-treason, and incapable of succeeding. This step once taken, he disinherited both in the most solemn manner; and declared his younger daughter, and in her right the count *de Foix*, to whom she was married, his heirs, appointing him general of his forces, and directing him to reduce *Navarre*†. To secure the utmost success to this plan, he entered into a treaty with the *French* king *Charles* the seventh, and procured his approbation of his conduct towards his son, which, perhaps, he might not have done if *Charles* had not been at this time upon very bad terms with the dauphin, his heir-apparent‡. The next spring the count *de Foix*, having joined a corps of *French* and *Aragonese* troops to his own, entered *Navarre*, and, by dint of superior force, defeated and dissipated the troops of Don Carlos; so that having put sufficient garrisons into *Pampeluna*, and other fortresses, which

* L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ABARCA, MAYERNE
TURQUET.
† ZURITA, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE
TURQUET.
‡ ZURITA, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, FER-
RERAS.

he committed to the principal lords of his party, and having recommended them to the protection of the king of *Castile*, he resolved to make a tour himself into *France*, and pass from thence into *Italy*. It is somewhat uncertain whether he had an audience of *Charles* the seventh or not; but there is no doubt that he continued his journey to *Rome*, where he was treated with great kindness and respect by the Pope; from whence he proceeded to *Naples*, in order to pay his respects to his uncle^x. While he was thus employed, the king his father summoned the deputies of all the towns he held in *Navarre* to meet at *Estella*, where they confirmed the disposition the king had made, and declared his daughter *Donna Leonora* heiress of the kingdom^y. On the other hand, the inhabitants of *Pampeluna*, and the other places in the interest of *Don Carlos*, proclaimed him king; which measure he did not at all approve, as not having force to support it. In this state of things, *Don Alonso* king of *Arragon* interposed, and prevented the count *de Foix* from subduing the kingdom, by engaging *Don Juan* to leave his concerns to the determination of his brother, as the prince of *Viana* had already done; on which *Don Alonso* declared all the proceedings against the prince and the infanta null and void^z. It is very probable that thro' the prudence and probity of this monarch these disputes might have been composed; but before he was able to effect this, *Don Alonso* himself died, not in the most perfect terms of friendship with his nephew, on account of the offers that had been made him of the crown of *Naples*, by some malcontent lords, to the prejudice of his natural son *Don Ferdinand*, for whom he had the highest tenderness. On this account it was that he intimated to his nephew, that it would be prudent for him to retire into *Sicily*, where he remained some time, much to the mortification of his father, to whom that kingdom devolved, with the rest of the dominions of *Arragon*, from an apprehension that he would seize it as an equivalent for *Navarre*, of which he had declared *Donna Leonora*, countess of *Foix*, vice-queen, to the no small dissatisfaction of his subjects. But the prince freed him from these perplexities, by assuring him that he was ready to go into any part of his dominions he pleased, and reside there as a private person for the future^a. A resolution that would have been

A. D.
1457.

^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^y ZURITA Annal. Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^z ZURITA, ABARCA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA, GARIBAY.

highly advantageous to both parties could either have been sincere.

The deplorable death of the prince.

WE have related elsewhere the manner and motives of his return into his father's dominions, and the transactions that followed thereupon; the two negotiations for his marriage with a princess of *Portugal*, and the infanta *Donna Isabella of Castile*; his being arrested, after all the exterior marks of a thorough reconciliation with his father at *Lerida*; his being restored to his liberty by the insurrection of the *Catalans* in his favour; the cession of that principality which his father was obliged to make; and his death within a short space after, on the twenty-third of *December*, in the year of our lord one thousand four hundred and sixty-one, and in the forty-first year of his age, whether of melancholy or of poison is very uncertain. He left behind him three natural children, two sons and a daughter; the eldest, *Don Philip*, applied himself to arms, and was preferred and caressed by his uncle *Don Ferdinand*, afterwards surnamed *the Catholic*; the younger, *Don Juan Alonso*, became an ecclesiastic. As for the daughter, *Donna Agnes de Navarre*, she espoused the duke of *Medina Cæli*, who in her right would have laid claim to the kingdom of *Navarre*, pretending that the deceased prince had espoused her mother; which, however, is not at all probable, since it is very certain the prince by his last testament called to the succession of *Navarre* his sister *Donna Blanch*, to whom of right it belonged^b. His death was far from extinguishing the disturbances that had been raised on his account. In *Catalania* the people seemed disposed to obey any sovereign but their own in *Navarre*. The *Castilians*, under pretence of revenging the death of *Don Carlos*, committed horrid devastations; and the count of *Foix*, and his *Gascons*, who pretended to be in arms for *Don Juan*, did as much mischief as they could to all whom they stiled rebels. Thus the country was depopulated and destroyed on every side; so that most of the improvements made by *Don Carlos the Noble* were buried in their own ruins; and *Don Juan*, who had received this crown in its greatest lustre, and when the territories belonging to it were in the most flourishing state, saw it now in the most low and languishing condition, and which was an additional mortification, heard his subjects almost universally ascribe his misfortunes and their own to his ambitious and unquiet disposition; to the unjust treatment his son had met with; and above all, to the intrigues of his queen, who was

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Aragon, ABAECA.

said to have poisoned her son-in-law; to have been struck with a cancer as a judgment from heaven; and to have confessed this crime upon her death-bed, at which the king was so much shocked that he instantly quitted the room, and could never be prevailed upon to visit her afterwards^c. But the *Spanish* historians say nothing of this for very obvious reasons.

BUT Don *Carlos* was not the only victim of these intrigues; *And of his sister Donna Blanch.* for the king Don *Juan*, finding himself so embarrassed on all sides, resolved to deliver up the unfortunate *Donna Blanch*, his eldest daughter, into the power of her younger sister; and, under pretence of marrying her to *Charles* duke of *Berry*, he carried her by force over the *Pyrenees*. In her passage she wrote so moving a letter to Don *Henry*, king of *Castile*, that it can scarce be read by any person of common humanity at this day with dry eyes^d. She afterwards made a solemn protest, that in case she was obliged to renounce her just rights to the succession in favour of her sister, or of her brother Don *Ferdinand*, such renunciation should be null and void, as being directly opposite to her intention, and extorted from her by violence. Some few days after she made a full and free cession of all her rights to the kingdom of *Navarre*, in favour of *Henry*, king of *Castile*, and his heirs, in consideration of that constant protection which he had at all times afforded to her deceased brother and herself. After she was delivered up she was sent to the castle of *Orthes* in *Bearn*, and there kept in close custody as a prisoner of state by those who ought to have considered her as their sovereign^e. This wicked proceeding being attended with the most disagreeable events, the king, either forced by the exigency of his affairs, or beginning to have a true sense of the cruel usage of his daughter, concluded a new treaty with the *Beaumonts*, who had always adhered to her and her brother's interest, restored them to their estates and dignities, and undertook that his daughter *Donna Blanch* should return into *Navarre*, and that the whole affair of the succession should be regulated in an assembly of the states, to which the count of *Foix* was to give his consent. But to prevent the effects of this treaty, the counts of *Foix* caused her sister to be poisoned in the place of her confinement, where she expired *December* the second, one thousand four hundred and sixty-four^f.

A. D.
1462.

^c Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET, ZURITA.
^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, MARIANA. ^e ZURITA, FERREAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^f Chronique de Navarre, ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

New troubles in Navarre.

By this melancholy event the treaty before-mentioned was entirely defeated, and things still remained in a very unsettled condition in this kingdom, while the rest of the dominions of Don Juan laboured under all the miseries of a civil war. However, Don Juan still kept the title, and in some measure the possession, which at length provoked the count de Foix to such a degree, that, with the assistance of the *Beaumonts*, he endeavoured to make himself master of Navarre by force of arms; but the *Gramonts*, taking up arms on the behalf of the king, and receiving seasonable succours from him, soon brought the count to listen to an accommodation^g. His son Don Gaston de Foix, for whose sake all these struggles were made, and who had married the princess *Magdalen*, sister to the king of France, went about this time to *Bordeaux*, in order to assist at the marriage of the duke of Berry, where, in a tournament, the splinter of a lance struck him in the eye, of which he quickly died^h. He left behind him a son, *Francis Phœbus*, and a daughter whose name was *Katherine*. The same year Donna *Leonora*, countess of Foix, held an assembly of the states at *Tafalla*; where a quarrel arose between the constable of Navarre and the bishop of *Pampeluna*, whose great familiarity with the countess had excited some indecent reports. The bishop, to prevent things from coming to extremity, retired to a convent; but the countess, importuning him to make her a visit, and sending some persons of distinction to accompany him, he was so imprudent as to venture out of his retreat, and was by the constable killed in his passage, which threw the whole kingdom into disorder, notwithstanding the author of this murder retired immediately into *Aragon*ⁱ: from whence, however, it was not long before he returned again in triumph.

A. D.
1469.

Death of the count de Foix.

THE countess, *Leonora* had a very high spirit, and would willingly have shewn it by punishing severely such as had condemned her authority, which in a free country is never acceptable, the people being unwilling to hear of any authority but that of the law, which punishes indeed, but with justice and in moderation. Finding it impracticable to execute her desires by force, she pressed the king her father to put an end to these disorders, by consenting that the government should be entirely regulated at the will of the states, supposing

^g ABARCA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY.

^h ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FERRERAS.

ⁱ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

that

that if she was once invested with the executive power, her designs might be easily accomplished. King *John*, who was exceedingly embarrassed at this time by the *Catalans*, supported by the *French*, accepted readily of this expedient; and the states being assembled at *Olita*, a regulation was settled, which consisted of thirteen articles; the title and the administration, when present, being reserved to the old king, and in his absence invested in the countess *Leonora*, who is styled heiress of *Navarre*, and infanta of *Arragon* and *Sicily*^k. Provision was likewise made for the pacification and gradual extinction of those feuds which had so long distracted the kingdom. By degrees, things might have been reduced into good order, but the countess *Leonora* was too much in haste; and having drawn the marshal of *Navarre* to her party, she attempted to surprise *Pampeluna*, which had been always in the hands of the *Beaumonts*, but in which the marshal of *Navarre* had some correspondence. The scheme succeeded so far, that the marshal found admittance with fifty or sixty young gentlemen of family; but they discovered themselves too soon, and the inhabitants taking arms they were reduced in the place to which they fled for shelter, and, contrary to the capitulation they had made, were massacred to a man^l. This added fresh fuel to the countess's resentment, who began to raise forces with great diligence; and pressing her husband to come and assume the command, he passed the *Pyrenees* with a considerable force: but what the event of this irruption might have been we cannot say, since the count died of a fever before he undertook any thing, and was buried in the church of *Orthes* in *Bearn*; in the month of *August*, one thousand four hundred and seventy-two^m. The unexpected death of her husband so much disturbed Donna *Leonora*'s projects, that she was unable to do any thing this year, which gave the faction of the *Beaumonts* time to fortify all the places that were in their hands; and this opportunity they took care not to lose.

THE countess, still bent on establishing her authority, and punishing those who had last offended her, turned herself on every side, and solicited succours from every quarter; but this manner of proceeding, instead of quieting, increased the distractions of *Navarre*, and made the weakness of the government still more apparent. At length, when she had few places remaining, when all her power depended upon a mili-

^k GARIBAY, FERRERAS, ZURITA. ^l L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^m MARIANA, FERRERAS.

tary force, which she was unable to pay, and which had so wasted the country that it could not pay herself, and that her revenue was come to nothing, she applied herself to her father king *John of Arragon*, and her brother *Don Ferdinand of Castile*, who interposed to no great purpose; but who at length had a meeting with her at *Vittoria*, on purpose to discuss these matters thoroughly. There *Don Ferdinand* insisted that the only possible method of putting an end to these quarrels was to reconcile the parties, and grant an indemnity to all, which had always been the opinion of his father, and which at length prevailed. The countess *Donna Leonora* was very little satisfied with this interview, notwithstanding her own administration was supported, and the succession of her children secured^a. She knew the count *de Lerin* had married *Donna Leonora of Arragon*, her natural sister. She apprehended that the *Beaumonts* had demanded and obtained the protection of *Don Ferdinand*; and that, in consequence of this pacification, her views would be for ever defeated, her favourites remain unrewarded, and those who had opposed her unpunished, which was what she could not bear. The violence of her temper, and her inability to conceal it, as it caused so it increased her misfortunes; for the distaste she shewed to her brother hindered her receiving any longer the pension paid her from the treasury of *Castile*, which brought her so low, that she was obliged to sell part of her jewels to subsist the household, rather than the court, she kept in the castle of *Tafalla*. In this situation her affairs stood, when her father, worn out with years and infirmities, breathed his last at *Barcelona*, on *Tuesday* the nineteenth of *January*, one thousand four hundred and seventy-nine^o. His circumstances were yet worse than hers, since the very moveables of his palace were sold to discharge the expences of his funeral, which were far from being considerable. In the midst of this poverty he directed many foundations, and other works of cost, by his will, which were punctually performed by his son *Don Ferdinand the Catholic*, to whom he left all the rest of his dominions, except the kingdom of *Navarre*, which indeed was not his to leave, and which had suffered more under his reign, who either was or might have been the most puissant of its kings, than under the feeblest of its monarchs. So little does the happiness of a people depend on the grandeur, or even on the abilities of their prince, unless both are directed by a good intention.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, HERNANDO DE PULGAR, GARIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ° ZUPITA Arenal. ARRAGON, HERNANDO DE PULGAR, GARIBAY, FERRERAS, MIGUEL CARBONELL.

LEONORA, countess of *Foix*, was immediately proclaimed queen on the certain advice of her father's death. It was an event she had long and earnestly expected, and which she flattered herself would have put an end to all the inconveniencies to which she been for so many years exposed. But it came too late; for chagrin had made so great an impression, that this pompous title produced no effect. She had scarce time to know she was a queen before that disease which her grief had produced, removed her out of this life after a reign of two and twenty days. She expired on the tenth of *February*; and by her will recommended the care of her grandchildren to their father's relations; that is, in effect, to the crown of *France*, without mentioning her brother *Don Ferdinand*. This princess had a numerous posterity, of whom it is necessary to speak, as it will throw light on various parts of our history. Of these there were four sons and five daughters. *Don Gaston* bore the title of prince of *Viana*, slain at a tournament, as we have before mentioned, as some say by the hand of *Charles* duke of *Berry*, in honour of whose marriage it was celebrated. *John de Foix*, lord of *Narbonne*, which his father purchased for him. He left two children, the famous *Gaston de Foix*, who was killed at the battle of *Ravenna*, where he was generalissimo of the army of *Lewis* the twelfth; and *Germana de Foix*, who became the consort of *Ferdinand the Catholic*. *Peter de Foix*, the third son of this princess, was an ecclesiastic, and honoured by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth with the purple. *James*, the youngest, bore the title of count of *Urtues*, distinguished himself in the profession of arms, and was esteemed one of the bravest men, and one of the greatest captains of his age. The princess *Mary* espoused *William* marquis of *Montferrat*. *Joanna* married *John* count of *Armagnac*. *Margaret* became the consort of *Francis* the second, duke of *Bretagne*, by whom she had two daughters, *Anne* and *Isabel*; the former shared the bed of *Charles* the eighth and *Lewis* the twelfth, kings of *France*. The princess *Katherine* married *Gaston de Foix*, count of *Candale*, by whom she had two sons and a daughter, *Anne*, who married *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary*; the youngest, *Leonora*, who was promised to the duke of *Medina Cæli*, but died unmarried. It has been remarked that there were four queens of this house, cousin-germans to each other, living at a time; viz. *Katherine* of *Navarre*, *Germana* of *Castile* and *Arragon*, *Anne* of *France*, and *Anne* of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; but this at a juncture when it was far from being happy.

Short reign
of queen
Leonora.

A. D.
1479.

P ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARIBAY, APARCA, Chronique
de Navarre, MARIANA.

FRANCIS

Francis
Phœbus
king of
Navarre.

FRANCIS PHOEBUS, count of *Foix*, lord of *Bearn*, and of various other places, was immediately acknowledged sovereign of *Navarre*, upon the decease of his grandmother †. He was just entered into the twelfth year of his age; and as he had received the name of *Phœbus* from his exquisite beauty, so he might be said to deserve it no less for the qualities of his mind, since all writers agree that he was the most capable and best educated prince of that age, his mother the princess *Magdalen of France* having been extremely attentive to whatever concerned his health, and his uncle the cardinal having caused him to be constantly instructed in his presence: but notwithstanding the clearness of his right, and the lustre of his birth, as being nephew to the monarch of *France*, and grand-nephew to the king of *Castile* and *Aragon*, he had nothing more than the title of king of *Navarre*, the *Beaumonts* and the *Gramonts* being in full possession of all the places of any strength or consequence in that country, except those in the hands of king *Ferdinand*, who held them by no better title †. But this monarch coming to *Saragossa*, in order to receive the homage of his hereditary subjects, the cardinal of *Foix* and his brother prince *James* came thither to confer with him, and to intreat his interposition for calming those troubles that had so long distracted a kingdom in which he had so great an interest. The king received them with great civility, and treated them with much candour. He observed, that severity could only render things worse; that where all were equally to blame, and none could well be punished, a general pardon was the safest and the speediest means of reducing things to order; that having published this, they would do well to go into *Navarre*, and try to the utmost what fair means would do, promising to give them all the countenance he could, and if this failed to assist them with his forces †. They went accordingly into *Navarre*, and held an assembly of the states, where they met with a better reception than they expected. The deputies from the cities and towns told them plainly, that the source of their misfortunes was the absence of their sovereigns, which rendered some men very considerable, who were otherwise of no great account; that even now the friends of mutiny and faction were but few; and that tho' the great lords withheld the cities from each other, yet none of them could withhold them from the king, as to whose title there was no question. Upon this the two princes returned, and

† L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET. † GARIBAY. † HERNANDO DE PULGAR, ZURITA, ABARCA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

demanded

demanded once more the sentiments of Don *Ferdinand*, who approved entirely the advice given them by the states, adding, the young king ought to bring with him a good force to act with spirit, but to speak with mildness. All things were quickly regulated after their return to *Bearn*; from whence the young king, in company with his mother, his uncles, and a small but well appointed army, entered his hereditary dominions. It is said, and very probably with truth, that the count *de Lorin* was far from being well pleased at his arrival: however, he went to meet him, and found him so well accompanied, that he held it expedient to deliver up *Pampeluna*, which he did with great expressions of loyalty; and the king having made his public entry into it on the third, was crowned on the sixth of *November*; with the universal acclamation of all his subjects^t, who were far from apprehending this ceremony would be but once more seen in *Navarre*.

A. D.
1481.

As soon as this ceremony was performed, he visited all the considerable places in the kingdom, accompanied by such a force as hindered any difficulty of his obtaining possession. He likewise made a strict enquiry into the government, and how the laws were carried into execution: all which he performed with a gravity so much superior to his age, that the great lords were astonished, and people received him as a king sent from heaven. This conduct was very unusual in a minority, the king acting in person, while all the grants and other instruments ran in the name of his mother, who styled herself *Magdalen*, sister and daughter of *France*, princess of *Viana*, and tutored to her well-beloved son *Francis Phæbus*, by the grace of God king of *Navarre*. This bright scene was but of short duration. This excellent young monarch was under the eye of two of the most artful and subtle monarchs that perhaps ever reigned, *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, and Don *Ferdinand the Catholic*. Family and inclination bound his mother blindly to the former; whereas his interest, and consequently hers, should have swayed them to the latter. Don *Ferdinand* proposed to him, or rather to his mother, the marriage of Donna *Joanna*, who was afterwards the heiress of all his dominions; and at the same time proposed to contract the princess *Katherine* to his son the infant Don *Juan*. If this had taken effect *Navarre* had been absolutely secure, and the young king might have availed himself of the wisdom and power of their Catholic majesties, and of the prosperity which they derived from both. On the other hand, the *French* monarch proposed a match with the unfortunate Donna *Ja-*

Happy and
beloved at
his accession.

^t ZURITA Annal. Arragon. MARIANA, FERRERAS.

anna, daughter to Henry the Impotent, king of Castile, then in Portugal, which must have been attended with a long war, to which the force of Navarre was by no means equal; tho' the young king, by threatening death to any who attempted to revive the factions of Beaumont and Gramont, and the like punishment for the sounding a trumpet, or exciting a tumult, had brought his dominions into a surprizing degree of order and obedience^u.

Sudden
and sus-
pected
death.

A. D.
1483.

THE principal nobility of Navarre, and more especially the count de Lerin, who it was found absolutely necessary to confirm in the office of constable, which he had taken upon himself, and was the most considerable in the kingdom, pressed the marriage with great warmth, probably from a motive of interest: but from whatever motive it was, they offered unanswerable reasons in its favour. On the other hand, the French ambassador, and all who were of his faction, amused the princess-regent with the visionary hopes of raising her son to the throne of Castile, by a confederacy then upon the carpet between Lewis the eleventh of France, the king of Portugal, and other princes. To rid herself, therefore, from these importunities, or perhaps that she might have the young king and his sister more immediately in her power, she resolved to carry them back into Bearn; and this, tho' dissuaded from it by all the old and wise counsellors of Navarre, she performed. Immediately after their return to Pau, the usual residence of the court, the king began to decline; and on the thirtieth of January, one thousand four hundred and eighty-three, breathed his last, and was buried in the cathedral church of Lescar^v. All historians agree that there were very strong suspicions of poison; and some relate, that being much addicted to music, the young king complained that he was never well after putting a new flute to his mouth; yet the physicians could determine nothing as to his disease, which consisted altogether in an inward wasting, without any exterior symptoms; but what contributed most to the report was, that he said often to those about him, my kingdom is not of this world. He was sincerely regretted by his subjects, and with great reason; for as they had the most pleasing expectations from his genius, capacity, and strong sense of justice, so they foresaw very clearly that by his death their former troubles would be revived: in which they were far from being mistaken; for the count de

^v HERNANDO DE PULGAR, Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY, ZURITA, ABARCA.
^w HERNANDO DE PULGAR, MARIANA, GARIBAY, MAYERNE
TURQUET.

Lerin

Lerin had no sooner informed their Catholic majesties of this melancholy event, than *Don Juan de Ribeyra* was sent with a strong corps of troops to support the count, who had repossessed himself of *Pampeluna* and other places ².

DONNA Katherine de Foix was immediately declared queen *Katherine* of *Navarre*, upon the decease of her brother; but the princess *Magdalen* her mother quickly found that the perplexities *queen of* *Navarre*, which she before thought intolerable were now increased. *Doctor Maldonado* was sent from their Catholic majesties to condole with her on the death of her son, and to press the marriage of her daughter with the infant *Don Juan*, heir-apparent of their Catholic majesties, as the only means to extinguish the factions which were again revived in *Navarre*; and to protect the young queen against the viscount *de Norbonne*, who pretended to be the heir male of the family of *Foix* ¹. The princess, determined to support the interests of *France*, at the expence of her daughter as well as her son, after professing a deep sense of the honour done her, told him that *Navarre* was a country which must be governed by men; that this compelled her to think of marrying her daughter without delay, and would not suffer her to have any thoughts of their Catholic majesties heir, who was but an infant. The *Spanish* minister, who was both an able and an honest man, told her plainly what he thought of her measures, and of her reasoning; remarked the change of affairs in *France* by the death of her brother; the certainty of keeping all things quiet till the prince of *Asturias* was of age, if she consented to the marriage; and the great risk she must run in disposing of the queen her daughter without the consent of the states of *Navarre*, purely to gratify the court of *France*, who, tho' they might promise, would find it difficult to grant her sufficient assistance ².

ALL this had no effect on the princess *Magdalen*, any more *Jean d'Al-* than the viscount of *Norbonne's* entering by force into the *bert king* county of *Foix*, of which he reduced the greatest part. It *in her* only taught her to see the necessity of marrying the young *right-* queen without delay, which operated upon her so strongly, that, at the instance of the court of *France*, she concluded a marriage for that young princess in the month of *January*, with *Jean d'Albert*, son to *Alan d'Albert*, count *de Perigord*, *Limoges*, *Dreux*, &c. and, notwithstanding the town of *Tudela*

² ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARIBAY, MARIANA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

¹ HERNANDO DE PULGAR, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.

² PULGAR, MARIANA, FERRERAS,

declared.

A. D.
1484.

declared they would put themselves under the protection of their Catholic majesties, in case she married her daughter without the consent of the states, it was celebrated at *Orthes* on the fourteenth of *June* following^a; and the lord of *Abe-nas*, uncle to the new-married prince, was declared viceroy of *Navarre*, where the faction of the *Gramonts* professed themselves extremely loyal to their queen. By their assistance he governed so much of that country as acknowledged the queen's authority, with much prudence and moderation: the rest the count *de Lerin* governed with almost as great authority as if he had been king, under the protection of their Catholic majesties, who justified this behaviour chiefly from political motives, alledging that *Navarre* was the gate of *Spain*; and that in common prudence they were bound to keep it shut against the *French*, who with-held from them the county of *Roussillon*, and were disposed to let no opportunity slip of giving them trouble^b. It was not long before *Jean d'Albert* and his consort found themselves under a necessity of seeking the friendship of *Don Ferdinand*. Their affairs on both sides the *Pyrenees* were so miserably distressed, and during the nonage of *Charles* the eighth, the government was so little disposed in their favour, or rather shewed such a visible partiality for the male line of the house of *Foix*, that, how unwillingly soever, they were constrained to apply themselves to the Catholic king, who might have found many pretences, either to complete the conquest of their kingdom, or have abandoned it to the ambition of a few great lords; who, dividing it as their influence and alliance directed, would have held it under his protection. *Don Ferdinand* received these applications very civilly, and kindly assured them he was by no means desirous of giving any countenance to their enemies, or of depriving them of their dominions; that, on the contrary, he would do for them whatever they could reasonably desire, as having nothing more at heart than to see them peaceably in possession of their hereditary dominions, and freed from all the difficulties to which their family had been so long exposed. In a small time after they renewed their addresses, by *Alan d'Albert*, father-in-law to the queen, who was at this time in arms against the *French* king, and who came to *Valencia* to demand succours for himself and his confederates, the duke of *Bretagne* and the duke of *Orleans*, and protection for his son. *Don Ferdinand* told him that he was about to undertake the

^a ZURITA Annal. Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY.

^b HERNANDO DE PULGAR, Chronique de Navarre, MARIANA.

war

war of *Granada*, which hindered him from doing all he asked ; but that he was ready to assist him to the utmost of his power. To shew he was in earnest, he directed a squadron to be fitted out in *Biscay* for his service ; ordered Don *Juan de Ribeyra* to restore all the places he had taken in *Navarre*, and at the same time declared that kingdom under his protection^c, which was of very great consequence at this juncture.

A. D.
1488.

THE kingdom of *Navarre*, tho' secured from foreign invasions by this compromise with *Castile*, was not entirely free from domestic discord ; the factions that had torn it so long continuing to tear it still, tho' not with so great violence as in times past. At length the queen and her consort were prevailed upon, by the earnest solicitation of the states, to pass the mountains and fix their residence at *Pampeluna*, where they were received with great pomp, proclaimed, and, after taking the usual oaths, crowned king and queen of *Navarre*, on the tenth of *January*, in the presence of many prelates and great lords, and of Don *Juan* and Don *Pedro de Silva*, their Catholic majesties ambassadors^d. In the month of *April* they sent the baron *de Lautrec*, and other deputies, to renew the alliance made with the king of *Castile* ; by which the king and queen of *Navarre* promised to keep the entrances of *Navarre* in such a manner that no troops might be able to pass, and not to give any assistance whatever to the enemies of his Catholic majesty. On the other hand, Don *Ferdinand* took them for his true friends and allies, and swore, in the presence of the ambassadors, that no injury should be offered to their subjects, either in the kingdom of *Navarre* or lordship of *Bearn*^e. The next year the war breaking out between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*, the queen of *Navarre* went to *Alfaro* on the frontiers, where she had an interview with their Catholic majesties, where these promises were on both sides renewed. In virtue of this agreement, the kingdom of *Navarre* did not suffer in the least during the course of that war ; and after the peace the harmony between the crowns seemed to subsist in the same cordial manner^f : however, some persons having suggested to the king and queen, that this neutrality had been of so great consequence to their Catholic majesties that they had reason to expect some ample gratification, they were prevailed upon to send two ecclesiastics ambassadors

*Differences with Don Ferdinand.*A. D.
1494.

^c GARIBAY, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^e HERNANDO DE PULGAR, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS.
^f ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARIBAY, MARIANA.

into *Castile*, to demand that all the lordships and estates that had been possessed by the king Don *Juan*, as infant of *Castile*, should be restored to them. Don *Ferdinand* heard this very calmly, and returned them for answer, that those estates had been justly forfeited, and long ago united to the crown, and afterwards granted to other subjects, so that the restitution was impossible; but that if it had been otherwise, himself and not they was intitled to all the estates in *Castile* belonging to that prince. This and their forcing the count *de Lerin* to quit *Navarre*, occasioned such a misunderstanding, as induced the king *Jean d'Albert*, who perceived he had pushed this matter too far, to make a step on the other side, which was still more extraordinary; for he went in person to *Seville*, to assure Don *Ferdinand* that, notwithstanding his reconciliation to the *French* court, his intentions were entirely upright with regard to the crown of *Castile*. The Catholic king treated him with great magnificence^h; endeavoured to reconcile him to his brother-in-law the count *de Lerin*, or, in case that was impracticable, offered to give that nobleman, whom he had created marquis of *Huesca*, an equivalent for his lands in *Andalusia*, and a large sum to the king of *Navarre* to consent to this bargain. At his first arrival this prince had lodgings assigned him in the royal palace; and, to prevent giving him umbrage, the count *de Lerin* was forbid to enter it; yet knowing him to be a very wise man, the king of *Navarre* upon this proposition desired he might take his advice. At this interview the constable count *de Lerin* told him, that lands and fortresses could have no price; for that whatever sum he received would in time be spent, while the places remaining to the crown of *Castile* would prove a perpetual curb to him and his successors. The king not only took his advice, but received him into favour; invited him to return into *Navarre*, which not long after he accepted of, the peace being renewedⁱ; but their broils, as we shall have occasion to shew, broke out again, and ended, as might have been easily foreseen, in the ruin of both parties.

A. D.
1500.

Renewed
unseason-
ably by the
king of
Navarre.

ABOUT four years after the king and queen of *Navarre* sent the governor of *Pampeluna* into *Castile*, to renew their pretensions to the estates of their ancestor, as having been settled by the marriage-contract with queen *Blanch*, on the issue of that marriage. Don *Ferdinand* gave them a general answer; and, as a proof of his regard for their interest, of-

§ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA, MAYERNE
TURQUET. ^h GARIBAY, HERNANDO DE PULGAR, ZU-
RITA. ⁱ MARIANA, Chronique de Navarre, GARIBAY.

ferred

ferred them his grand-daughter Donna *Isabella* for their son *Henry*, prince of *Viana*, which they accepted with joy; but from which they afterwards disengaged themselves*. When the archduke *Philip* took the title of king of *Castile* the king of *Navarre* entered into an alliance with him, and upon his demise opposed to the utmost the recalling Don *Ferdinand* to the regency. When he discovered this to be ineffectual he solicited the emperor *Maximilian* to bring Don *Carlos* into *Spain*, and offered him a passage with his army thro' his dominions¹. To shew how much he was in earnest, and to render himself entirely master at home, he raised an army; and, after a brisk war, having dispossessed the count *de Lerin* of every fortress he had in the kingdom, he drove him to take shelter in *Arragon*; and after this success began to fortify his frontiers, to increase the number of his forces, and to enter into negotiations with *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*, that he might not only be in a condition to defend himself, but also become formidable to his neighbours, believing that the fatigues and infirmities of Don *Ferdinand*, and the many arduous affairs he had upon his hands, would hinder his giving him any disturbance. He was the more confirmed in this by reason that his old antagonist *Lewis de Beaumont*, count *de Lerin*, constable of the kingdom, was dead in *Arragon*, and his countess also, who was sister to Don *Ferdinand*^m: but he did not consider that the son of the constable, and many other persons of distinction, who adhered to the faction of the *Beaumonts*, were received and caressed by the Catholic king. He also promised himself much from that affability and familiarity with which he lived, in respect to the nobility and persons of distinction at *Pampeluna*, which produced indeed, so long as fortune seemed to favour him, an appearance of general and deep affection; but in reality, as his queen told him, lessened him so much in their opinions, that they looked upon him rather as plain *Jean d'Albert*, than as king of *Navarre*, as he soon felt to his cost. Condescension can seldom be so tempered as to be commendable in kings.

THE success of Don *Ferdinand's* arms in *Italy*, his alliance *Who is by* with *England*, and the obligation he had thereby laid himself *him dispos-* under of transferring the war into *France*, all pointed to the *essed of his* great design which he had been long meditating, of conquer- *dominions* ing, or in plain terms, usurping the kingdom of *Navarre*, *in the space* for which he made all the necessary preparations, almost with- *of a few* out of a few days.

* ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERRERAS.

L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA.

RITA, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.

¹ GARIBAY,

^m ZU-

A. D.
1512.

out suspicion. As soon as this was accomplished he acquainted the king of *Navarre*, that, intending to pass thro' his dominions with an army into *France*, he expected that *Estella*, *St. Jean Pie de Port*, and some other places, should be put into his handsⁿ; which proposition the king rejected, but endeavoured several times to enter into a negociation on milder terms, in which Don *Ferdinand* soothed him till his general Don *Frederic de Toledo*, duke of *Alba*, in the month of *July*, entered his dominions with a numerous army, well provided with all things, advancing directly towards *Pampeluna*. The king being informed that *Lewis de Beaumont*, son to the old constable, commanded the vanguard, and perceiving that he had a strong party among the inhabitants, altered the resolution he had formed of defending that place to the last extremity, determining to quit *Navarre* and retire into *France*, with which, tho' very unwillingly, queen *Katherine* was forced to comply^o. *Pampeluna* and several other strong places opened their gates; and, upon a promise that their privileges should be preserved, submitted. The king being informed of this sent to the duke of *Alba* to demand conditions. His answer was, that upon delivering up his kingdom till Don *Ferdinand* should think fit to restore it, and sending the prince of *Viana* as a hostage, he might make his peace. The king rejected this, in which he was certainly right; but Don *Ferdinand* sending a minister to confer with him, he arrested and delivered him up to the *French*, which was apparently wrong: he quickly saw it, and procured him to be set at liberty; but then it was too late, and Don *Ferdinand* took occasion from thence to refuse to treat with him at all^p. His queen is also said to have told him, that if she had been *John* and he *Katherine*, they had lived and died king and queen of *Navarre*. The unfortunate are always upbraided.

An unsuccessful attempt by king John.

ON the other hand the *French*, amazed at this sudden conquest, suspected, or pretended to suspect, that the king of *Navarre* acted in concert with the *Spaniards*, and had betrayed his country instead of losing it, which obliged that unfortunate king to go to *Paris*, where having convinced king *Lewis* that his only crime consisted in his confidence in the justice of his Catholic majesty, and the loyalty of his own subjects, the *French* army that was then assembling on the frontiers was ordered to proceed, and the duke of *Valois*, afterwards king

ⁿ GARIBAY, MARIANA.

P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.

^o ZURITA Annal. Arragon,

P. GARIBAY, PET. MARTYR ANGILER. ANTONIO DE NEBRIXA, ZURITA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

Francis

Francis the first, was directed to place king *John* again upon his throne¹. That monarch himself, with a body of six thousand of his own troops, forced a passage thro' the vallies, and entered *Navarre*, where a great part of the country revolted in his favour, and he actually laid siege to *Pampeluna*, tho' at length he was constrained to raise it². The advanced season of the year, want of provisions, the superior capacity of the duke of *Alba*, the misunderstandings between the dukes of *Bourbon* and *Longueville*, and king *Ferdinand's* sending a fresh army into *Navarre*, under the command of the duke de *Najara*, were the causes that obliged king *John* to retreat, and not any want either of courage or capacity in him, for he gave great marks of both in the course of this campaign. The next year he was in a great measure left to himself, the *French* finding it requisite for their affairs to make a truce; and, as a mark of their punctuality and good faith, ordered the forces that king *John* had raised in their territories to disband, by which he lost the fortress of *Moya*, the only place of consequence that held out for him in his dominions; and the death of *Lewis* the twelfth, which happened on the first day of the next year, hindered him from being able to make any considerable effort, tho' he made the best preparations for it in his power, and held some correspondencies in *Navarre*, tho' the far greater part of the nobility had been flattered, or forced to yield obedience to Don *Ferdinand the Catholic*, and his daughter Donna *Joanna*, upon a promise that the rights of the kingdom should be secured, and their particular privileges preserved³, which, in their circumstances, was as much as they could expect.

ONE of the last actions of the Catholic monarch's life was, to engage the states of *Castile* to annex or incorporate *Navarre*, so as to remain for ever indivisible from their crown, without the specification of any save the ancient rights⁴. He pretended however various titles, and applied them variously as his occasions required. Sometimes he derived his title from his wife *Germana de Foix*, which title must have been of very quick growth, since it arose from the death of her brother *Gaston de Foix*, duke of *Nemours*, slain in the month of *April*, the invasion being made in the month of *July*. But the truth was, that *Katherine* queen of *Navarre* had very large estates in *Catalonia*; these king *Ferdinand* seized and gave to his wife

*The annex-
ing Na-
varre to
Castile.*

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY. ² ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARIBAY, MARIANA. ³ P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, GARIBAY, FERRERAS. ⁴ MARIANA, ZURITA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

Germana, who as he said was the sole heiress of the house of *Foix*; but if it was true that she could be heiress to her brother *Don Gaston*, then that rule would hold with respect to the queen of *Navarre*; and her brother *Francis Phœbus* and *Katherine* sole heiress of the house of *Foix*, upon *Ferdinand's* own shewing. Sometimes the Pope's sentence^u, by which *John* and *Katherine* were deprived of their dominions, was pleaded for a just ground of conquest; but then this bull of deprivation was never seen, and if it ever existed was granted after the conquest was made; but the truth is, that *Ferdinand* had two irresistible titles, a long head, and a long sword; and if justice will not admit of these, then the seizing and keeping the kingdom of *Navarre* is a plain and flagrant usurpation; and indeed in that light it has been generally and justly considered.

Death of
the king
and queen
in exile.

AFTER the death of *Don Ferdinand the Catholic*, the unfortunate king of *Navarre* made another attempt; but the marshal of *Navarre*, who was at the head of it, was surprised, and several other persons of distinction taken prisoners; and this defeat is said to have afflicted the king so much, that he died chiefly of chagrin, in the month of *June*, one thousand five hundred and sixteen^x. His queen survived him about eight months; but the exact time of her death does not appear. They had in all fourteen children, of which it will be necessary only to mention four. *Henry* succeeded them in all their claims, as well as in their estates; *Charles* died in *Italy*, a youth; *Anne* espoused the count of *Candale*; and *Isabel* became the consort of the count *de Roban*, in *Bretagne*. Both directed that their bodies should be deposited only in the cathedral of *Lescar*, in order to their being afterwards removed to *Pampeluna*, when it should be recovered by their posterity, to whom, notwithstanding their misfortunes, they left a great patrimony, composed of the estates belonging to the two ancient families of *Foix* and *Albert*, what was left of the equivalents given for the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and some fragments of the realm of *Navarre*^z. Here in strictness we might end this history, since the kingdom of *Navarre* has ever since remained, and still remains to the descendants of *Ferdinand the Catholic*; and those who afterwards preserved the title, and were stiled kings of *Navarre* in *France*, ought to be regarded as princes of that kingdom of which they are now become sovereigns; but for the sake of perspicuity, and that

^u ANTONIO NEBRIXA, GARIBAY, ZURITA, MARIANA.

^v PET. MARTYR ANGLER. PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL, GARIBAY.

^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

the reader may see in the same place, and at the same time, all that can be said on the same subject, we will continue, tho' very succinctly, the history of these princes till they were seated on the throne of *France*.

HENRY the second, king of *Navarre*, as he is stiled, was about fourteen, when, upon the death of his mother, he assumed that title, under the protection of *Francis* the first, who by the conclusion of the treaty of *Nojon* with the archduke *Charles*, apprehended he had laid a good foundation for the restitution of that realm to the house of *Albert*; but after *Charles* became king of *Spain*, and was solicited to the performance of it by a solemn embassy from king *Francis*, he returned only general answers, which served to keep the *French* in suspense and himself in security¹. We have shewn in the history of that regency, which took place on the death of *Don Ferdinand*, what method was taken for the preservation of *Navarre*, and upon what motives all the famous fortresses in that kingdom were dismantled and demolished, excepting *Pampeluna*, and one or two more. This was certainly a very wise course for preventing insurrections in a country where every town, and almost every village, was divided into factions; but it laid the kingdom open to foreign invasions, more especially in the situation things were in; and they had a prince at the back of the *Pyrenees*, who in the opinion of all the world had a just claim to the crown. When, therefore, the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Aragon* were perplexed by the insurrection of the commons, *Andrew de Foix*, lord of *Esparre*, having made himself master of *St. Jean de Pied de Port*, entered *Navarre* with a *French* army; and finding the people well affected towards their natural sovereign, advanced directly to *Pampeluna*, which opened its gates, and in the space of a very few days the best part of the kingdom was recovered, and the army of the lord *de Esparre* augmented in such a manner, that he ventured to invest *Logroño*². But the duke of *Najara*, the *Spanish* viceroy, having by this time received reinforcements of old troops from different parts of the kingdom, obliged the *French* to raise the siege. They continued their retreat into the neighbourhood of *Pampeluna*, where, upon some intelligence of a disorder in the *Spanish* army, the *French* general took a resolution to fight; and tho' he behaved himself with great courage, and was well seconded by his troops, yet the superiority of numbers carried it, and his army being entirely defeated, and himself, as some writets

Henry II.
king of
Navarre.

A. D.
1521.

¹ P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.

² L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Du TILLET, LE GENDRE.

say,

say, taken prisoner, *Pampeluna* and the rest of *Navarre* was recovered in as short a time as it was lost, and the hopes of king *Henry* entirely disappointed^a. He attended king *Francis* into *Italy*, and was taken prisoner with him at the battle of *Pavia*, but found means to make his escape^b. He espoused the year following the princess *Margaret*, widow of *Charles* count of *Alençon*, and the only sister of *Francis* the first, by whom he became the father of the princess *Joanna*, who in his life-time espoused *Anthony Bourbon*, duke of *Vendosme*^c. King *Henry* survived to the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-five, and then deceased in his palace of *Pau* in *Bearn*, in the fifty-third year of his age^d (A). The emperor

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, PET. MARTYR ANGLER. PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL, PET. MEXIA.

^b OCHOA ULLOA, SANDOVAL, PET. MARTYR ANGLER. DUFLEIX. ^c P. DANIEL, MEZERAY. ^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

(A) The design of this note is to let the reader into certain circumstances regarding the personal history of *Henry d'Albert*, king of *Navarre*, which may facilitate the understanding some of the principal events that are mentioned in this and the next chapter. *Henry* had a mind truly royal, and so much of the spirit and majesty of a monarch, under all the weight of his misfortunes, that he appeared in the eyes of the best judges more worthy of wearing a crown than if he had actually wore it. An irreproachable witness of this was the emperor *Charles* the fifth, who after he had passed through *France* declared publicly, that he had but seen one man in that kingdom, and he was the king of *Navarre* (1). *Henry* applied himself with great diligence to regulate, in the best manner, the government in those provinces he had still left.

He established a supreme court of justice at *Pau*. He constructed a regular fortress, called *Navarreins*, on an extensive plain, in which he kept always a strong garrison; and in times of public danger encamped a good corps of horse and foot under its walls (2). He encouraged both inland and foreign trade, to the utmost of his power; and, which was of the greatest consequence to his family, he educated *Henry* the young prince of *Bearn*, afterwards *Henry the Great*, while a boy, in a manner that qualified him for greatness. He suffered him to be ill clad, and ill shod; made him fare coarsely, and lie hard, not by the exertion of his parental authority, but by his own example, and by persuading him that he who is to command men ought to be equal if not superior to mankind in general, in those things espe-

(1) Cayet *Chronologie Navonnaire*.
gédie Ancienne & Moderne, L'Histoire
Turquet.

(2) D'Audiffret *Histoire & Géogra-*
du Royaume de Navarre, *Mayerne*

cially

peror *Charles* the fifth had tried every method to obtain from him a resignation of his title to *Navarre*, but without effect, tho' he did him the justice to own he merited that title as well as any prince of that age.

JOANNA D'ALBERT, and in her right *Anthony* duke *Joanna* of *Vendosme*, assumed the titles of king and queen of *Navarre*, queen of *Navarre*. and we shall have occasion to speak of them at large in the next chapter. As for the king he was esteemed a gentle and a good prince; and the queen was justly admired for her strong parts and masculine understanding, as well as for her steadiness in support of the Protestant religion. The king was wounded at the siege of *Rouen*, and died at *Andely on the Seine*, in his way to *Paris*, *November* the seventeenth, one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, in the forty-fifth year of his age^c. The queen survived him almost ten years; and is generally supposed to have been poisoned by the artifice of the queen mother of *France*, at the marriage of her son, *June* the ninth, one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, in the forty-fourth year of her age^f. They had five children, three sons and two daughters; but of these only two survived, *Henry* and *Katherine*, who became dutches of *Lorraine*, often solicited to be-

^c P. DANIEL, *MAYERNE TURQUET*.
MEZERAY.

^f DUPLEIX,

cially which men with most difficulty sustain. He took care that he should be learned; but he would have his learning taught him by conversation rather than by books, obliging him to fix certain Latin and Greek maxims firmly in his memory; and taught him the use and application of them in the conduct of life (3). He made no attempts to recover his dominions, after that mentioned in the text; but he held a constant intelligence in *Navarre*; knew the state and forces in that kingdom exactly; and it is said if he had lived a month longer, would have made himself master of it (4). His personal charac-

ter was the great point in this matter; the nobility of *Navarre* knew and confided in him; his successor was in some measure a stranger to them; and, therefore, though he endeavoured to take up the enterprize where his father-in-law had left it, yet it was to no purpose; and from this period the recovery of the kingdom of *Navarre* became altogether impracticable, the persons of its lawful princes being very little known, and their interests gradually divided from those of their subjects; that is, in the same proportion they grew connected with those of *France*.

(3) *Cayet Chronologie Navennaise*.
P. Daniel, *Mayerne Turquet*.

(4) *L'Histoire de Royaume de Navarre*,

come

come a Catholic, which it is said she sometimes promised; but died a zealous Protestant at last (B).

HENRY the third of *Navarre*, was born at *Pau*, December the thirteenth, one thousand five hundred and fifty-three.

(B) *Anthony*, duke of *Vendosme*, was the heir-general of the house of *Bourbon*, and had great estates of his own, which might probably contribute to the first umbrage taken at court. The *French* king, *Henry* the second, was very unwilling, on the death of his father-in-law, to permit him to go to *Bearn*. He thought there ought not to be two sovereigns in one country; and proposed, therefore, the exchange of all that he had acquired by his marriage with the heiress of *Navarre*, for other lands in *France*; and when he could not succeed in this, he shewed his resentment by separating *Languedoc* from the government of *Guienne*, which his father *Henry d'Albert* had enjoyed (5). This *Anthony* of *Bourbon* was of so amorous a complexion, that it occasioned many quarrels between him and his queen, from whom, notwithstanding, he would never be divorced; tho' after she became a widow there was once a project for procuring for him *Mary* queen of *Scots* (6). In the end, it is said, this passion for women cost him his life, by his slighting the advice of his physicians, while he was under their cure for his wound (7). *Joan* of *Albert* was in all respects a very extraordinary woman. Her father would have married her to *Philip* the

second, in the life-time of the emperor *Charles* the sixth; but the *French* monarch, *Francis* the first, her uncle, would not suffer it: on the contrary, he actually contracted, and even celebrated the marriage, July the 15th, 1540, between her and *William* duke of *Cleves*, whom the emperor *Charles* the fifth had deprived of his dominions, and with whom he made his peace, by deserting this princess; and upon this *Francis* married her to the duke of *Vendosme*, first prince of the blood of *France* (8). She was at first averse to what was called the new doctrines; but became afterwards a most zealous Protestant. After the death of her husband, and of his queen *Elizabeth*, *Philip* the second renewed his propositions of marriage; to which the queen prudently answered, that she thought herself sufficiently honoured by his esteem (9). With all her good qualities she had one great defect, for she was insupportably haughty; and to this the hatred of queen *Mary de Medicis* has been attributed by such as alledge she was poisoned by her direction, though that is a fact positively denied by authors. She was the seventh heiress and queen of *Navarre* in her own right.

(5) *Coyet Chronologique Navennaise.*
wila *Historia delle guerre civili.*
sous les regnes d'Henry III. & Henry IV. par *Pierre Matthieu.*
Chronologique Navennaise.

(6) *Tbuan, lib. xxviii.*

(8) *Histoire des derniers Troubles de France*

(9) *Coyet*

He was stiled in his mother's life-time the prince of *Bearn*. Henry III. He espoused the princess *Margaret*, sister to *Charles* the ninth, of *Navarre* and *Henry* the third, successively kings of *France*; and by the varre, IV, demise of the duke of *Anjou* became presumptive heir to the of *France*. crown of *France*; to which he succeeded on the murder of the last-mentioned prince, on the second of *August*, one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine, and united thereby the titles of *France* and *Navarre*.

BEFORE we conclude this section it may not be amiss to *Present* make a few remarks, which we flatter ourselves will not be *state of this* disagreeable to our readers. *Charles* the fifth, as we before *kingdom* observed, engaged by treaty to restore this kingdom, and was so little pleased with his title, that amongst other hardships put upon the *French* monarch *Francis* the first, one was, that he should oblige his brother-in-law *Henry*, to renounce in favour of *Charles*. That device failing, he recommended it to *Philip* the second to marry if possible the princess *Joan*, or to restore the kingdom; but *Philip* the second having, as he said, been so occupied during his whole reign as not to have time to examine this question maturely, devolved that care upon *Philip* the third, who it may be thought, his ancestors possessing it, sufficient right. In process of time this has been settled by a superior power, since not only *Navarre* but all the dominions of *Spain* are at this day in the possession of a descendant from the house of *Albert*. But with respect to the people of *Navarre*, it is extremely worthy of notice, that they have preserved their laws and liberties entire; and though the king of *Spain* sends a viceroy, while the *French* king keeps the title, yet they are alike benefited in point of revenue, not a single crown passing out of *Navarre*, except it may be what a viceroy can save, whose salary is but six thousand pieces of eight; and the whole revenue amounts but to forty thousand, which is about a piece of eight for every family,

END of the TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME,

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